THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEXUAL ASSAULT POLICY AT THE

UNIVERSITY OF SASKATCHEWAN: AN INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY

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By

NATASHA MILLER

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Abstract

Over the past few years, incidents of gender-based violence on Canadian university campuses have gained public attention. In 2013 rape chants occurred during frosh week at two universities – UBC and Saint Mary's. In March 2014 the University of Ottawa's hockey and coaching staff was suspended after the sexual assault of a woman was reported in Thunder Bay where the team was playing an out-of-town game. Later in 2014, the misogynistic Facebook posts by Dalhousie dentistry students came to the public's attention. A number of sexual assaults have also taken place on the University of Saskatchewan campus, including high profile cases in 2003 and 2012. The current project takes a step back to explore two research questions. First, how did women's experiences at the University of Saskatchewan campus shape the institutional discourse and policies and procedures on sexual assault? Second, what were the "ruling relations" that affected the chain of actions leading to the development of sexual assault policies?

In order to answer the two research questions, institutional ethnography, augmented by interpretive historical sociology, were utilized. Archival documents from the University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections were gathered and six semi-structured interviews were conducted.

Double standards, sexism, limited child care, sexual harassment and sexual assault were just a few issues that female students, faculty, and staff were concerned with at the University of Saskatchewan. There were a number of groups on campus during the time frame under investigation such as the Pente Kai Deka, the Women's Directorate, and the Help Centre. However, the thesis focuses mainly on the President's Committee on the Status of Women (PCSW), the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women (PACSW), and the Sexual Harassment Office (SH Office). In 1990 the PACSW was formally created. The main

goal of the PACSW was to create the *Reinventing Our Legacy* (ROL) report, which was based on submissions received from all groups on campus. Through the submissions the PACSW derived nine recommendations to address sexual/gender harassment at the University of Saskatchewan. The six interviewees involved with the PACSW described the barriers experienced both within and outside the Committee. As well, the interviewees felt the ROL report did not have the expected impact on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

Incidents of sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault are still occurring at the University of Saskatchewan. Based on information received from the women of the PACSW interviewed for this research, the archival data collected, and other research involvement regarding campus sexual assault, the thesis presents five recommendations for the University of Saskatchewan: a safe space, professional staff, education, policy and procedures, and resources.

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To my best friend and partner.

Nick Miller

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Over the past few years, incidents of gender-based violence on Canadian university campuses have gained considerable public attention. In 2013 rape chants occurred during frosh week at two universities - UBC and Saint Mary's. The chants varied only slightly from one campus to another. Saint Mary's chant focused on the acronym of Y-O-U-N-G where "Y is for your sister, O is oh so tight, U is for underage, N is for no consent, and G is for grab that ass" (CTV News, 2013). University of British Columbia's frosh pro-rape chant also was based on the acronym Y-O-U-N-G, however, the letter 'g' stood for "go to jail" (The Ubyssey, 2013). The University of British Columbia's rape chant sounds as though the students understand such actions have consequences. However, according to YWCA Canada (2014), there are 460,000 sexual assaults in Canada every year and out of every 1000 sexual assaults 33 are reported to the police, 29 are recorded as a crime, 12 have charges laid, six cases are prosecuted, and three cases lead to a conviction. Therefore, 997 assailants walk free. Despite such statistics, some students at Saint Mary's University did not feel the chants were a problem. Rather, the chants were funny or, as one female student insisted, "it wasn't a big deal to me. I'm not a feminist kind of person. It didn't affect me personally" (CBC News, 2013). Unfortunately, the people involved in the chants, either as a participant or a listener, did not consider the thousands of Canadian lives that are affected yearly by sexual assault. And, as will be expanded in section 1.3 of the current chapter, the reporting rates of sexual assault are very low, so even though a person can say that they have never experienced a sexual assault themselves, their friend or family member may have. Such individualistic thinking creates barriers in seeking gender justice.

Another example of individualistic thinking is the suspension of the University of Ottawa hockey team and coaching staff in March 2014 after a sexual assault, involving two of

the members of the hockey team, occurred in Thunder Bay, Ontario, where the hockey team played two out-of-town games (Bradshaw, 2014). The two men were charged with sexual assault in the summer of 2014 (The Globe and Mail, 2015). The Ottawa Gee-Gee men's hockey team will be returning to the ice in the 2016/17 academic year. Recently, the 24 members of the 2013/14 team have put forward a six million dollar lawsuit against the University of Ottawa and its President Allan Rock on the basis of their ruined reputations. President Allan Rock has been cleared of any negligence because "a university is not obliged to offer any particular program or maintain any particular program" (Seymour, 2015). Since the suspension of the hockey team in 2014, a task force at the University of Ottawa has been creating new measures to improve the culture of the men's hockey program including behavioural guidelines, mandatory participation in sessions on hazing, harassment, and alcohol use. As well, the task force has recommended student-athletes and coaching staff be involved in harassment and sexual violence training (CBC News, 2015). Despite opposing views whether the entire men's hockey team should have been suspended and the lawsuit brought forward by the former players, both of which are beyond the scope of the current study, they illustrate that in order to obtain gender justice, actions such as mandatory sessions are necessary.

A last national example of the prevalence of sexual violence across Canada is the 2014 misogynistic Facebook posts by Dalhousie dentistry students. Many of the posts made on the Class of DDS 2015 Gentlemen group involved statements about drugging and raping their classmates (QMI Agency, 2014). Similar to the University of Ottawa, the 13 men involved in the Facebook group were initially temporarily suspended from clinical activities and were unable to attend their classes with the rest of their classmates. Rather than place sanctions on the 13 men, they were provided the option to engage in a restorative justice process. The Facebook posts

were deemed a non-criminal act and so, according to media reports, Dalhousie University let the female dentistry students choose how to approach the Facebook posts. Subsequently, reports say that the women agreed to engage in the restorative justice process. After being involved in 150 hours of a restorative justice process the *Report of the Task Force on Misogyny, Sexism and Homophobia in Dalhousie University Faculty of Dentistry* was finalized and put forward to the Dalhousie University community, and made available to the general public. Also, the men involved in the Facebook group were able to graduate with the rest of their cohort because they engaged in the restorative justice process. As with the debate at the University of Ottawa about suspending the entire men's hockey team, Dalhousie University debated whether the 13 men involved in the Facebook group should have been expelled or not and whether a restorative justice process was an appropriate form of action. Again, these debates are not within the scope of the current study; however, it is important to note that people's perceptions will not change and gender justice will not be achieved unless people are held accountable for their actions, or inactions. The examples above are just a handful of incidents that have occurred nationally over the last few years in post-secondary institutions.

A number of sexual assaults have also taken place on the University of Saskatchewan campus, including high profile cases in 2003 and 2012. The high profile cases led to the formation of the Coalition Against Sexual Assault (CASA), a loose alliance of students, parents, staff and faculty who formed to protest the lack of notifications to the campus community and the robotic responses to targets and their families. The following year in 2004, CASA partnered with the USSU to host a public forum and present a petition with over 1,000 signatures that urged the University of Saskatchewan administration to conduct an external security audit of the campus. The petition was successful and the administration contracted two University of Calgary

security administrators to conduct the audit from which a report with 45 recommendations was put forward. The recommendations included the reorganization of the security services for more foot patrols, a communication protocol to alert the campus community within 24 hours of a reported sexual assault, gender training for all community campus members, particularly first year students, and the creation of a part-time advisor to the President regarding the status of women.

After another high profile sexual assault case in 2012 at the University of Saskatchewan CASA was reactivated and in 2013 CASA, in collaboration with Community University Institute for Social Research, undertook a pan-Canadian scan of campus and community services, and a symposium was held with community groups to discuss recommendations for collaborative campus-community models of sexual assault care and advocacy (Quinlan, Clarke & Miller, 2013). Most recently CASA has been involved in making recommendations for the development of a sexual assault policy and procedures at the University of Saskatchewan.

Sexual assault on campuses across Canada, and locally at the University of Saskatchewan, has been a long standing problem. In 2014 the Toronto Star published an article titled "Rape victim's ordeal with University of Saskatchewan," (Poisson & Mathieu, 2014) which pushed the university to "examine what other Canadian universities are doing specifically related to policy on sexual assault and determine whether there are additions or changes that could be made in [the University of Saskatchewan's] misconduct policy" (McDougall, 2014).

The current project takes a step back to explore how the University of Saskatchewan has addressed the issue of sexual assault during the 1960s through to the early 1990s, a time period that is loosely characterized as coinciding with 'second wave feminism.' Evans and Chamberlain (2014) argue that describing feminism in waves creates false dichotomies and rather that

feminism needs to be viewed as a continuum. Their work shows how some feminists do not neatly fall into certain waves, and comparing waves as though they are distinct pits feminists against each other. At the same time, utilizing feminist waves is useful in providing a picture of momentum, which has occurred regarding status of women issues. In the current study I focus on the feminist movement at the time when violence against women played a large role in its development. This exploration is important to give historical context for the current interest in sexual assault policy at the University of Saskatchewan.

1.1 Purpose of the Research

The goal of the project is to explore the development of sexual assault policies in a post-secondary institution, specifically the University of Saskatchewan. The time period of the study is 1960 to 1994, a time frame in which there was considerable activism on campus concerning women's equity and equality. Addressing both equity and equality is important because the terms focus on different objectives. The International Labour Office (2007) articulates well the difference between the two terms. Equality is defined as:

> The enjoyment of equal rights, opportunities, and treatment by men and women and by boys and girls in all spheres of life. It asserts that people's rights, responsibilities, social status, and access to resources do not depend on whether they are born male or female. It does not mean, however, that men and women are the same or must become the same…equality implies that all men and women are free to develop their personal abilities and make life choices without the limitations by stereotypes or prejudices about gender roles or the characteristics of men and women. (pp. 91-92)

Equity, on the other hand, "means fairness of treatment for women and men, according to their respective needs and interests. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but

considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations, and opportunities" (International Labour Office, 2007, p. 92).

The distinction between equality and equity regarding women's presence on the post-secondary institution is important. Women began to be seen as reaching equality on university campuses because women's enrolment steadily increased to fifty percent of the student population. Although women may have been equally represented numerically, it did not mean they received the same fair and degree of welcome as their male colleagues. Rather, as will be discussed in greater detail throughout the current study, many women felt objectified, fearful, and silenced.

Such experiences of women were obtained by examining archival documents and conducting semi-structured interviews with six women with the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women (PACSW), who advocated for change regarding women's rights on campus. The archival documents and semi-structured interviews allowed me to garner specific information concerning the advocacy that occurred on the University of Saskatchewan in efforts to address campus sexual assault. The two questions driving my thesis research are:

1. How did women's experiences at the University of Saskatchewan campus shape the institutional discourse and policies and procedures on sexual assault?

2. What were the ruling relations that affected the chain of actions leading to the development of sexual assault policies?

1.2 Significance of the Study

As the study will show, women's advocacy groups were necessary to making change during the period under review (see Fitzgerald, 1982; Landsberg, 2011;; Roberts & Mohr, 1994; Rozee & Koss, 2001; Senn, 2012). An examination of the historical development of campus

sexual assault policies and procedures has significance because, despite all of the advocacy and education that has occurred over the last thirty to forty years around sexual assault, dominating and structurally institutionalized attitudes towards women have not necessarily changed. Consequently, it is necessary to understand what approaches have or have not been taken in order to address the barriers women still face in post-secondary institutions today, and the approaches that indicate to have been more successful than others.

1.3 Sexual Assault and Gender

The current project focuses on how women's experiences and actions affected the development of sexual assault policy and procedures on the University of Saskatchewan campus. The focus is on understanding strategic approaches to addressing women's issues, including sexual assault, at the post-secondary level. However, that is not to take away from the experiences that men or people within lesbian, gay, bi-sexual and transgender (LGBT) communities were experiencing in regards to sexual assault at the University of Saskatchewan at the time. According to Statistics Canada in 2012, 356 men and 2,105 women across Canada reported being sexually assaulted. Because the rates are so much higher for women, and reports by men were rare in the period under investigation, the current study focuses specifically on women.

1.4 Contested Language

Throughout the course of my research I have been in contact with women in a number of different roles (e.g. professors, advocates, and women who have experienced sexual assault). These discussions question whether a person who has experienced sexual assault should be referred to as a victim, survivor, or target. The use of the term "victim" appears to be declining. However, during the time of the current study the term "victim" was widely used. Therefore, in

order to best represent the discourse at the University of Saskatchewan from 1960 to 1994, I use the term "victim" in reference to that time, and "target" when I address the contemporary moment.

The current project focuses on sexual assault; however, both of the terms "sexual harassment" and "sexual assault" are used. These terms can be difficult to differentiate and I argue, are part of a continuum. Moreover, during the time frame under investigation, sexual assault fell under the umbrella term of sexual harassment in the institutional discourse. Therefore, although available texts often used the term sexual harassment, the texts were also referring to sexual assault. In some instances, I found the interchangeability of the two terms at the time limits my ability to properly articulate the data. In such instances I have simply chosen to use 'sexual harassment/sexual assault' to move past the difficulty.

1.5 Thesis Chapter Outline

The introductory chapter outlines a number of incidents of sexual assault that have occurred across Canada over the past few years, including several high profile cases on the University of Saskatchewan campus; the purpose of the research, and the difficulty of finding shared language to name the problems to be examined. In chapter two I summarize the literature on sexual assault, which is divided into three sections: sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. To provide context for the study, I also discuss generally how post-secondary institutions were organized in North America and the entry of the women's movement into higher learning institutions over the past several decades. To accomplish this contextualization, I provide details regarding the inspirational feminist texts of Susan Brownmiller, Catharine MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, and Audre Lorde, who were current to the period under review. These four sets of feminist texts provide an important standpoint for understanding the everyday lived experiences

and actions or doings of women who worked on the University of Saskatchewan campus either as students, staff or faculty members during the time frame under investigation.

Chapter three discusses the methodology of the project, I utilize Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (IE) and her six key concepts to frame the research; work, texts, institutions, ruling relations, standpoint, and the problematic, augmented by Interpretive Historical Sociology. As well, the data collection of unobtrusive measures and semi-structured interviews is explained, along with information regarding mapping, which is used for data analysis. Chapter four outlines the findings from the archival texts and semi-structured interviews. Information on the formation of the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women is provided, as well as the Committee's chain of actions and the barriers it faced both internally and externally. The concluding chapter provides a summary of the current project, along with strengths and limitations of the study, future directions, and recommendations.

Chapter 2: The History of Campus Sexual Assault: A Literature Review

Attending an institution of higher learning was thought, and continues largely to be thought, to provide the opportunity to obtain the qualifications to acquire well paying, challenging, and secure jobs (Vickers & Adam, 1977). As well, people attend university to gain autonomy by engaging in a subject that interests them, competency in order to challenge themselves, and relatedness, which allows them to establish relationships with others (Guiffrida, Lynch, Wall & Abel, 2013). Despite the prevailing liberal assumption that institutions of higher learning are meant to be spaces that allow for research and free inquiry while providing an encouraging, supportive environment for students (Carroll, 1993), for some women attending universities in Canada, now and during the time period of this study, the opportunity was also profoundly affected by ruling relations, most notably the patriarchal relations of power (Smith, 1990). Institutionalized discriminatory attitudes and behaviours, which support the patriarchal relations of power, are discussed in the section below. The chapter then takes up women's movements in Canada and rape legislation, organizing for change in post-secondary institutions, and texts of the second wave feminism.

2.1 Sexism

Sexism is defined by Cameron (1977) as "a prejudicial attitude or discriminatory behaviour based on the presumed inferiority or difference of women as a group" (as cited in Rombough & Ventimiglia, 1981, p. 340). Sexism occurs in three forms – hostile, benevolent and ambivalent. Hostile sexism is defined as "negative attitudes towards women" (Phelan, Sanchez, & Broccoli, 2009, p. 36). Those who engage in hostile sexism view women as incompetent and believe only men possess the characteristics necessary to obtain higher positions in society. Furthermore, under hostile sexism women are viewed "as temptresses who use their sexual allure

to gain dominance over men" (Phelan, et al., 2009, p. 36, as cited in Glick & Fiske, 1996). Benevolent sexism, by contrast, involves men's inclination to shield women from harm, as well as to glorify women. Such a definition may imply a positive way to view women. However, as Phelan (2009) explains, benevolent sexism reinforces the belief of women's fragility and their need to be "protected."

Glick and Fiske (1996) also refer to ambivalent sexism. Ambivalent sexism, as opposed to benevolent or hostile sexism, involves people being "ambivalent toward women without experiencing any sense of confusion, conflict, or tension about these attitudes" (Glick & Fiske, 1996, p. 494). Furthermore, ambivalent sexism categorizes women into two groups – favoured in-groups and disliked out-groups. The favoured in-group includes women who do not stray from "traditional roles that fulfill the paternalistic, gender identified, and sexual motives of traditional men" (p. 494). The disliked out-group, on the other hand, involves women, such as feminists, who challenge those traditional roles. Traditional roles are varied for different groups. For example, Deveax (2000) explains that Aboriginal people are community focused while Europeans are individualistic, which affects gender roles and how those traditional roles are challenged. Furthermore, colonization of Canada attempted to assimilate Aboriginal peoples, moving them to become involved in a more individualistic society and experiencing backlash when there was resistance to such change (Deveaux, 2000). The individualistic European society involves a hierarchal relationship where the male is the 'head' of the household and the female is the 'homemaker' (Thomas, 2012). Women deviating from the role of homemaker, whether European or Aboriginal, were seen as troublemakers and became subject to ambivalent sexism.

The prevailing view of women in North America, during the 1960s and 1970s, involved hostile sexism. Hostile sexism was evident in the belief that women should look forward to

becoming house-wives "who received daily ecstasy and intimate gratification from cleaning the kitchen floor or waiting for hubby to return from work" (Churgin, 1978, p. 2). Feminists felt that there was no room for women in the ivory tower and argued that women were being deprived of their identity and self-worth (Churgin, 1978). As Alper argues, "in our culture, men are not only expected to achieve, they are also expected to want to achieve. Women, on the other hand, have neither been expected to achieve, nor do they want to do so" (as cited in Churgin, 1978, p. 39). Feminism attempted to challenge the tenets of sexism and reached university campuses where female faculty, staff, and students were the sparks of change.

A large influx of females began to flood the halls of post-secondary institutions in the 1960s. Although female and male students attended the same classrooms and interacted with the same professors, the lived experiences of males and females in the academic environment differed (Hall, 1982). Familial and social expectations contributed to the different experiences of male and female students; however, as Hall (1982) explains, professors also treated their male and female students differently. For example, professors held higher expectations for their male students, in turn, leaving female students feeling incompetent or less valued than their male counterparts. "Cooling out," a term coined by Burton Clark, was used as an explanation for women failing out of post-secondary education. Rather than society telling women that they should not attend university because they are not capable, the idea was to let the women fail, without support, on their own accord. Through this 'fail on your own' approach, women were then provided with fallback, or more 'feminine' disciplines such as home economics or teaching (elementary school). Ultimately, women within the ivory tower were not taken seriously. In this chilly climate, many women were just thankful for being provided the opportunity to attend university and did not feel that the university held them back (Churgin, 1978).

American universities such as Yale, Princeton, and Dartmouth began accepting women for these reasons:

> Women were needed to attract the best male applicants who increasingly were choosing coeducational colleges rather than spending four years in male monasticism. The "geisha girl theory of coeducation" did not mean that these schools recognized women's rights to the same kind of education and preparation for a lifetime career as men. It merely meant that the presence of women on campus would augment the daily regimen of male leaders-to-be by simplifying their access to women as companions and future wives. (Churgin, 1978, p. 121)

Female students faced discrimination not just from university administrators, but also in the classroom. Hall provides an example of a professor including "a slide in an accounting class that featured a bikini-clad woman, 'guaranteed to provide accurate measurements'" (Hall, 1982, p. 3). Another example was articulated by a student who said "no great work has ever been attributed to any woman in any of my […] classes. Even a woman who has shared the fame when she is part of a team has been passed over by lectures as 'these gentlemen'" (Hall, 1982, p. 3). The negative views that professors broadcast reinforced male students' dismissive views of women. In turn, male students may have found it difficult:

> To perceive women students as full peers, to work with them in collaborative learning situations, and to offer them informal support as colleagues in the undergraduate or graduate school setting. Moreover, it may have hampered men's ability to relate to women as equals in the larger world of work and family beyond the institution. (Hall, 1982, p. 3).

The sexist comments and actions that female students experienced from faculty may have been unintended or intentional, and were potentially seen as "trivial or facts of life" (p. 6). A professor might exhibit sexist remarks or behaviours that are not consciously meant to be harmful. However, a professor may view their female students as incapable and, therefore, be consciously unkind to them (Hall, 1982). One particularly odious manifestation of sexism is sexual harassment.

2.1.1 Sexual Harassment. "*I was discussing my work in a public setting, when a professor cut me off and asked me if I had freckles all over my body*" (Hall, 1982).

Women's lived experiences in the public space of the post-secondary institution also included the potential to experience sexual harassment. In 1985 the Canadian Human Rights Act deemed sexual harassment to be illegal (Canada, 2014). Since 1980 there has been no specific agreed definition, and different definitions are used in different contexts. However, all definitions have similar elements. The World Health Organization's (2014) definition of sexual harassment is "any unwanted, unreciprocated and unwelcome behaviour of a sexual nature that is offensive to the person involved, and causes the person to be threatened, humiliated or embarrassed" (World Health Organization, 2014). As early as the 1990s, sexual harassment studies focused on sexual harassment in the workplace (Baker, 2010; Fitzgerald, 1993; Magley & Shupe, 2005; Strate, Jung, & Leidlein, 2009). Later, in the early 1990s, sexual harassment in educational institutions became a focus of study (Baker, 2010).

Sexual harassment often leaves female students feeling threatened. The experience of sexual harassment may also further female students' feelings of a 'chilly climate,' further diminishing their self-worth when seen as a sexual object, as opposed to a person who is capable of academic success (Hall, 1982). Female faculty and staff also experience the ruling relations of sexism and sexual harassment in the post-secondary institution. Women in these positions are more likely to be hired for lower-ranking positions. Motherwell's (1990) "Epidemic of Sexism Has Canadian Students, Faculty Members Wondering How to Stop It" identified sexism and sexual harassment in post-secondary institutions as a national problem.

Three key incidents mark the late 1980s and early 1990s (Motherwell, 1990, p.1):

> At Queen's University some male students responded to the "No Means No" campaign by placing signs in their windows that read "No Means Tie Her Up" and "No Means More Beer." Furthermore, some male students sold boxer shorts with the words "No *Non*." Once in the dark, the words changed to "Yes *Oui*."

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At Carleton University the engineering student association's female President, was targeted stating that she is "fairly approachable, if you catch her at the right time of the month."

On December 6, 1989 at the University of Montreal 14 female engineering students who identified as feminists by the perpetrator were killed.

In response to these specific cases and the many other lived experiences of female students, faculty, and staff in academia, the National Action Committee on the Status of Women felt that Canadian universities were not up to the task of taking action to remove sexism and sexual harassment from their campuses (Motherwell, 1990).

As an overt form of sexism, sexual harassment continues to be a problem on Canadian campuses. Sexual assault is also a significant problem as the next section examines. Before a discussion of campus sexual assault, it is necessary to understand the terminology that was current prior to 1983, who was involved in the creation of rape legislation, and how the legislation reflected the prevailing view of men and women.

2.1.2 Sexual Assault. "*Sexual violence is a logical outcome of sexism. The objectification and sex-role stereotyping that historically and currently pervade society in its media, literature, educational system and mores have created a dehumanized view of women as victims who are asking for rape and who deserve it and want it*" (James, 1982, p. 69).

As a social construction, rape has recycled through a number of legal, political and social definitions throughout recent history. Police, lawyers, juries, judges, targets, and more recently, the media, all have had an influence on the definition of rape. In the legal realm, the definition of rape was undertaken by a group of upper-class males. As Roberts and Mohr (1994) argue, the legislature and judiciary was a male dominated field, and the legal definition of rape was created by and in the interests of men. Rape was defined as "unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman who at the time of intercourse does not consent to it" (Tang, 1998, p. 261). However, as Tang (1998) maintains, before 1983, men had "unlimited sexual access to their wives" (p. 259). Prior

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to 1983, there was not yet a law stating that husbands could not rape their wives. Therefore, 'real rape' or stranger rape was viewed by the court system as the only type of rape that could occur and women were often seen as the instigators of rape.

According to the law, women were morally underdeveloped and not deserving of legal protection (Roberts & Mohr, 1994). Under the male-dominated legal system, females could not be trusted to speak the truth, so their testimony in rape cases was often questioned. Additionally, for a time, women could not make a complaint against a perpetrator since women were unable to "refuse sexual access to some men if they had granted it liberally to others…they [were] in fact common male property" (Roberts & Mohr, 1994, p. 25). Also, in the legal realm, female sexuality was complementary to, and defined by, male sexuality. Three parallel assumptions are implicit in the legal framework of rape outlined by Roberts and Mohr (1994): 1) the requirement of penetration by a man's sexual organ defined it as the only instrument with which a woman's body could be sexually violated; 2) implicitly, every rape was thus perceived as a participant in sexual intercourse rather than a victim of coercive violation; and 3) the very definition of rape as sexual intercourse suggested a purely male perspective.

Women's groups made two important criticisms regarding the pre-1983 rape legislation in Canada. First, the legislation sent symbolic messages that contributed to the maintenance of patriarchy by treating women as objects. The idea that the real offence was against the women's male family members, rather than the woman herself, was indicative of women being treated as patriarchal objects. Second, the legislation was biased against targets. And, as Roberts and Mohr (1994) explain, "the sexual aspects of behaviour cannot be defined by body parts or the purely physical characteristics of the acts performed. What makes an assault sexual is not intrinsic to the act, but is derived from the specific circumstances and the interpretation of the processes

involved" (p. 36). In other words, the act of rape goes beyond vagina and penis. Power relations and gender roles also play a part.

Roberts and Mohr (1994) explain that, "if the woman is her body, then rape devalues her as a woman. If rape is an animal act, the female must have sent some sexual signals – common in animal mating practices – which stirred the attacker's primitive instincts. If she has been sexually penetrated by a beast, she becomes impure, less human herself" (Roberts and Mohr, 1994, p. 22). Had the woman not 'initiated' contact by flirting, then the female would still be pure; the man would not have given into his primitive instincts. James (1982) builds on Robert and Mohr (1994)'s idea by explaining that:

> The reform proposals do not consider or challenge the pervasive system of violence and power that exists in society. As feminists we cannot realistically expect from a legal system that is designed to provide protection of private property, changes that would upset the existing balance of power by eliminating an essential means of social control over women. (James, 1982, p. 71)

Therefore, it cannot be expected that any changes would occur at the legal level until ideological positions changed at the societal level by challenging the ruling relations.

The Canadian government attempted to improve the Canadian rape law in 1978 with Bill C-52. The purpose of Bill C-52 was to replace rape with indecent assault and aggravated indecent assault. Such changes would involve broadening the definition of indecent assault to include the offence of rape (Roberts & Mohr, 1994). The Bill, planned by the Progressive Conservative Cabinet, was unsuccessful despite the efforts of the Law Reform Commission of Canada and women lobbyists. Several other attempts were made to revise the rape law as the government changed. However, it was not until 1981 that Bill C-53 was proposed. The purpose of Bill C-53 was to tighten the eligibility dates of parole for offenders, including offenders involved in sexual offences (Casavant, 2010). Although Bill C-53 came into being, sexual

offences were still not taken seriously. Jean Chretien, the minister of Justice at the time, was involved in very little of the discussion around the proposed legislation. The opposition party criticized the Department of Justice for its apparent lack of interest in the Bill (Roberts & Mohr, 1994).

Before the term 'rape' was changed to 'sexual assault,' the legislation included the following four offences: 1) rape; 2) attempted rape; 3) indecent assault against a female; and 4) indecent assault against a male. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms helped to reshape the rape legislation. The four offences were replaced with three new sexual assault offences. Bill C-127, under the new term of "sexual assault" as it stands today, has three levels: sexual assault, sexual assault with a weapon, and aggravated sexual assault. The maximum sentence for the first level of sexual assault is ten years,;for the second and third levels of sexual assault the maximum punishment is life imprisonment (Canadian Criminal Code, 2014).

2.2 The Women's Movement and Rape Legislation

The change in the terms from "rape" to "sexual assault," although argued by some as not making a difference or even as making women more oppressed because it can be seen as a less blatant term, was an important achievement, since it widened the definition of the crime. After all, penetration can also occur with "objects, oral and anal penetration" (Rozee & Koss, 2001, p. 302). Although this change is important, it is also necessary to keep in mind that, as Roberts and Mohr (1994) argue, the post-1983 sexual assault legislation was a minimal effort to meet the new requirements that came along with the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

In 1992 Bill C-49 was passed, which involved three amendments to the sexual assault legislation. A new criterion, known as the Rape Shield, was created that would allow a judge to decide whether "a complainant's sexual history may be admitted at trial" ((Roberts & Mohr,

1994, p. 11). Second, a definition of consent was created. Third, the definition of consent meant the defense was now restricted to the "mistaken belief" in arguing against the prosecutions assertion that the perpetrator did not gain consent.

The women's movement and the dedicated work of feminists played a pivotal role in changing the rape laws in Canada. However, Roberts and Mohr (1994) argue that the women's movement made one very important mistake: it focused so much on being involved in the legal realm that they neglected their own consciousness-raising efforts and educating men about gender equity and equality. James (1982) explains:

> The vigorous demands of the women's liberation movement have attracted politicians in the area of reform of rape legislation because easy changes can be made in the law without there being any real societal improvements: men don't stop raping because the laws are changed. The law is not now and will never serve as a deterrent to men who view sex as their just desserts. (p. 70)

Consequently, change needs to occur at all levels of society, not just at the legal level. One such site of change was at the post-secondary institutional level. Barnhardt (2014) suggests that activism that creates disruption is the most effective way to create change. Students, faculty and staff can all play a role to create lasting change in the gender relations on campuses via informal and formal organizing.

2.3 Post-Secondary Institutions: The Organization of Change

Universities are unique social settings with respect to sexual assault. Universities are semi-self-contained communities (Bevacqua, 2000). Up until the twentieth century *loco parentis* allowed universities to have greater control over the student body. Parents wanted to ensure that their offspring received the same safety and security at universities as they received at home (Sells, 2002). The students began to resent such limitations being placed on them by universities. They began to challenge the authority of universities during the 1960s and 1970s. The challenge

allowed the students to obtain their constitutional rights through the courts. The disappearance of *loco parentis* had a major far-reaching implication: campus officials had difficulty implementing a new strategy to govern and discipline students, which affected the relationship between students and university officials, and led to some confusion about how the students' behaviours should be monitored. In response, universities began to develop student codes of conduct to formalize the monitoring of student behaviour. So the relationship between the university and the student body went from a parental one to a bureaucratic one in the 1970s and 1980s.

Over the past several decades the student protests against universities' paternalistic governance took the form of fighting for their constitutional rights, protests against tuition increases, marches to express concerns related to students' identities as well as the quality of the campus climate for underrepresented groups. Sexual assault made it to the student body's agenda much later (Barnhardt, 2014). Various tactics of disruption were used by groups of campus women in the course of this struggle.

2.3.1 The Anti-Rape Movement: Influence on the Post-Secondary Institution. Anti-rape activists in the 1960s influenced the development of sexual assault policies at post-secondary institutions and in the larger society. They held university administrators responsible for what the women argued were oppressive policies (Bevacqua, 2000). In the larger context, the anti-rape movement worked towards two long-term goals: the substantial revision of present sexual assault laws and an associated change in traditional attitudes and assumptions concerning sexual assault. Both of these goals were expressed by changes to the existing laws (Rose, 1977), for example, the 1983 Criminal Code. Attitudes cannot be changed, according to anti-rape groups, unless the basic structure of capitalist system is overhauled as many activists argued (Rose, 1977).

The anti-rape movement and women's liberation organizing was helpful in bringing their work to the university environment. "Feminists made logical connections between college life and the phenomenon of rape" (Bevacqua, 2000, p. 164). Networks, strategies and expertise developed out of the women's movement carried over into campuses, allowing for activities and events to be more successfully organized. The women's movement involved a large number of university students in demonstrations, petitions, marches, and consciousness-raising workshops (Senn, 2011). The creation of on-campus women's centres strengthened the anti-rape movement and supported greater awareness of the issue in the context of post-secondary institutions.

In the 1970s, university administrators focused on sexual assault where the perpetrator was a stranger. However, the administration began to change their focus in the 1980s when feminists drew their attention to date and acquaintance sexual assault as a phenomenon equally important as stranger sexual assault. During the 1980s and 1990s there was a revival of the anti-rape movement and its organization. The media has begun to pay greater attention to date and acquaintance sexual assault. "Media coverage of such efforts has bolstered the anti-rape campaign and has made the issue of campus rape an important focus of its activities" (Bevacqua, 2000, p. 163). The recent rape chants, outlined in chapter one at the University of British Columbia and Saint Mary's University, the suspension of University of Ottawa's hockey team following a sexual assault, and the misogynistic Facebook posts by Dalhousie dentistry students, show the power of the media to bring forward the problem of campus sexual assault.

Students, along with faculty and staff, have been important players in introducing administrative change in post-secondary institutions over the years. The current study will explore how these three different groups at the University of Saskatchewan focused their efforts in making the institution safer for women by altering the ruling relations that hindered their

efforts.

As stated earlier, the purpose of the current study is to uncover the experiences of female students, faculty and staff, and how the experiences impacted the development of the institutional discourse and sexual assault policies and procedures. I argue that it was women's experiences that led to some important theoretical work and outcomes such as the development of institutional policies regarding sexual assault. In order to uncover women's experiences, Dorothy Smith's (2005) Institutional Ethnography (IE) and Skocpol (1984)'s Interpretive Historical Sociology will be utilized to connect those experiences to the development of institutional policies (see methods section). In keeping with the chosen methodology, the study relies heavily on texts as a record of and impetus to social organization. The second wave feminist texts of Susan Brownmiller, Catharine MacKinnon, Andrea Dworkin, and Audre Lorde were among the inspirational texts shaping women's experiences in higher learning institutions during the period under investigation, 1960 through 1994.

2.4 Texts: Second Wave Feminism

During the time under investigation, 1960 through 1994, second-wave feminist theory fell into three main branches: liberal, socialist, and radical feminism. Liberal feminism argues that gender inequality occurs because of a gendered division of labour and can therefore be overcome by changing key institutions such as law and work, but not without massive changes to the overall social and economic order (Ritzer, 2011). Socialist feminism addresses social class and gender oppression together. Socialist feminists connect "knowledge of oppression under capitalism and of oppression under patriarchy" (p. 468) in order to explain gender oppression. Socialist feminists argue that women's liberation will occur only with the dismantling of capitalism. Radical feminists believe that women everywhere in the world are violently

oppressed by patriarchy. Central to radical feminism is the violence by men perpetuated towards women – with rape and sexual abuse as two primary examples (Ritzer, 2011). Many important issues were addressed through the second-wave women's movement regarding women's equal access to education, reproductive rights, pay equity and changing attitudes toward sexual harassment and sexual assault. Three radical writers who addressed these issues directly included Susan Brownmiller, Catharine MacKinnon, and Andrea Dworkin. Audre Lorde provided the empowerment for women to take action against their oppression by men. The four texts influenced the actions of feminists and activists during the second wave of feminism. Despite all four feminist writers being categorized as radical, their approaches diverge considerably.

2.4.1 Susan Brownmiller. Susan Brownmiller, a radical feminist, journalist, author and activist, takes a biological approach to the phenomenon of rape. She argues that the human male can rape and therefore, does. Neither rape, nor copulation, would occur if it had not been for the "accommodation requiring the locking together of two separate parts, penis and vagina" (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 4). According to Brownmiller, women's role in society, politeness and passivity, teaches women to avoid confrontation. In turn, defending themselves against their attacker is unfeminine behaviour. Since prehistoric times to today, rape, as argued by Brownmiller, has had an unfavourable purpose. Brownmiller maintains that rape is "a conscious *process of intimidation* by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (p. 5 emphasis added). Furthermore, she defines rape as a man proceeding to attempt intercourse after a woman had chosen not to. As discussed previously, rape became an act, which was against the law. However, the crime was not seen as man against woman. Rather, the crime was man against man, since the woman was viewed as a man's property and had been violated.

Brownmiller argues that rape involves power relations. Power may occur in one of two

forms. One, power may occur in an institutional setting where a hierarchal or authoritarian structure exists, such as post-secondary institutions and relations between a professor and a student, junior colleague or subordinate staff member. Second, expected behaviour relates to date rape or when two parties have had a prior relationship. Males and females in this situation present different behaviours. The male (in the majority of cases the aggressor) "may press his advantage to the point where pleasantness quickly turns to unpleasantness" (p. 284) and the female (in the majority of the cases the target) "gracefully endures or wiggles away if she can, but a direct confrontation falls outside of the behavioural norms" (p. 284). Furthermore, men are able to switch the blame from themselves onto their targets. The switching of blame then leads to women analyzing their actions, what they were wearing, and the like, in order to figure out why the act was perpetrated against them. Brownmiller argues that, "the ideology of rape is fueled by cultural values that are perpetrated at every level of our society, and nothing less than a frontal attack is needed to repel this cultural assault" (p. 437). Brownmiller (1975) describes her experiences being involved in the women's movement. She explains:

> Just a few years ago, we began to hold our speak-outs on rape, at conferences, borrowing a church meeting hall for an afternoon, renting a high-school auditorium and some classrooms for a weekend of workshops and discussion, the world out there, the world outside of radical feminism, thought it was all very funny. (p. 445)

Her description illustrates how women were viewed during the 1960s and 1970s. Women's agency was not taken seriously. The male university population "didn't give a damn about a silly women's movement" (Joas & Knobl, 2009, p. 434) in the 1960s. In order for women to be taken seriously, those involved in the women's movement had to be effective in their organizing and discussion.

The intimidation and fear of some men, by some women, on the University of Saskatchewan campus from 1960 to 1994 was a reality. Male peers, professors, staff, and

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University of Saskatchewan administrators were all possible offenders.

     2.4.2 Catharine MacKinnon. Catharine MacKinnon, a feminist, scholar, lawyer,

teacher, and activist, focuses on the legal aspects surrounding sexual assault. MacKinnon (1987)

maintains that sexual assault is an issue of violence, rather than an issue of sex (MacKinnon,

1987). Sexual assault, MacKinnon (2005) asserts, is social and relational, rather than biological.

She argues that men and women have been socialized to take on social roles, which result in

gendered, hierarchal societies. However, at the same time, "not all women are victims and not all

men are aggressors" (MacKinnon, 2005, p. 240). Female sexual aggressors also exist. Since

sexual assertiveness is socially coded masculine, it becomes important to affirm that those men

who do not sexually aggress "have nothing wrong with them physically" (p. 240). Supposedly,

under the eyes of the law, equality exists between men and women; however, MacKinnon asserts

that society is organized in ways that do not support equity such that male-centered perspectives

are more "objective" because they are assumed to be "less emotional." Therefore, a move from

an assumed "objective" male stand-point needs to change through listening to women's stories

and experiences. MacKinnon argues:

> This misfit between the law's concept of sexual assault and the reality of it produces legal
> standards that cannot see abuse in the real world and encourage neglect or worse by legal
> actors of the dynamics that make the abuse happen. This in turn serves as state
> collaboration in sexual assault and accordingly in the inequality of the sexes. (p. 246)

     A legal perspective is useful to the current study because federal and provincial

legislation has had an impact on University of Saskatchewan policies and procedures. One such

legislative change that affected the institution's policies regarding sexual assault is the 1983

Criminal Code change where the term "rape" was changed to "sexual assault" (Renner et al.,

1988). The Human Rights legislation also played a part in the development of sexual assault

policies and procedures at the University of Saskatchewan. The 1979 Saskatchewan Human

Rights Code states that a person cannot discriminate on the basis of sex and in 1985 sexual harassment was deemed a form of discrimination (Canada, 2014).

  2.4.3 Andrea Dworkin. Andrea Dworkin is an important feminist in regards to women's presence outside of the home, as associated with sexual violence. In *Life and Death,* Dworkin (1997) discusses the inside/outside dichotomy; women who are employed in the inside, or private sector – such as wives in the domestic sphere – she says are confined, held captive. She argues that women inside the home are high-priced property that provide sexual access: "she was what she did; she became what was done to her; she was what she was for" (Dworkin, 1997, p. 197). Females were for what males desired. Women moving into the public domain left housewives feeling like second-class citizens, because as Dworkin states, "we believe that the workplace is a gender-neutral zone, a fair place; we believe that a woman is a person, at work to work for money" (p. 200). On the other hand, Dworkin argues those women who exist in the public sphere are sex workers. There is "the breaching of one's body by more than one, how many and under which circumstances depending on one's closeness to or distance from the male elite – the small, wealthy ruling class" (p. 197). Women in the public realm, including the university, do not experience fairness because, as Dworkin maintains, women in the public realm are under male control even more so than when they are in their homes. Once women cross the line going from private to public "she is presumed to be out there looking for him, whomever - his money, his power, his sex, his protection" (p. 200). The assumption is that women are 'asking for it.' Dworkin explains, "if she is there, he has a right to a piece of her. It is a longstanding right" (p. 201). Men, according to Dworkin, guard traditional ways of doing. Women who challenge the traditional values are punished. Punishment takes the form of aggression and force on women:

Using his power to force her seems virile, masculine, to him, an act of civilized conquest, a natural expression of a natural potency. His feelings are natural, indeed, inevitable. His acts are natural too…It stuns us, this underlying assumption that we are whoring. Here we are, on our own, at last, so proud, so stupidly proud. Here he is, a conqueror he thinks, a coward and a bully we think, using power to coerce sex. We feel humiliated, embarrassed, and ashamed. He feels fine. He feels right. Manly: he feels manly. And of course, he is. (Dworkin, 1997, p. 201)

Dworkin maintains the two sectors of spatially organized sites for women – inside and outside – still exist in contemporary society.

In relation to the current study, the inside/outside dichotomy is a means of understanding the consequences of women moving into public places such as post-secondary institutions during the 1960s. Women entering the predominantly male university environment in the early 1960s undoubtedly left some women open to sexist comments, sexual harassment and sexual assault by their male peers, colleagues, and professors.

2.4.4 Audre Lorde. Audre Lorde (1984), a Caribbean-American feminist, writer, and civil rights activist, in "Uses of the Erotic: The Erotic as Power," explains that there are many types of power, the erotic being one. She argues that Western society has taught women to be wary of the erotic; therefore, women have come to distrust such power as women have been warned of the power throughout their lives by their male counterparts. "The erotic has been misnamed by men and used against women. It has been made into the confused, trivial, the psychotic, the plasticized sensation" (p. 54). The undermining of women's erotic is problematic because, as Lorde states, the erotic is a woman's "creative energy" that affects language, history, dance, love, work, and life. Being taught to suppress our erotic, according to Lorde, represses truths that provide women with strength and limits women's ability to grow beyond society's forces that keep us "docile and loyal and obedient…and leads us to accept many facets of our oppression as women" (pp. 57-58).

Despite western society's attempt to suppress women, Lorde provides a way to overcome women's oppression:

> When we begin to live from within outward, in touch with the power of the erotic within ourselves, and allowing that power to inform and illuminate our actions upon the world around us, then we begin to be responsible to ourselves in the deepest sense. For as we begin to recognize our deepest feelings, we begin to give up, of necessity, being satisfied with suffering and self-negation, and with the numbness which so often seems like their only alternative in our society. Our acts against oppression become integral with self, motivated, and empowered from within. (p. 58)

These words equip women with the "permission" to break free of traditional gender roles to advocate for change. The "permission" that Lorde provides is crucial because women at the University of Saskatchewan during the time under investigation were facing ridicule from the rest of the campus community through their advocacy to improve status of women issues.

2.5 Summary of Second Wave Feminist Theory

The texts of Brownmiller (1975), MacKinnon (1987, 2005), Dworkin (1997), and Lorde (1984), provide an important standpoint for understanding the everyday lived experiences and actions of women in the 1960s-1990s, including those who worked on the University of Saskatchewan campus as students, staff and faculty members. The potential to experience sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault undoubtedly shaped, and in some ways dictated, how the women communicated (verbally and non-verbally) with their peers, colleagues and superiors. The second wave texts were an important challenge to the ruling relations of the day.

The following methodology section expands on women's experiences at the University of Saskatchewan by utilizing Dorothy Smith's Institutional Ethnography (IE) and the multi-faceted approach IE allows, along with Skocpol's Interpretive Historical Sociology. Subsequently, I provide a discussion regarding the archival searches and interviews that garnered a greater

understanding of the female students, faculty, and staff who were employed at the University of

Saskatchewan.

Chapter 3: Combining IE and Interpretive Historical Sociology

The methodological approaches informing this study of the development of sexual assault

policies and procedures at the University of Saskatchewan combine Dorothy Smith's (2005)

Institutional Ethnography (IE) and Skocpol's (1984) Interpretive Historical Sociology. In the

first section I will discuss Dorothy Smith's IE as the study's primary methodology and the

significant characteristics of Skocpol's Interpretive Historical Sociology as a way to understand

the processes influencing outcomes. In the second section the different data collection methods

that were utilized, including unobtrusive data and semi-structured interviews, will be explained.

The visual representation of the data as an analytical technique is then described.

3.1 Institutional Ethnography

Dorothy Smith is a prominent Canadian sociologist who was active in the women's

movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Smith's work is influenced by a combination of Marxism and

post-structural thought. Smith's IE, a theoretical and methodological framework, is a method of

inquiry situated in "local actualities of the everyday world" (Smith, 2005, p. 24). IE is a form of

empirical investigation of the processes of social organization, work practices and how those are

organized, norms and rules that guide people's action, the observable effects of the social

organization, how people's activities are organized and coordinated, and textual mediations.

Furthermore, IE identifies links between local practices and the social and institutional forces

that shape people's activities in and across multiple sites – influencing people's activities across

different sites. There are two objectives of IE. First, IE explores social relations, which are

organized around specific work processes that are coordinated/standardized in multiple sites.

Secondly, IE maps the social relations that organize the everyday world of people's experiences

with the aim of transforming those social relations (see below for further information on mapping).

Smith's (2005) IE uses six key concepts: institutions, work, texts, ruling relations, standpoint and problematic. Generally, an institution is a complex of relations and hierarchal organization that organize distinct functions, such as universities, Work can be understood as paid and unpaid work and the activities or "doings" that are involved in that work. The work has to be intentional and takes place in an actual place under definite conditions with particular resources, and requires time and effort. The concept of work also focuses on tasks and people's knowledge of those tasks. People's own accounts and knowledge of the work they do is valued. "Work knowledge" can be understood as people's own understanding of what they are doing and of coordination of their work, looking for the sequence of actions through the course of their work and how those actions can implicate other people's work and experiences (Smith, 2005).

Texts in IE are crucial. Texts provide an essential connection between the local everyday activities and the organization of society. Texts stabilize and reproduce institutions; they are written or drawn, you can "touch" them, they are standardized in some way, but also have the capacity to standardize people's actions over time and space; they reflect the institutional discourse. And lastly, language is a social object, which arose out of the world and has consequences in the social realm. It is not simply a cognitive function (Smith, 2005).

Institutional ethnography also focuses on 'ruling relations,' which are the power relations in contemporary society. As defined by Smith (2005), ruling relations are "forms of consciousness and organization that are objectified in the sense that they are constituted externally to particular people and places" (p. 13). The development of the different forms of communication through print such as newspapers, and later through television, radio, and most

recently the World Wide Web has allowed for the opening up of public spaces where discussion and opinions can circulate and shape consciousness. According to Smith, we are increasingly ruled by corporations, professional organizations, universities and the like. The particular ruling relation most relevant to this study is patriarchy and the associated sexist attitudes and behaviours as discussed at the beginning of chapter two.

Smith's (2005) use of 'standpoint' allows for a starting point to discover "the social that does not subordinate the knowing subject to objectified forms of knowledge of society or political economy" (p. 10). The standpoint method "works from the actualities of people's everyday lives and experience to discover the social as it extends beyond experience" (p. 10). Standpoint views people as experts about their own lives and it is this expertise that is the entry point in understanding the social conditions they navigate. The problematic, another IE concept, allows the researcher to focus on the disruption of what is taken-for-granted in everyday life by outside forces. "The general problematic of IE takes the everyday world as an unfinished arena of discovery in which the lines of social relations are present to be explored beyond it" (p. 39). People's lives do not take place in a vacuum. There are external forces from a plethora of places that affect a person's life, both positively and negatively.

3.2 Interpretive Historical Sociology

To bring the necessary historical emphasis to the analysis, I augment IE with interpretive historical sociology (Skocpol, 1984). Interpretive historical sociology is compatible with IE.. Akin to IE, interpretive historical sociology focuses on the orientation of actors and the institutional contexts within which they operate. Furthermore, the researcher is able to strive for significant explanations by paying attention to the "culturally embedded" (p. 368) views and actions of individuals and groups to be analyzed. As Skocpol (1984) argues, interpretive

historical sociology focuses on pertinent information that is relevant to the world-views of the actors and the institutional contexts that the actors operate within. Skocpol (1984) also addresses the concern that an entire story can never be told in any historical piece. She argues, interpretive works allow for "the impression of fullness" (p. 371).

Interpretive historical sociology fills a gap in IE in that it "uses concepts to develop meaningful interpretations of broad historical patterns" (p. 368). The one important limitation to consider in regards to interpretive historical sociology is the potential for the researcher to be nonchalant "about establishing valid explanatory arguments" (p. 372). In other words, a researcher should be accountable for the quality and claims of their research. The research should be 'fallibilistic.' A researcher should not position claims beyond judgment and their audience should be presented with the data so they can make their own judgments (Mason, 2007). By utilizing the methodology of institutional ethnography I address the limitations of the study. With its focus on social relations and mapping those relations, fallibilistic explanations are not ignored in IE. Furthermore, the topic itself garners the necessity of establishing accountable explanations of the actions that occurred, which led to sexual assault policies and procedures being developed at the University of Saskatchewan.

3.3 Methodological Approach

Institutional ethnography is traditionally used in research concerning forms and contexts of activism in congruence with its overall aim of explaining the social world for the purposes of changing it (see above in IE section) (Murray, 2012), through education (Burns et al., 2010; Gerrard & Farrell, 2013; Horiguchi & Imoto, 2015; Jones et al., 2014; Nichols & Griffith, 2009; Rankin et al., 2010; Tummons, 2010), employment (Deveau, 2011; Prodinger et al., 2015), the environment (Billo, 2014), familial relations (Hicks, 2009), health (Deveau, 2014; McGibbon et

al., 2010; Mykhalovskiy, 2002; Ng et al., 2013; Prodinger et al., 2012; Quinlan, 2009; Rankin, 2003; Sinding, 2010; Townsend, 1992; J Winkelman & V Davis Halifax, 2007), immigration (Slade, 2012), religion (Munoz-Laboy et al., 2011), and social resources (Parada, 2004). Surprisingly, IE has not traditionally been used to investigate historical subjects. In this study, I use IE to understand the chain of action engaged in by the PACSW, the everyday lived experiences of women at the University of Saskatchewan and the barriers facing them in the creation of a safer campus environment.

3.3.1 Data collection. The methodologies of IE and interpretive historical sociology guided the data collection and analysis of the study. Documents from the University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections were gathered and six semi-structured interviews were conducted. The two forms of data collection allowed for a greater representation of the myriad of issues women faced on Canadian post-secondary campuses, including sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault during the period of the study.

3.3.1.1 Unobtrusive methods. Unobtrusive methods of research involve researching social behaviour without affecting the examined behaviour. Such methods include content analysis, comparative research and historical research (Babbie & Benaquisto, 2010). The current study utilizes historical research.

The University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections were utilized for obtaining archival material from <u>The Sheaf</u>, Presidential Papers, Women's Centre documents, and Glenis Joyce (former Chair of the PACSW) collections. The archival documents provided information regarding the development of campus sexual assault policies and procedures at the University of Saskatchewan and an understanding of the advocacy that occurred for women, specifically, how the actions of female students, faculty, and staff led the campus sexual assault

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policies and procedures created at the University of Saskatchewan. The institutional discourse utilized by both the University of Saskatchewan administration and advocacy groups, such as the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women (PACSW), is important to help understand the campus culture and world view from 1960 to 1994, which helped to shape the University of Saskatchewan campus sexual assault policies and procedures.

Each of the sources mentioned above (The Sheaf, Presidential Papers, Women's Centre documents, and the Glenis Joyce collections) provided specific, and sometimes overlapping, information. The Sheaf provided information regarding the many issues that the University of Saskatchewan student body was concerned with during the period between 1960 and 1994. Not every single issue of The Sheaf was read for the entire period of the study. The first few issues that were read for the 1959/60 and 1960/61 academic years were randomly selected because it was unclear what type of articles that would be available. Although the first issues were randomly selected, they were important to read. They provided the researcher with a broad sense of the climate at the University of Saskatchewan and the concerns being addressed on campus. Selection of Sheaf issues was also made on the basis of 'milestones' at the University of Saskatchewan. The milestones became clear from reading other archival material. For example, the Women's Centre was established in the 1971-72 academic year and Sheaf articles leading up to its opening were read to inform the researcher about the discussion and actions that occurred on the University of Saskatchewan campus which led to the Centre being established. In turn, The Sheaf allowed the researcher to garner a broad understanding of how women's presence on the University of Saskatchewan campus was viewed by both males and female students, and in some cases by faculty members and staff.

The Presidential Papers, specifically those of President Spinks (1959 -1974), provided an understanding of how the University of Saskatchewan administration addressed (or did not address) issues affecting women on campus from 1960 to 1974. Finally, the Glenis Joyce collection was examined. The collection's finding aid provided by Special Collections was scrutinized for information on the folders and their descriptions and only the folders pertaining to the time frame of interest, 1960 to 1994, and those related to the study topic (sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault) were thoroughly read. As with both The Sheaf and the Glenis Joyce collection, the Women's Centre documents were also selected for the time frame and topics of sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault.

The University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections provided the researcher with a wealth of data. In order to receive information on missing pieces of data, confirmation of information found, and further sources of information to seek out, six semi-structured interviews with women involved in the President's Advisory Committee from 1990 to 1993 were conducted.

3.3.1.2 Semi-structured interviews. There is no exact answer as to how large the sample size should be in a study. It can be argued that qualitative research leads to smaller sample sizes because of time and money concerns. However, other issues also need to be focused on. One major issue a researcher needs to take into account is to whether the sample will provide the researcher with enough information to reach saturation (Bryman et al., 2012) with enough information to provide a full picture, and allow the researcher to provide an accurate explanation of the matters under investigation (Mason, 2007). That is, no new themes will emerge after a saturation number of interviews. For the current study, I anticipated that four to six interviews would be sufficient to reach saturation.

On June 24, 2014, I received approval by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board for the current study. Six semi-structured interviews with women who were involved with the PACSW at the University of Saskatchewan from 1990 to 1993 were conducted (see Appendix A for interview guide). Participants included; two staff members, one faculty member, one student, one student/staff member and one faculty/staff member. The PACSW members came from several different departments, including Sociology, Psychology, Education, English, as well as the Administration. These six women were chosen for two reasons. First, they understood the climate at the University of Saskatchewan and at Canadian post-secondary institutions more generally through their different positions during the time under investigation. Second, as PACSW members, the women understood and could speak to institutional practices. These two reasons encompass the ontology of IE. The every-day lived experiences of the women provided them with both tacit and explicit knowledge, which was explained during the interviews. My supervisor acted as an informant to assist me in making the initial contact with Glenis Joyce, the former Chair of the PACSW. Ms. Joyce then provided information for a couple of the PACSW women (Gail Youngberg regrettably passed in 2000). I searched the internet for other contact information for other members of the PACSW.

Six of the ten PACSW women responded and were willing to be interviewed. The six interviews were conducted during the time span of October 21, 2014, to December 3, 2014. The time of the interviews averaged about 1 hour and 15 minutes in length. The six interviews were conducted using Skype (n=1) and face-to-face (n=5). Face-to-face interviews were conducted on the University of Saskatchewan campus, at the participants' homes, and an alternate location off campus that was convenient for one participant. Before each interview, participants were provided with the approximate time of the interview, which ranged from 1 to 3 hours, depending

on how much information the participant was willing and able to share. The participants' committee involvements took place twenty years ago. I anticipated their fading memories would be a limiting factor in some instances; I expected the time of the interview would also largely depend on how much the participant was able to remember. Interviewees were provided with the purpose and procedure of the research, the potential risks, their right to confidentiality and anonymity, and their right to withdraw. The six individual interviews were transcribed verbatim.

Institutional ethnography is not prescriptive. In other words, the methodology and associated methods do not have a set series of steps. Therefore, I analyzed the interviews in such a way as to help answer the research questions and to fill in gaps in the archival material, to provide a more complete narrative of the process of creating a sexual assault policy for the University of Saskatchewan. The interviews were read over multiple times and were analyzed for Smith's (2005) key IE concepts of lived experiences, 'doings,' the problematic, standpoint, and ruling relations at the University of Saskatchewan. As well, notes were made regarding connections between the point of entry texts and the information provided by the participants. Specifically, hand-written notations were made next to excerpts that illustrated incidents of intimidation, the problems encountered by entering a dominantly male public space (both mentally and physically), with links made to social roles or legal matters. After reading through the interviews, I ensured that all the information linked to the entry point texts and IE concepts were identified and then selected statements were used to provide examples.

My analysis of the interviews also provided me with important information that was not explicitly inquired about, but came through discussion on specific topics. The problematic, or outside forces that affected the University of Saskatchewan community and ruling relations, not otherwise considered, also became apparent through the analysis. And even though all six

women were talking about the same time period, their different standpoints were evident. These differing standpoints were also noted in a few different ways. The first, simple way was to note at the top of the transcript the participant's position. However, a deeper analysis also occurred in this respect. Notations were made regarding how experiences were similar, as well as how they differed, across participants.

3.4 Data Analysis

Mapping in institutional ethnography allows for imaging the reorganization of "the social relations of knowledge of the social" (Smith, 2005, p. 29). Local sites of people's experiences show how they are linked to ruling relations and the intersections of those relations. As Smith states, the outcome of mapping "should be ordinarily accessible and usable…to those on the terrain it maps" (p. 29). For instance, a study by Pence (2001) utilizes IE mapping to address safety for battered women in the legal system; specifically, she maps the multiple readings of a police report, key intervention points in processing a criminal domestic case, and the immediate intervention and initial investigation: dispatching squad (Pence, 2001).

3.4.1 Mapping the development of sexual assault policies. For the current study the experiences of the PACSW women were captured through the interpretations of interview transcripts from female students, faculty, and staff who were the PACSW members and involved in women's advocacy during the years 1990 to 1994. The data collected through archival research and the semi-structured interviews were analyzed using IE techniques. Rather than coding, identifying themes, and engaging in content analysis, which are the usual forms of qualitative data analysis, the data were 'mapped,' as in standard IE practice. Formal complaints made to the Sexual Harassment Office (SH Office), the process of the 'doings' by the PACSW,

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ruling relations and entry point texts that involved intimidation, public spaces, and the court system were visually and textually mapped.

3.5 Summary

IE was utilized to explore the development of sexual assault policies and procedures at the University of Saskatchewan, which was augmented by interpretive historical sociology. My methodology allowed me to analyze the actions and lived-experiences of female students, faculty and staff in order to address sexual assault through the analysis of archival documents and semi-structured interviews. Subsequently, the actions and processes of the University of Saskatchewan administration, along with other campus members who erected barriers to addressing sexual assault, were also mapped.

The next section will describe the ruling relations on the University of Saskatchewan campus from 1960 to 1994. In accordance with the emphasis IE places on texts, the historical developments will be analyzed through the key texts related to the various groups, including, but not limited to, the PACSW. The next section will map the actions and barriers to addressing campus sexual assault.

Chapter 4: A Push toward a Sexual Assault Policy

Issues affecting women at the University of Saskatchewan during the time frame 1960 to 1994 were explored and analyzed with the use of archival documents and interviews with women who were involved with the PACSW. Double standards, sexism, limited child care, sexual harassment and sexual assault were just a few issues that female students, faculty and staff were concerned with at the University of Saskatchewan. There were a number of groups such as the Pente Kai Deka, the Women's Directorate, and the Help Centre on campus during the time frame under investigation. However, this chapter will focus mainly on the President's Committee on the Status of Women (PCSW), the PACSW, and the Sexual Harassment Office (SH Office). These committees and Office were important in advocating for the issues concerning the women attending the University of Saskatchewan.

A large push in addressing women's issues at the University of Saskatchewan began in 1972 with the formation of the Women's Directorate (now known as the Women's Centre). Under the University of Saskatchewan Student Union (USSU) the Women's Directorate advocated for the establishment of sociology courses focusing on women, and better child care facilities. They set up seminars and education opportunities and provided information on women's rights and critical services for undergraduate students during the academic year (PACSW Chronology, November 7, 1991). In 1976, the Women's Directorate held a conference called *The Development of Women's Studies at the University of Saskatchewan*. An important message the conference conveyed was the idea that the increase in women's presence did not mean that women no longer faced inequities on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

4.1 Forming the President's Committee on the Status of Women

In February 1975, the Faculty Association Committee on the Status of Women at the

University of Saskatchewan lobbied for a President's Committee. The proposed committee was to be made up of several representative groups to "employ a research officer; to review status of women's roles as members of academic staff, administrative and support staff, and students; to promote recommendations that support equitable and non-discriminatory treatment of women at the U of S" and "to carry out an education program leading to elimination of inequality" (PACSW Chronology, November 7, 1991). Subsequently, the President's Committee on the Status of Women (PCSW) was formed in 1975 at the University of Saskatchewan. The Committee focused on issues such as sexism, affirmative action, pay equity, Women's Studies, hiring practices, credit for life experience, sex-role classes, and employee training. However, sexual harassment and sexual assault were not yet issues on the agenda. In 1976 the PCSW were involved in a number of 'doings' in order to address the ruling relations at the University of Saskatchewan. The PCSW held a two-day conference entitled *Women and the University*, which was attended by 300 people. One outcome of the conference was approximately 30 recommendations including conditions of work and study and educational programs, which were organized into areas of action (PACSW Chronology, November 7, 1991). Another important outcome of the conference was the increased enthusiasm by many women on campus for the formation of a Women's Studies program to promote gender balance and to extinguish sexism. In 1976, The PCSW met regularly and were instrumental in making the following recommendations:

1. That the university strike a committee to establish six-to-eight year part-time evening undergraduate degree programs in the humanities, social sciences and education;
2. That the university establish the opportunity for working on a part-time basis;
3. That there be better counseling services available for students; and
4. That there be in-service training opportunities available for union and administrative staff.

In 1977, a year after the conference, the PCSW carried out a number of projects including

the printing of 18,000 copies of a tabloid, which reported on the results of the conference. Lastly, in 1977, a Working Women's Wine and Cheese party was held and attended by 148 people (PACSW Chronology, November 7, 1991).

4.2 Forming the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women

In 1988 the Women and Education Saskatchewan Institute and the University of Saskatchewan sponsored a forum titled *Equity Needs of Women in the University Community*. The results of this forum were published in the form of a report. A year later, in 1989, the Ad Hoc Committee of the Committee on Academic Affairs published its final report on *The Status of Women's Studies at the University of Saskatchewan*. A *Status of Women on Campus* workshop was held in 1990. The participants of this workshop maintained that representatives from campus committees would work towards a meeting with President Ivany to discuss the creation of an Office of Advisor on the Status of Women and a President's Committee at the University of Saskatchewan. The Ad Hoc Committee later met with President Ivany on February 20, 1990. On this date, President Ivany supported the creation of the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women (PACSW), rather than an Office of Advisor position, 14 years after the creation of the President's Committee on the Status of Women. President Ivany was "lukewarm to the idea of Office of Advisor mainly because of the economic situation" (Joyce, Memorandum, February 21, 1990). The University stated they did not have access to the funds to create an Office of Advisor position since a recession was taking place in Saskatchewan at the time. President Ivany suggested that the first order of business would be to hold a conference. However, some of the PACSW members had concerns about that route. As one member stated, "is the conference just another short term initiative? What happens to the committee after the conference?...could the money to be spent on a conference be better spent on a long-term

initiative?" (Ad Hoc Status of Women Committee, February 20, 1990). The same committee

member was also concerned that the committee was simply to have "a project to keep us busy

and out of the way for a year or two" (Ad Hoc Status of Women Committee, February 20, 1990).

Another committee member had a much more positive outlook on their initial meeting with

President Ivany. She maintained:

> I found the President to be both knowledgeable and concerned about women's issues on campus. He appeared to have read the brief, as well as other information on the status of women on campus…he seemed to be forthright in his desire to see an improvement in the status of women on campus…although I realize that the money situation is tight on campus at this time, I also feel that at some point in time we must get some kind of commitment from the university…I am encouraged by the idea of holding a conference on some area of the status of women on campus in future, as well as the creation of a committee to advise the President of Women's concerns here. (Ad Hoc Status of Women Committee, February 20, 1990)

In October of 1990, the original eight members of the Ad Hoc Committee were formally

appointed to the PACSW, for a one-year term (initially). Another four members were also

requested by President Ivany to join the PACSW committee. Ms. Joyce was nominated to be the

Chair of the PACSW. None of the other committee members had specific roles. As Chair of the

PACSW, Ms. Joyce was responsible for keeping the committee on track and focused, creating

networks with other people and groups on campus, and strategizing to prepare for meetings with

President Ivany. An academic framework of organizational change was utilized by Ms. Joyce in

order to formulate a way to relate to the university leaders and other groups on campus. The

framework also allowed for the PACSW members' own understanding of the theory and

practices of the committee. Ms. Joyce set up ahead of time the conditions, rules and strategies

that would determine how decisions would be made, what the Committee would do if they

reached an impasse, and how to deal with different view points. The specifics of the rules were

not found in the archives.

Before the PACSW was established, as one participant pointed out, if President Ivany had not expressed his serious intent to change the university environment for women, the PACSW may not have been formed:

> When the President asked for this to be set up…I remember Glenis said no because she was concerned it was just going to be another report that would sit and do nothing. (Participant #5)

Ms. Joyce did not want the members of the Committee to put in all their 'blood, sweat and tears' into producing the *Reinventing Our Legacy* (ROL) report if nothing was going to happen with the results of the work. Furthermore, as is evident by the PACSW advocating for some similar issues as the PCSW, just because a women's group provides the university administration with information on how to improve the situation for women, it does not guarantee the information will provide fruitful outcomes. The same participant articulated this point well when she said, "I think it was a pretty good strategy because she made it clear that [the President was] not offering us any new ideas" (Participant #5). President Ivany assured Ms. Joyce the ROL report would be different. Ms. Joyce put her faith in his assurances and the PACSW was formed and the ROL report was created.

With the formation of the PACSW, their mandate was to "provide information and advice to the President on issues that affect[ed] female students, staff and faculty on campus. The intended result was an improved environment for education, research and scholarly work for all students, staff and faculty on campus, and improved opportunities for women who worked and studied at the University of Saskatchewan" (PACSW, August 16, 1991). The PACSW had five objectives:

1. Establish and maintain an appropriate network with and among women on campus in a manner that ensures all appropriate constituencies are included in the consultation and dialogue;

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2. Determine the major issues that affect women on campus and apprise the President of these issues with recommended courses of action;
3. Explore activities that could be taken to promote the status of women on campus;
4. Determine the need for coordination of work currently being done on campus with respect to the status of women and provide recommendations on same to President; and
5. Develop a plan for future initiatives. (PACSW, August 16, 1991).

As a first step to achieving these five objectives, the PACSW created a document that outlined what they felt were conditions for success of their project. Some of those conditions were "top management supports it;" "commitment of committee;" "clear objectives;" "participation by committee;" "belief that project can succeed;" "networking, linking with others on campus;" and the "strategy needs different facets which consider unique nature of different arms: governance, legalistic, collegiality, culture" (PACSW, October 16, 1991). The PACSW also created an assessment plan that provided six key points:

1. The assessment plan must be **shaped** to gather the necessary data on which to design the future state;
2. It has to be **purposefully designed** to provide specific information necessary to create a practical outcome;
3. It is **strategic** in how it is carried out and who participates in it. Can raise expectations/investment as well as fears/resistance;
4. Methods vary and are many. Methods are **important** as they begin to shape receptivity for change and build momentum. People expect results. Can be used to leverage commitment;
5. Can also give a **reading** on readiness for change, degree of support and level of understanding; and
6. What we ask, how we ask, whom we ask, how we use data are **critical** to creating a positive path to change. (PACSW, Working Document Action Plan, October 16, 1991, bold in original)

Along with the five objectives, the main purpose of the PACSW was to write the ROL report. As a committee, there was certainly a consensus on the need to produce the ROL report. However, the women on the Committee all had their own standpoint and different everyday lived experiences, and consequently the responses from the participants varied on the objective of writing the report:

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The overall purpose of this report was…to provide the evidence, to provide the rationale…to encourage…the leaders at the university community to take status of women issues seriously and to do something about them. Because we can do at the grass roots level all kinds of things in an organization. But until and unless it enters into the way the institution is governed, the way…the culture of the organization, nothing is going to change at the grassroots." (Participant #1)

We wanted to see…more attention to women in the curriculum and not on the 'add women and stir' model…we were interested in ensuring that there was an understanding of the complexity of the way in which women were disadvantaged because, you know, if you just look at gender and you don't look at its intersection with racialization, negative racialization…with class…ethnicity, with sexuality, you're not getting a full picture, so there was an attempt to…bring those things…into the consciousness of the university community. (Participant #4)

I think it was to…create culture ah shift to really…change policy, practice um regarding the position of women, treatment of women at the university, to raise awareness really." (Participant #6)

As the three quotes demonstrate, each individual was hoping to provide specific outcomes through creating the ROL report. Participant one shared her experiences with university administration not moving beyond words, and her concern that the university would continue to avoid action. Her response exemplifies Brownmiller's experiences when advocating for change: "the world outside of radical feminism thought it was all very funny" (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 445). Unless the top administration treats sexual assault as a serious issue and explicitly provides the funds to address the issue, change would be limited. The University of Saskatchewan utilized the handy excuse that because of the economic situation they were unable to provide funding, preventing the institution from backing up their words about addressing the issue of sexual assault.

Participant four expresses a key aspect that was important in changing the institutional culture including women in the curriculum. Specifically, the participant brought up the University of Saskatchewan's need to address women's issues, while taking into account the intersectionality of race and class. This approach, associated with third wave feminism (which is

beyond the scope of this thesis) needed to be included. I discovered that the University of

Saskatchewan was not concerning itself with intersectionality because none of the statistics I

found went beyond dichotomies of male and female and categories of staff, faculty, and student.

Participant six articulated the importance of creating a new institutional culture at the

University of Saskatchewan by revising policy to ensure that women had rights. In order to

confirm women's rights, the information needed to be explicit; their rights could not just be

assumed. This outcome aligns with the first participant's analysis. Ultimately, in the past, post-

secondary institutions were still very much a man's world and women entering the space were

looked upon as second class citizens since women's place was assumed to be in the home.

Ruling relations pervaded. A man needed higher education because he was expected to start a

career and be the heteronormative breadwinner. As MacKinnon (2005) described, the social roles

that were at play needed to be dismantled. Women were no longer being admitted to universities

in order for men to have someone to entertain them outside of the classroom. Women entering

the public space of the University of Saskatchewan needed to be taken seriously. One way to

change the culture was to place, in words, ways to address issues affecting women on campus.

As Dworkin discussed in her work, the women walking the halls of the post-secondary

institution were now in the public space:

> When she crosses the periphery, exits the door, she belongs to them that see her: a little or
> a lot, depending on how the men are inclined. The eyes own her first; the gaze that looks
> her up and down is the first incursion, the first public claim…without her as a whole
> human being in her own right, a sovereign human being, the predations of men against
> women will appear natural, or justified. (Dworkin, 1997, p. 200)

Despite women being second class citizens in the post-secondary institution, Dworkin maintains

that during the last two decades "feminists have built a….resistance to male sexual dominance"

(Dworkin, 1997, p. 203). This feminist resistance was occurring on the University of

Saskatchewan campus through various groups, including the PACSW.

4.2.1 University Community: Creating the Reinventing Our Legacy Report. *"The PACSW also created a space where we could actually verbalize and talk about what was happening to women. And oh my God, it was poo-pood by various sectors of the university community." (Participant #1)*

In 1993, the "doings" of the committee members of the PACSW produced a 200-page report on the barriers women were facing in post-secondary institutions across Canada and locally at the University of Saskatchewan. As the following section describes, the ROL report covered a myriad of issues that affected women including stereotyping, sexist comments, sexual/gender harassment, hostility, invisibility, double standards, tokenism, exclusion, child care, educational equity (access, students outside the classroom, and curriculum and pedagogy), women in science-related fields, the employee assistance program, pay equity, and employment equity. While the PACSW and the ROL report advocated for many important issues, the main focus in the current study was the Committee's attention to sexual assault. For the PACSW women, campus sexual assault at the University of Saskatchewan encompassed issues that today are thought to be broader than sexual assault. For these women sexual assault could not easily be separated from sexist comments, invisibility, double standards, and the exclusion of females in the formal and informal and decision-making structure. In order to attempt to address campus sexual assault, the PACSW sought to hear women's lived-experiences and concerns as University of Saskatchewan students, faculty, and staff.

4.2.2 Submissions. In order to garner information about such issues at the University of Saskatchewan, the PACSW requested submissions in 1991 from all groups of the campus community. Some briefs were small and straightforward. A few examples are as follows:

  a) Personal/workplace harassment policy needs to be written, education about pay equity, personal and sexual harassment;
  b) Policy for all forms of harassment; hire officers qualified to deal with harassment;
  c) PACSW should be a standing University Community with permanent mission statement;

provide funding for full-time sexual harassment officer and administrative officer support; mandatory educational programs to be implemented regarding sexual harassment; and

d) Eliminate glass ceiling. (Joyce, Preferred Scenario, 1992)

Other submissions were from individuals who provided larger documents with their thoughts on the problems occurring on the University of Saskatchewan campus. For instance, one submission from a Saint Andrew's College employee argued for the importance of implementing the principles of feminism at the university and the necessary institutional changes to provide "full and free participation by women in decisions that affect their lives" (PACSW, February, 27, 1992). Furthermore, she provided some examples of what a feminist ideology at the university would look like: women's experiences would be taken seriously, the systemic and institutional roots of sexism would be recognized, and women would feel safe to work and walk freely without fear of harassment or violence.

There was resistance to a feminist ideology at the university, according to the woman providing the submission, mainly the trivializing of women's experiences, divide and conquering strategies, and the demand for authority over women by men. She maintained that women were fearful of challenging the system in the past because the culturally approved behaviour for women involved internalizing, minimizing, giving in, and nurturing the oppressor. However, she argued the resistance could be reduced by the opportunity for women to engage in collective work, to have spaces for women to gather for support, and the necessity of an enforced policy of zero tolerance for sexual harassment and violence against women on campus, which would be instituted and enforced. Her submission ends with the message:

Strategies by the institution for naming, preventing and stopping backlash against women need urgent consideration. Because women have made some small gains there seems to be an inordinate fear that women are "taking over" public institutions. Constant vigilance is needed by the University administration to be certain that the small gains are not lost in times of economic recession and that individual women are not made to suffer because

they are women in non-traditional roles or vulnerable positions. (PACSW, February 27, 1992)

The above quote reflects Dworkin (1997)'s argument that men are treated as the keepers of public tradition. Women in public space are transgressing the patriarchal tradition and are therefore punished. According to Dworkin, men keep women confined to the home to keep her safe from men in the public sphere; "if she was at home, as she should be, she would not be near him. If she is near him, his question is why; and his answer is that she is making herself available" (p. 201).

Although the option was granted for submissions to remain anonymous, because of ruling relations, some people still did not feel comfortable providing submissions to the PACSW. As one committee member explained:

> Some people were…very much wanting to tell their story and other people I think were afraid of repercussions if they said things and through that they could perhaps be identified in some way by the details of their situation if they were reported in the report. (Participant #4)

With some women feeling fearful and too intimidated to tell their stories, the ROL report could not be assumed to represent all groups on campus. However, the larger problem the above quote reflects is the necessity of educating the campus community about the issues facing women in the post-secondary institution. The general silencing of women's experiences created a barrier for change.

In addition to receiving texts as submissions from the university community, the PACSW produced a number of committee-created texts including minutes, memos and charts, which followed from their frequently held meetings. The committee-created texts fulfilled a number of functions. The texts provided a record of discussions, they exemplified how the change management framework operated, they provided knowledge on how the campus worked and

their connections, allowed for discussion of next steps, showed the committee members

availability for meetings, and kept the members on track and informed. As one participant

explained:

> Glenis would always provide us with well thought out agendas for our meetings, strategies for…meetings with senior administrators…whatever meetings we were going to have, we did discuss strategy for the meeting, before we went into them…I felt like in our meetings time was well spent, and that was critical because of how busy we were. (Participant #4)

Not only did the texts of the PACSW keep the committee organized and efficient, but also, as

another participant mentioned, the texts allowed Glenis to lead the committee in a democratic

and transparent fashion; although Glenis was the leader of the committee, to the Committee

members it still felt like a team process.

The ROL report, the main text created by the PACSW, focused in great detail on sexual

and gender harassment. The report provided information on the sexual harassment policy and the

responsibilities of the Sexual Harassment Office (SH Office). The problems and issues

surrounding sexual and gender harassment were expanded on including under-reporting, historic

understaffing, educating the campus population, co-worker sexual harassment, issues in defining

sexual/gender harassment, and the problem of treating sexual harassment as individual and

isolated. The PACSW extended the definition for sexual harassment as follows:

> Sexual harassment consists of the sexualization of a relationship formed for, or in the context of, work or study. The sexualization occurs through the harasser's introduction or imposition of sexist or sexual remarks, requests, or requirements, in a context where there is a formal difference in the power of the harasser and the victim (e.g. supervisor/employee relationship). Sexual harassment can also occur where no such formal differential exists, if the behaviour is unwanted by, or offensive to, the woman. Instances of harassment can be classified into the following general categories: gender harassment, sexual bribery, sexual coercion, seductive behaviour or sexual invitation, which the victim identifies to the harasser as unwanted, and sexual imposition or sexual assault. (ROL, p. 40)

A part of the definition that is significant is the focus on the difference in the power of the

harasser and the victim. This aspect was necessary to focus on because the October 1994 revision

of the *University of Saskatchewan Sexual Harassment Policy and Procedures* document,

maintained that "consensual relationships of a romantic nature between individuals in positions

of authority and subordinates such as a supervisor-employee or faculty-student relationships are

permitted" (SH Policy, October 1994, p.2). The policy went on to say that "individuals in

positions of authority who choose to take part in these relationships may leave themselves open

to allegations of sexual harassment, questions regarding the validity of the consent, conflicts of

interest, and unfair treatment" (SH Policy, October 1994, p.2). The above definition also shows

that in 1993 sexual assault was still under the umbrella term of sexual harassment.

Also, in the ROL report the SH Officer, Dr. Pond, provided statistics for the number of

complaints that were made from August 1991 to August 1992. Thirty-five complaints were made

during this one-year period, which was double the number of complaints made the previous year.

According to Ms. Pond:

> The complaints cover[ed] a wide range of situations and behaviour, including sexist
> comments, humiliating jokes of a sexual nature, unwanted physical contact, verbal abuse,
> displays of obscene material, repeated, intrusive verbal or physical approaches that are
> directly or indirectly sexual in nature, and sexual assault. (PACSW, ROL, p. 36)

It is not entirely clear why this increase in complaints occurred. However, it may be safe to

speculate that the PACSWs call for submissions through The Sheaf and the President's

Newsletter allowed the University of Saskatchewan community to feel safe and more

empowered to voice their concerns via complaints made to the office of Ms. Pond (more

information about the SH Office is in the following section below).

The ROL report asserted the treatment of sexual harassment/sexual assault was not an

individual problem, instead as a societal problem. One way that the University of Saskatchewan

made sexual harassment/sexual assault an individual problem was by removing the women's

experiences of sexual harassment/sexual assault from its social context by "isolating

[sexual/gender harassment] from the rest of women's experience amidst the university's systemic discrimination" (ROL, p. 42). The ROL report goes on to argue that using mediation reinforces the idea that sexual harassment is an individual problem because "it assumes that the two parties in a sexual harassment case are equal in bargaining power and ability to negotiate" (PACSW, ROL, p. 43). In order to address the problems of sexual assault at the University of Saskatchewan, the ROL report provided nine recommendations, which illustrated "the preferred scenario" for the University of Saskatchewan campus. The recommendations were formulated from the submissions that the PACSW received from the campus community:

1. The first priority of the Sexual Harassment Officer should be to expand educational efforts to provide systematic consciousness-raising to all sectors of the campus, to eliminate all forms of sexual and gender harassment.
   a. The University administration needs to endorse an ongoing mandatory program in each administrative unit on campus;
2. Senior officials to whom formal complaints of sexual/gender harassment are referred should receive training in the complex nature of such harassment, and in policies and procedures;
3. The quasi-legal work of investigation and advising complainants should be separated from the psychological counseling function by creating a half-time position to do the investigative work;
4. The University needs to contract with people outside the campus who are trained in labour relations generally and are knowledgeable about sexual/gender harassment in particular to investigate and work to resolve cases at the formal level;
5. In accordance with Canadian human rights legislation, sexual/gender harassment is, by definition, viewed as constituting discrimination. Harassed persons should not need to prove that their harassment constitutes discrimination because the University's policy should explicitly accept responsibility for ensuring safe and non-sexualized conditions for employment, research, and study.
6. A large-scale, University-wide survey of sexual/gender harassment should be conducted to help program planning and evaluation.
   a. Statistics on sexual/gender harassment should be computerized anonymously to help develop effective educational programs and policies;
7. The sexual harassment telephone number should be listed separately in the University phone book, rather than under Student Counseling, and also on the book's cover;
8. Information on date rape should be widely distributed; and
9. Reports of sexual assault should be regularly published.

The first recommendation was a strategic way of addressing the most overt forms of the ruling relations on campus. Three examples leading up to the creation of the PACSW illustrate the need for the recommendation and how other groups attempted to address sexism on campus before the PACSW. The three examples include college papers such as the Red-Eye, which was created by the Saskatoon Engineering Student Society (SESS), The Bullsheet, and The Spreader, which were both created by the Agriculture Student Association (ASA). These three publications were filled with offensive material that was not only sexist, but also racist and homophobic. A woman from the Women's Centre at the time stated, "under the guise of sarcasm, comments were made trivializing wife battery, gang rape, child abuse, and sexual assault" and "these comments perpetuate dangerous myths and negative stereotypes and sex roles of men and women" (USSU Women's Centre, March 6, 1987).

Two issues of the SESS's Red-Eye publications, October 3, 1979 and January 27, 1981 were ruled by the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission Board in March 1984 as violating section 14(1). Section 14(1) prohibits publication:

> Of any sign, symbol, emblem, or other representation which restricts a person's guaranteed rights, exposes him or her to hatred, or affronts the dignity of any person on the basis of sex, race, creed, religion, colour, marital status, physical ability, age, nationality, ancestry, or place of origin. (The Sheaf, July 10, 1986, p. 1)

"The board agreed that the paper exposed women to hatred by promoting sexual violence against women and by showing women as objects and as less than human" (Pavo, March 15, 1984, p. 1). Justice Mr. J.D. Millikan argued that section 14(1) of the Saskatchewan Human Rights Code did not include the words "articles" and "graphs." Saskatchewan (Human Rights Commission) v Engineering Students' Society, University of Saskatchewan set in motion a revision to section 14(1) to include the term "articles."

The USSU Women's Centre took action against the ASA's <u>The Bullsheet</u> in 1987 after attacks upon USSU Women's Centre members took place in a <u>Bullsheet</u> publication. <u>The Bullsheet</u> article printed that the USSU Women's Centre members were, "overbuilt, commie, pinko dikes worthy of the underwear that will likely never be taken off award" (Robertson, March 25, 1987). Five actions were taken to address <u>The Bullsheet</u> article:

1. A public condemnation by the USSU of the contents and the individuals involved in writing and publishing <u>The Bullsheet</u>;
2. A letter was sent by Mr. Flaten, the President of Agriculture, to the President of the ASA Mr. Dow, requesting a public apology for the latest issue;
3. The University Board for Student Discipline was called to deal with the matter;
4. Individuals lodged complaints with the Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission; and
5. It was up to individuals to take legal action if they so desired. The USSU had been advised by their lawyer not to pay any legal fees for individual legal action (Flaten, 1987, Memo to USSU Women's Centre).

Furthermore, Mr. Flaten wrote to the USSU Women's Centre:

> I understand that you have stopped circulating your petition as it is not necessary for the sexual harassment procedures. I am happy to hear this for I am very concerned that the increased publicity of the Bullsheet issue will cause lots of harm but of no real benefit. This is certainly not to say that the issues of sexism, racism, etc. should not be raised but I think petitions do not help education about these issues. In a similar light, I suggest that you restrict your comments to the media to what you have said in your written statement and that the Board for Student Discipline is dealing with the issue. (Flaten, 1987, Memo to USSU Women's Centre)

The memo did not explicitly say who was harmed by the members of the USSU Women's Centre fighting for their right to feel safe in the public space of the University of Saskatchewan campus and to hold those accountable who diminished that feeling of safety. However, as mentioned previously, the university's reputation was always a main concern. And in this particular case it was not just the broad reputation of the university at stake, but the specific College of Agriculture. Mr. Flaten expressed his concern over the issue, yet he did his best to silence the women by disagreeing with the way the women were attempting to educate the university community about sexism.

One last example illustrates the PACSW's recommendation to ensure all areas of the university campus were educated about sexual harassment – The Spreader. The Spreader was another paper created by the ASA. A 50-page publication was produced by the ASA in 1989 containing derogatory cartoons, jokes, and stories about women, minorities, and homosexuals. The University of Saskatchewan responded to The Spreader by issuing a $1000.00 fine and the ASA "was ordered to apologize in writing to the University community, and placed the [ASA] on one year's probation" and "the Spreader or any other [ASA] publication [was] to be discontinued immediately" (University News, March 29, 1989). Members of the Women's Centre were not happy with the university's response:

> We demand that a code of ethics be put into their constitution, that courses are incorporated into their curriculum with elements of human rights, social values, and responsible group behavior…overall, the image of the university, not the issues, have been dealt with. The university is proposing short-term solutions, not long term and this incident is sure to rise again. (USSU Women's Centre, March 16, 1990)

The response from the Women's Centre demonstrates its effort to hold the university accountable in dealing with the ruling relations inherent in the student publications, and more broadly the sexist culture of the University of Saskatchewan.

How the University of Saskatchewan responded to ruling relations led to the PASCWs second recommendation. The chain of action following a complaint reveals the lack of the recommended expertise. The *University of Saskatchewan Council and College Regulations on Examinations and Student Grievances, Appeals and Discipline Regulations* of September 1992 and the *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment* required the complainant to be sent to white males who were in higher positions of authority. According to the *Student Grievances Appeals and Discipline Regulations* if a complaint of sexual assault was made, the student was directed to the SH Office, and then the appropriate Dean, followed by

other university officials and then a decision was made. At that point an appeal could be made which directed the student to the Board for Student Appeals. Figure 1 below is a compact version of the 1992 *University of Saskatchewan Council and College Regulations on Examinations and Student Grievances, Appeals and Discipline Regulations*. The orange lines in Figure 1 show the visual chain of action described above.

Figure 4.1: University of Saskatchewan Council and College Regulations on Examinations and Student Grievances, Appeals and Discipline Regulations – September 1992.
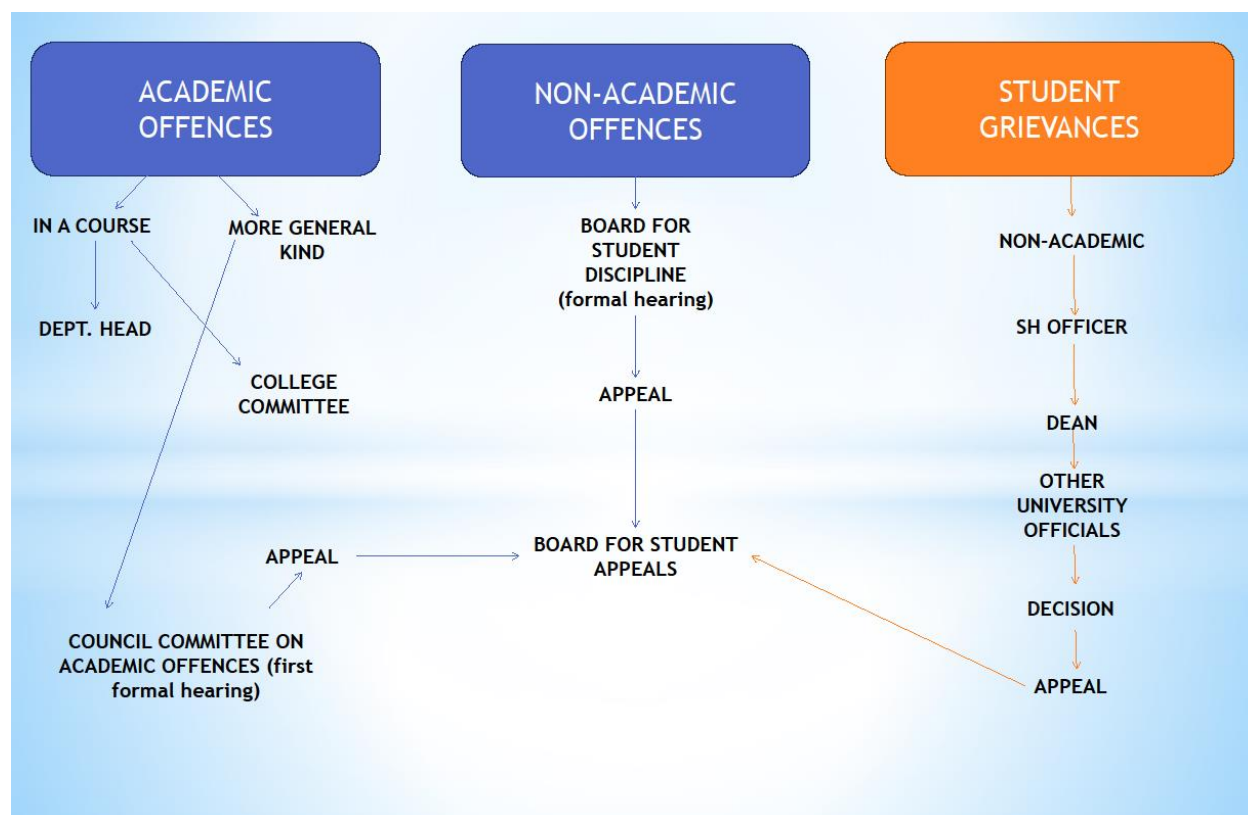
If an appeal was made, there was a three-step process:

1. The student applies in writing to the Dean of the College in which she/he is enrolled, documenting the grievance or allegation of injustice as fully as possible and requesting a review;
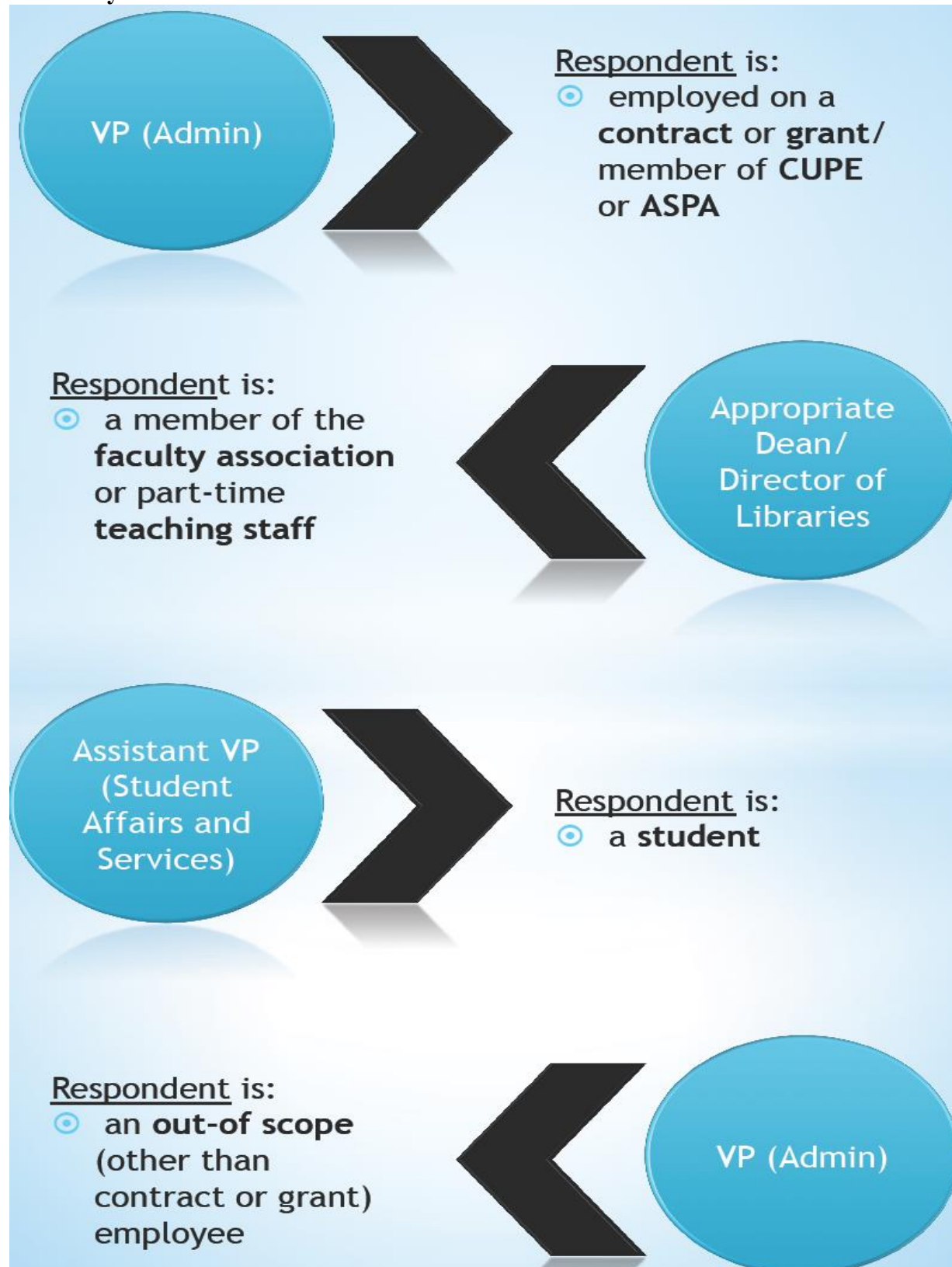2. The Dean, after receiving the application, meets with the student to discuss the grievance. (The Dean may suggest new initiatives for resolving the issue, including for example the involvement in the discussion of other responsible university officials);
3. If the student decides to pursue the matter by way of a formal appeal, the Dean refers the case to the Board of Student Appeals for hearing and adjudication.

The text of *the University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment* was also used to deal with sexual assault complaints by students, faculty, and staff. According to the policy there were four steps in a sexual assault complaint: the initial complaint, formal complaint, investigation, and appropriate action. The initial complaint included five points: 1) upon the receipt of a complaint, informal discussion and counsel took place between the complainant and the SH Officer; 2) the complainant would receive options to proceed including mediation. However, mediation was pursued only if both parties agreed to the particular approach; 3) the SH Officer could screen for invalid complaints; 4) if the complainant decided to move forward with a formal complaint, "the complainant should seek the advice of the Sexual Harassment Officer to determine whether a "sufficient nexus" with the University had been established to identify the incident as a potential University offence" (U of S Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment, 1986, p.7), and 5) information is collected by the SH Officer for statistical purposes. The second step, formal complaint, involved the complainant submitting a written request for formal action to move forward. Once the SH Officer received the request, it was forwarded to the appropriate university authority. As illustrated in Figure 2 below, if the respondent was employed on a contract or grant or was a member of ASPA or CUPE, the complaint was submitted to the Assistant Vice-President (Administration); if the respondent was a member of the Faculty Association or part-time teaching staff, the complaint was submitted to

Figure 4.2: Destination of Formal Complaint Based on Respondents Affiliation to University

VP (Admin)

Respondent is:
⊙ employed on a **contract** or **grant**/ member of **CUPE** or **ASPA**

Respondent is:
⊙ a member of the **faculty association** or part-time **teaching staff**

Appropriate Dean/ Director of Libraries

Assistant VP (Student Affairs and Services)

Respondent is:
⊙ a **student**

Respondent is:
⊙ an **out-of scope** (other than contract or grant) employee

VP (Admin)

the appropriate Dean, Director of Libraries, or the Director of Extension and the Vice-President (Administration) would be informed. When the respondent was a student the complaint was submitted to the Assistant Vice-President of Student Affairs and Services. Lastly, if the respondent was an out-of-scope employee, the complaint would be submitted to the Vice-President (Administration). The individuals with whom complaints were filed were not likely to have undergone gender-sensitive training on how to respond to such complaints. When the formal complaint was received by the appropriate university authority, the delegate would review the complaint. If deemed necessary and appropriate, the university authority would interview the complainant. As well, at that step of investigation, the respondent would be informed of the complaint made against them. The Dean, Director, or Administrative Head of the college or department the respondent was affiliated with, was also notified. The last step, appropriate action, involved the university authority taking appropriate action based on the information collected during the investigation stage (see Figure 3). The policies and procedures on sexual harassment specifically stated that appropriate action was to take place on the part of the delegated university official. However, nowhere in the policy did it explicitly claim what the "appropriate action" entailed. Complainants had to provide the details of their experience several times to several people in following the chain of action specified in the *University of Saskatchewan Council and College Regulations on Examinations and Student Grievances, Appeals and Discipline Regulations* and the *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment*. The Dean(s) and university officials to whom complainants were sharing their stories did not have any sexual violence training, which limited their ability to provide sensitive and empathetic responses.

Figure 4.3: University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment: Procedures for Dealing with Sexual Harassment

1. Initial Complaint
 i. Informal discussion and counsel
 ii. Mediation; if both parties agree
 iii. Screen for invalid complaints
 iv. Complainant decides whether to make a formal complaint
  i. Information collected if formal complaint is made

2. Formal Complaint
 i. Complainant to submit a written request for formal action to SHO
 ii. SHO transmits formal complaint to appropriate University authority

3. Investigation
 i. Appropriate University Authority will:
  i. Review and interview complainant (if appropriate)
  ii. Inform respondent
  iii. Inform appropriate department which the respondent is affiliated with

4. Appropriate Action
 i. Disciplinary authority remains with offices responsible for discipline
 ii. SHO provided with status report from appropriate University authority
 iii. Complainant may request VP (Admin) review status of complaint
 iv. The university may initiate disciplinary action in cases where vindictive/malicious complaints are lodged

The PACSWs third and fourth recommendations go hand-in-hand and stemmed from the second recommendation. Education is the key to being able to provide 'appropriate action.' People who were trained in responding to victims of sexual assault would be able to communicate with the victim in a way that did not lend itself to victim blaming or the many myths surrounding the issue. The third and fourth recommendations would also allow the university to move away from delegating inappropriate staff to respond to such a complex and emotional experience.

The PACSWs fifth recommendation was useful in encouraging the university to hold itself accountable in providing a safe space for female students, faculty, and staff to work and learn. Examples from the ROL report illustrate why the PACSW pushed for a meaningful response from the university. One female faculty member stated:

> *Women who have been here five or more years should get survivor medals from the president.* (PACSW, ROL, 1993, p. 101)

Other responses included (Joyce, Status of Women Quotes – 1993):

> *I and other women I know here have many times felt unsafe, either physically or intellectually. That is a terrible price to pay in order to share in and contribute to the life of the university* – unknown author.

> *Until our safety is guaranteed on this campus we are second-class citizens here* – unknown author.

> *Date rape is a reality for too many young women students and often occurs in university residences. Consciousness-raising around this issue is necessary* – women faculty member.

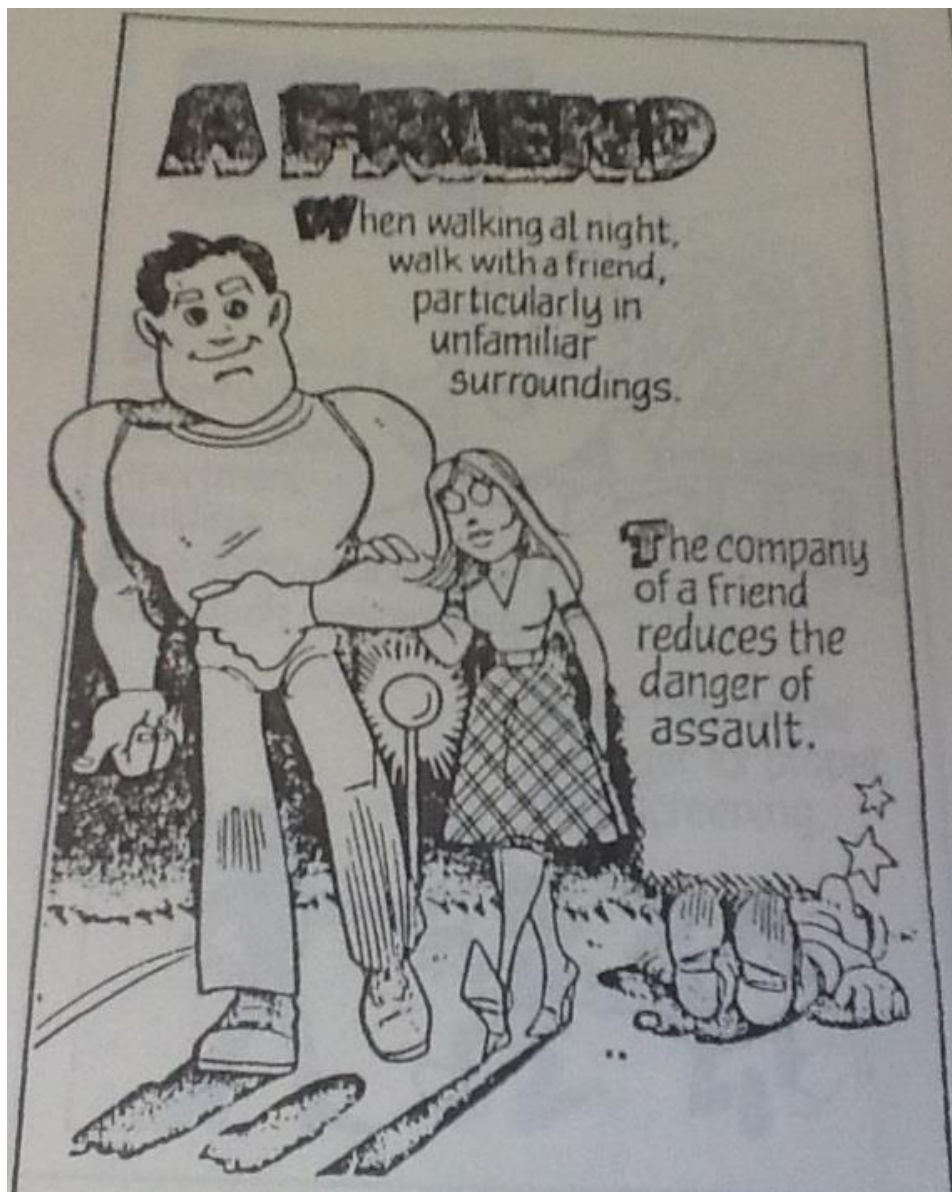Also, a group of ASPA women maintained:

> *The answer lies with institutional commitment at all levels. Support for equity must be strong and unequivocal. To facilitate change, the university must take steps to increase its awareness. The university must also redefine what is normal and acceptable behavior.* (PACSW, ROL, 1993, p. 147)

These quotes provide an insight into women's lived experiences entering the male-dominant environment of the University of Saskatchewan. Dworkin's, Brownmiller's, MacKinnon's, and Lorde's texts are substantiated by these women's experiences. The women's words exemplify the chilly and unsafe climate that pervaded the University of Saskatchewan. Female students, staff, and faculty were not taken seriously and many felt endangered at the same time. The words also demonstrate how sexual assault was a pervasive problem at the University of Saskatchewan, yet ruling relations were silencing women and education on sexual assault was not sufficient to change the culture. As claimed in the texts of Dworkin and Mackinnon, the culture on campus was dictated by social roles. Women were viewed as transgressors in the mid-to-late twentieth century post-secondary institution.

The women's experiences expressed in the ROL report helped explain the PACSWs sixth recommendation: to have the University of Saskatchewan conduct a large-scale survey of sexual/gender harassment in order to improve programming, planning, and evaluation. However, depending on the number of respondents and the accuracy of their responses, the outcome would be no different or potentially worse. An Advisor to the President position advocated for in 1990 was declined because President Ivany maintained that the university did not have the funds. If the survey results showed that the University of Saskatchewan did not have a problem of sexual assault then any current funds could be cut and no further resources would be forthcoming.

The PACSWs seventh recommendation was important because providing the Sexual Harassment Office phone number separately in the University of Saskatchewan phone book and on the cover of the phonebook provided easier access to services for victims of sexual assault. Widely distributed information on date rape, the PACSW's eighth recommendation, highlighted the change in focus from stranger assault to acquaintance rape. The PACSW intended that the

campus community be aware that although stranger rapes occurred, in most cases the perpetrator was not hiding behind the bushes; rather, the victim of sexual assault already knew the perpetrator. The picture below illustrates the university's misplaced focus on stranger sexual assault (PACSW, August 13, 1991). The text on the poster "the company of a friend reduces the danger of assault" clearly represents the University of Saskatchewan's focus on stranger sexual assault. The man lying on the ground represents the stranger that was lurking in the bushes who was intercepted by the woman's "friend." The size of the male and female in the picture below also depict how the two genders were viewed. The male is tall and muscular, while the female is short and petite, leaning into the male with a "you are my hero" look.

A FRIEND

When walking at night, walk with a friend, particularly in unfamiliar surroundings.

The company of a friend reduces the danger of assault.

As Brownmiller maintained:

> Women are trained to be rape victims. To simply learn the word "rape" is to take instruction in the power relationship between males and females. To talk about rape, even with nervous laughter, is to acknowledge a woman's special victim status…rape is something awful that happens…it is the dark at the top of the stairs, the undefinable abyss that is just around the corner, and unless we watch our step it might become our destiny. (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 343)

In the above piece of text from Brownmiller, I argue that she is not referring to stranger sexual assault, but rather how some women are deceived into believing that someone they know and trust would not violate them by perpetrating the act of sexual assault upon them.

Lastly, the PACSWs final recommendation was to push for more reports of sexual assault to be regularly published. The last recommendation was necessary because of all of the reasons provided in the other eight recommendations. The climate at the University of Saskatchewan was chilly, sexual assault was a prevalent problem, and the university was not doing everything in its power to address the problem of campus sexual assault.

In addition to writing the ROL report, the PACSW was also involved in providing revisions to a number of existing texts: in particular, the university's mission statement and the sexual harassment policy. The Committee approached the university's mission statement with the goal of advancing employment and education equity through [the university's] policies and practices and, in particular, to address the needs of Aboriginal people, persons with disabilities, visible minorities and women" (G. Joyce, Personal Communication, February 5, 2015). The PACSW provided some broader suggestions to the mission statement in regards to the recognition of women. Specifically, the PACSW maintained that a 'women' office was required as opposed to an 'equity' office because from the view of the then-current lens, women were not seen or heard. The effect of the term 'equity,' according to the PACSW, was that women became submerged and their experiences became invisible. In report card fashion, the Committee argued that "on a scale from one to ten, this institution is at about two with respect to its understanding of women's needs and its treatment of women" (G. Joyce, Personal Communication, February 5, 2015). Furthermore, the Committee argued that it was necessary to use the words "women and men" instead of "the individual" since the word "individual" has usually been meant to mean the

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white male. Therefore, the mission statement, which was a "guiding document for future planning and resource allocation" (G. Joyce, Personal Communication, February 5, 2015), required the explicit mention of gender equity in the mission statement. As well, the PACSW argued that gender equity in the mission statement did not only affect the campus community. The broader society was affected also. The PACSW articulated this point:

> The inclusion of gender equity in the Mission Statement of the University of Saskatchewan would…signal to the citizens of this province that their university acknowledges its leadership responsibility in effecting the kind of social change that would allow both genders to make a full contribution to the quality of life in our society. (G. Joyce, Personal Communication, February 5, 2015)

Other groups at the University of Saskatchewan were also working to address the problem of sexual assault on campus at the same time the PACSW was active from 1990 to 1993. The SH Office, under the umbrella term of sexual harassment was also addressing sexual assault parallel to the work, but separate from, the PACSW.

4.3 Sexual Harassment Office

On May 7, 1986, the Board of Governors approved the *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment*. In part four, Procedures for Dealing with Sexual Harassment, the policy specifies three ways the university would deal with sexual harassment:

1. A centrally located, clearly identified office will be established and a Sexual Harassment Officer will be appointed to receive and evaluate complaints;

2. The appointee should have considerable experience with the University environment, skill in facilitation and familiarity with the sexual harassment definition and its application; and

3. Where collective agreements currently provide grievance procedures, the complainant should have the option of contacting either the appropriate union representative or the Sexual Harassment Officer. (University of Saskatchewan, 1986)

The policy also stated that the University of Saskatchewan "is committed to providing the best environment possible for teaching, research, study, work and play" (University of Saskatchewan, 1986). In the 1980s, generally sexual assault fell under the umbrella term of sexual harassment at the University of Saskatchewan. The policy defined sexual harassment in such a way as to include sexual assault, as follows:

a) Verbal abuse or threats;
b) Unwelcome jokes, innuendos, or taunting about a person's body;
c) Unwelcome display of sexually offensive material;
d) Offensive gestures or facial expressions, humiliating, insulting or intimidating behaviour associated with sexuality;
e) Unnecessary physical contact such as touching, patting, pinching or punching;
f) Unwelcome invitations, whether indirect or explicit, to engage in behaviour of sexual nature;
g) Indecent exposure or sexual assault;
h) Any behaviour or comments of a sexually-oriented nature that a reasonable person would understand as unwelcome or offensive.

In the list above, e) "unnecessary physical contact such as touching and patting" relates specifically to sexual assault as sexual assault is defined by Canada's Criminal Code.

As mentioned previously, the sexual harassment policy stated that, "a centrally located, clearly identified office will be established and a Sexual Harassment Officer will be appointed to receive and evaluate complaints" (University of Saskatchewan, 1986, p. 6) and provided the four steps to addressing complaints of sexual assault; initial complaint, formal complaint, investigation, and appropriate action (see Figure 3 above). In order to implement the policy and associated procedures, a Sexual Harassment Policy Advisory Committee would be formed. The Committee was to include two members from a number of groups on campus: the Administration, the Faculty Association, CUPE, ASPA, and the USSU. The responsibilities of the ten Committee members were to 1) assist with aspects of a complaint at the discretion of the SH Officer; 2) evaluate the policy periodically to ensure it was effective and to make

recommendations for change; and 3) assist the SH Officer with educating the campus community.

Educating the University of Saskatchewan campus was to be accomplished by preparing and distributing literature and pamphlets on sexual harassment/sexual assault, how it may occur, and how the University of Saskatchewan was to address the issue. The SH Office also provided detailed information to campus agencies and groups who were likely to encounter complaints. Such groups included union offices, Deans and College Advisors, campus security, residence officials, Student Health, Student Counseling, and the Student Help Centre. Lastly, the SH Officer was to initiate (or if requested) participate in discussions and educational meetings that focused on sexual harassment/sexual assault and the University complaint procedures. Other units on campus were also to play a role in educating the campus community via information in university calendars, and college and student handbooks through the Registrar and USSU offices. As well, bargaining units were to make an effort to educate their members with leaflets distributed to new employees and students through the Registrar, the USSU, the Personnel Office, and orientation seminars.

As stated in the 1986 *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures Sexual Harassment Policy*, a third-time position for a SH Officer was appointed (later became a half time position in 1992 and a full-time position in 1993). Dr. Pond was the first SH Officer to be hired with responsibilities that included providing education, receiving and evaluating complaints of sexual harassment/sexual assault, counseling of complaints, policy revision and administrative duties, as she sat on the Sexual Harassment Policy Advisory Committee. Furthermore, she was to provide psychological support and quasi-legal counseling for victims. As illustrated in Figure 3 above, initial complaints made to the SH Officer involved informal

discussion and counseling with the complainant. Mediation would occur if both the complainant

and the respondent both agreed to the practice. From the initial complaint the SH Officer

determined whether the complainant was making a false report. At the end of the initial

complaint, it was up to the complainant whether s/he wanted to move forward with a formal

complaint. Formal complaints that were made to Ms. Pond were to be referred to a senior

university official as per the sexual harassment policy (see figure 2 above).

The SH Office created annual reports in 1992 and 1994 during the period under review.

The 1992 annual report maintained that the educational component of the SHO was an ongoing

issue. One major area that required further work was making people more aware that the

University would not tolerate sexual harassment/sexual assault. Ms. Pond also argued for more

research to be conducted, such as a large-scale survey of the occurrence of sexual

harassment/sexual assault at the University of Saskatchewan. She believed that the research

would be important for two reasons. First, research would provide a relevant basis for educating

members of the campus community. Second, the study could provide anonymized statistics and

significant information to the SH Office to assist in identifying groups that required further

education (Pond, 1992). Since 1986, according to the 1992 annual report, 73 complaints of

sexual harassment/sexual assault had been received. The report provided information on date and

acquaintance rape and why education was necessary. Ms. Pond articulated that often males who

sexually assaulted a woman did not perceive their behaviour as rape and did not feel responsible

for the assault. Traditional masculine sex-role orientation and poor communication between

males and females were two of the factors that increased the risk of sexual assault. Therefore, the

SH Officer stated that education for males and females in the university community was

necessary; "Males need to become more sensitive to the seriousness of their behaviour and the

implications of adhering to a masculine sex-role orientation" (Pond, 1992, p.8). An example of

such a masculine sex-role orientation includes the stereotype of saying that the word "no"

actually means "yes." Furthermore, "women need to become better acquainted with the various

factors that leave them at risk and also need to learn to be more assertive" (Pond, 1992, p.8). The

education directed to female students, then, reinforced the idea that the onus was on them not to

be sexually assaulted and in many cases the woman would be blamed for being sexually

assaulted. Brownmiller's work expresses this point:

> "She was asking for it" is the classic way a rapist shifts the burden of blame from himself
> to his victim. The popularity of the belief that a woman seduces or "cock-teases" a man
> into rape, or precipitates a rape by incautious behaviour, is part of the smoke screen that
> men throw up to obscure their actions. The insecurity of women runs so deep that many,
> possibly most, rape victims agonize afterward in an effort to uncover what it was in their
> behaviour, their manner, their dress that triggered this awful act against them.
> (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 347)

Brownmiller explains how the blame shifts swiftly from the perpetrator to the victim of sexual

assault. Myths surrounding sexual assault were self-perpetuated by victims analyzing their own

behaviour, manner, and/or their outfit. Some woman may have convinced themselves that they

did 'deserve it' because of the way they dressed or behaved. Dworkin's work extends

Brownmiller's analysis of ruling relations by describing how victim blaming further hurts

victims of sexual assault:

> We hurry to forget. It can't have happened, we say, or it happens all the time, we say – it
> is too rare to be credible or too common to matter. We won't be believed or no one will
> care; or both. (Dworkin, 1997, p. 201)

The quotes above by Brownmiller and Dworkin provide an important theoretical backdrop to the

PACSWs recommendations to widely distribute information on date rape and to push for more

reports of sexual assault to be regularly published. Educating the campus community, the

Committee felt, was necessary to demolish the myths surrounding sexual assault.

The 1994 SH Office annual report was more statistically focused. Tables such as Table 1 were

provided to indicate that during the academic years 1986/87 to 1988/89 the sexual

harassment/sexual assault complaints did not vary too much. However, in the academic year

1989/1990 there was a large increase in reporting: 21sexual harassment/sexual assault

complaints were made. The following 1990/91 academic year the number of complaints

decreased and the following two academic years 1991/92 and 1992/93 the number of complaints

reached close to the same number of complaints as the 1989/90 academic year. The last

academic year 1993/94 shows a very large increase in complaints at 32. I think it is safe to

speculate that the report, *The Status of Women's Studies*, published by the Ad Hoc Committee of

the Committee on Academic Affairs and *The Status of Women on Campus* workshop, which

provided education to the University of Saskatchewan campus, may have empowered more

women to come forward with their complaints. The large increase in the 1993/94 academic year

may also have been because of the work of the PACSW. As the Committee educated campus

members about sexual assault via their request for submissions and publication of their results in

the ROL report, awareness about the problem would have encouraged women to launch

complaints.

Table 4.1: Informal and Formal Complaints Made from 1986 to 1994		
Academic Year	Total Complaints	Formal Complaints
1986/87	11	0
1987/88	16	2
1988/89	11	2
1989/90	21	5
1990/91	14	0
1991/92	19	0
1992/93	18	3
1993/94	32	0

As can be seen in Table 1 above, in only four of the eight academic years were formal

complaints made with no particular pattern. The 1993/94 *University of Saskatchewan Annual*

Report of the Sexual Harassment Office provided thoughts on why the numbers of formal

complaints were so low:

> Many complainants are not willing to use formal procedures to deal with the situation because they are concerned that their complaint will not be taken seriously, or that they will be retaliated against, or be labelled as a troublemaker. For these reasons, a number of complainants express a preference for addressing the problem using informal solutions. (University of Saskatchewan, 1994)

All of the reasons that victims were too intimidated to disclose in the above quote were part of

the reason that some women did not want to provide submissions to the PACSW for the ROL

report. The women feared retaliation. Furthermore, as described by Brownmiller, a woman, even

after discussion with the SH Officer, may still feel that she acted or dressed in a way which made

the sexual assault her fault.

The 1994 annual report also provided information on the SH Office's educational

activities. Since the 1992 annual report the SH Office appeared to increase its educational efforts.

The SH Office provided workshops and presentations on sexual harassment/sexual assault, the

SH Officer's services were advertised in University publications, and the SH Office distributed

brochures and other printed materials (University of Saskatchewan, 1994). The SHO also

conducted a poster campaign and bookmarks were developed. The posters were sent to all

Deans, Department Heads, and Administrators to display in their department. The bookmarks

were sent to the libraries on campus. As well, a mass mail out was conducted to provide every

employee on campus with a brochure on sexual harassment and information about the SH Office

was placed in the Students' Union Survival Calendar.

One difficulty in the SH Officer's educational strategy was an over-reliance on cooperation from administrative staff. The posters may not have been placed on bulletin boards by the departments as expected by the sexual harassment officer. If the specific Dean, Department Head, or Administrator did not believe that sexual harassment/sexual assault was a problem on the University of Saskatchewan campus, they may have taken it upon themselves not to place the posters. Therefore, the information may not have extended as widely as the SH Officer assumed. Another opportunity for the university campus to receive more education could be actively blocked.

4.4 Barriers

The PACSW faced many barriers in reaching people to educate them about sexual assault on the University of Saskatchewan campus. The barriers came from both within and outside the PACSW.

4.4.1 Barriers within the PACSW. The PACSW faced two barriers within the PACSW. The first one was the resistance to the ground rules that were made to situate the doings of the committee. The idea that "we're all feminists, we're all women, we all get along" was not the case (Participant #1). Emotional investment was also an issue. As in any group, there were differences of opinion on the nature and extent of the problem and strategies for solutions. As one participant explained:

> There's such a heavy emotional investment and I think…any disagreements we had, had to do with the fact that…one person had an extreme emotional investment in it, which is understandable. And sometimes I think that maybe had shut some other people down a little bit…so they may not had felt that they could've said all the things they wanted that that person then, their ideas and how to shape it were pretty much adopted because no one wanted to upset her…so, you know, even though it was a collective it didn't necessarily work out that way in terms of the overall shaping of the document…we have these ideals of working as a collective, but they don't always work out in practice. (Participant #2)

The same participant went on to describe how such emotional investment can wear a person down and, in turn, a person may not function as well in a group. When the cohesion of the committee starts to break down, the doings of the committee were placed on the shoulders of fewer people, increasing the workload for those few committee members. The increased workload would be difficult for all committee members because the Committee was not their main job. Instead, the committee members were using their time outside of their full-time position to advocate for women's issues and to help make the public space of the institution safer for women.

4.4.2 Barriers outside the PACSW. Barriers were also in place outside of the PACSW. The five barriers included the problematic, overrepresentation of males in key environments, colleagues, theSH Office, and the burden of unpaid work.

4.4.2.1 Problematic. During the early 1990s the university was affected by a recession that occurred in the province of Saskatchewan and throughout Canada. The province was unable to provide the University of Saskatchewan any increases in funding. Funding was also scarce from the federal government: "The feds were cutting back on their educational funding…so he was pulling back on all post-secondary cost sharing funding" (Participant #3). One committee member articulated the problem that the cutbacks created:

> In the mid to late 90s there were a lot of cutbacks, and where there's cutbacks, when people suffer financially, and when a university is being cutback you can bet that anything to do with women or minorities where it's of a disadvantage fall by the way side. Yeah, people go back to their…old ways, which they think worked for them…people fall back to the old ways instead of moving forward. So in a sense maybe that's maybe one of the reasons why this ah maybe didn't catalyze the big changes that we were hoping for. (Participant #2)

The economic recession nationally and locally in Saskatchewan prevented recommendations from coming to fruition. President Ivany's declining to implement the President's Officer of Advisor position on the status of women was a primary example.

4.4.2.2 Overrepresentation of males in key positions. A number of participants felt that President Ivany and University of Saskatchewan administration did not actually support the work of the PACSW. The PACSW assisted with improving the sexual harassment policy and one participant recalls her experience discussing the policy with male university members:

> I recall one meeting with the Faculty Association, we were looking at the draft report of a harassment policy and the guys around the table were, you know, snickering. You know, how do you get anywhere with these…archaic attitudes." (Participant #1)

Another participant expressed that the "lack of female leadership…in the higher ranks" (Participant #2) may have been a problem in addressing the issues affecting women on the university campus.

There was also the problem of there being too many hands in the kitchen, so to speak. As one participant explains:

> A woman's life is being threatened in this case…you can have HR involved, you can have health and wellness involved, another arm of the university, you can have the harassment officer involved…the unions, the woman herself…each one of those has different interests in terms of containing what's going on, different amounts of willingness to solve the problem. Wouldn't it be a lot easier if we just solved the problem, you know, if we just made the situation better? (Participant #1)

The PACSW recognized the dilemma of competing interests, as indicated above, in its formulation of a recommendation regarding formal complaints of sexism that the University needs to contract with people outside the campus who are trained in labour relations generally and are knowledgeable about sexual/gender harassment in particular to investigate and work to resolve cases at the formal level.

4.4.2.3 Resistance from colleagues. Once the final report was submitted one

participant said her "phone went wild" (Participant #1). Unfortunately, many calls that she

received were not of the congratulatory kind. Rather, they were calls from the university

community regarding how they "misrepresented their department" or the "apparent holes in the

data", for example. The same participant recalls:

> I remember one leader at the university phoning and saying, "you shouldn't have said
> what you said about my department. This is not what goes on." He went on to say that
> "oh you're gonna cause a snowball; all the things are gonna get out of control with this
> report… (Participant #1)

The participant explains how that was one of many "hidden responses" (Participant #1). The man

did not publicly state his views. Rather, he just "land-blasted" (Participant #1) the committee

regarding what was said about his particular department. Their colleagues presented hidden

responses to issues with the report's data to cast doubt on the value of the report, even though

they themselves had not provided any submissions. The criticism did not only come from male

voices. One large concern that came from the women on campus was that the PACSW was an

"old girls' network" instead of an "old boys' network." The same group of women were "doing

the same kind of work and not opening up" (Participant #6) the work to all women on campus.

This criticism came mainly from clerical and administrative staff. Other non-hidden responses

exemplified how some of the university community was not yet ready to recognize the issues

surrounding the status of women on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

4.4.2.3.1 On Campus News. After the ROL report was issued a University of

Saskatchewan history professor responded to the report in the *On Campus News* in January and

February of 1994. He titled his response "Uninventing a Reinvention." In the first part of his

response he attacked the "anonymous testimony" presented in the report and the reports'

"consistently negative attitude" (Hayden, January 21, 1994). The history professor went on to

say:

> In the earliest days women students at the U of S were known for their self-reliance and independence. From the 1920s onward, however, The Sheaf was very patronizing toward women, and they did not protest. In fact, many seemed to have enjoyed being pampered and put on a pedestal. (Hayden, January 21, 1994)

Another problem that Mr. Hayden found with the report was that there was a "scarcity" of

quantitative data. Moreover, he says that the writers of the ROL left out information:

> Instead of reinventing the past, perhaps it is time to work on the future…I would suggest that the problem that needs to be addressed by women interested in the academic life is not reinventing a legacy in hopes of adjusting the existing system to accommodate women. A more useful goal would be the reinventing of graduate studies and university tenure and promotion systems that fit the lives of lay women, and men. But that's another story… (Hayden, February 18, 1994)

Mr. Hayden's *On Campus News* articles received a number of responses. One response, from a

committee member of the PACSW, was placed as an article in the *On Campus News* instead of

simply being put in as a letter to the editor. Her response at the beginning of the article addressed

the power play of Mr. Hayden's response; "the official university historian uses his power and

influence to replace women's version on the reality of their lived experiences at this university

with his own male version" (Gingell, March 4, 1994). Furthermore, she commented that

certainly women have different experiences and so not all women will agree with all or any

aspects, of the ROL report. However, "we know that there are powerful forces in our society that

work to naturalize male privilege so that it becomes and remains invisible not only to some men

but also to some women. That doesn't make the privilege unreal, just hard to fight" (Gingell,

March 14, 1994). She further argued that his argument "overlooks both how small and

vulnerable a group women at the U of S must have been at that time and the powerful

socialization women received to be nice and accept that the best they could hope for was to be a

revered wife and mother" (Gingell, OCN March 14, 1994). Two staff members weighed into the fray. In a letter to the editor in *On Campus News*, one staff member stated that it is "strange how some things change but sadly how many things remain the same" (Niekamp, March 18, 1994). The other staff member articulated that she had followed Mr. Hayden's three part series and felt the entire time that he was missing "the bigger picture." As well, she felt that the committee member's response to Mr. Hayden addressed "the concerns I had had but she also regained a little of women's voices on campus – for that I am grateful" (Beneteau, March 14, 1994). Mr. Hayden then issued a rebuttal, "I remain convinced that the report is not worthy of a university committee because it is based on limited documentation and a small self-selected sample of opinion" (Hayden, March 18, 1994).

In a later issue, another letter to the editors of the *On Campus News* appeared, which expanded on the previously issued committee member's statement:

> The power and prestige that [Mr. Hayden] has received in the On Campus News gives him more impact and hence assigns more power and authority to his opinions. His articles are placed in such a way that they are prominent and this is reinforced by including a photograph of him in every one of his articles, the bearded, bespectacled male professional face. Those people who responded to his articles…remain faceless – invisible. (Dyck, March 31, 1994 OCN)

Women wrote letters to the OCN editor, but unlike the history professor, they remained invisible. However, during the time period under investigation, a movement called the White Ribbon Campaign began in Canada to combat the views expressed by Mr. Hayden in his "Uninventing a Reinvention." The White Ribbon Campaign "asked men to wear ribbons as a pledge to never commit, condone or remain silent about violence against women and girls" (White Ribbon, 2015). Educational tools such as educational programs that challenge the language and behaviours continued to be used by men and boys as part of the White Ribbon Campaign, along

with strategies and models to "inspire men to understand and embrace the incredible potential they have to part of positive change" (White Ribbon, 2015).

The PACSWs efforts to raise awareness and prevention of sexual assault faced many barriers from within the Committee itself and the University of Saskatchewan campus. Another barrier towards this end was the inadequate services of the SH Office.

4.4.2.4 Sexual Harassment Office. There was consensus among some of the participants that the SH Officer needed to focus more on addressing sexual assault on the University of Saskatchewan campus. One woman on the committee had a negative experience with the SH Officer and so when she had concerns about her supervisor she turned to campus security rather than the SH Office. When she connected with campus security a female security guard who responded was much more helpful because, as the participant explained, "she herself had undergone workplace harassment so she knew exactly what I was going through" (Participant #2). One of the major concerns holding back the SH Office from properly addressing concerns for sexual assault victims was the lack of options. One committee member explained:

> Everyone who's ever tried to complain I think comes, comes to the same um conclusion is that the burden of proof is always on you as the victim and I didn't think she really understood what that meant and didn't have the empathy and sort of the realization that if you don't want to go to court or lay a, lodge a formal complaint, what other options are out there? (Participant #2)

The lack of options for sexual assault victims stemmed, according to one participant, from a problem with the training of the SH Officer. It also may have stemmed from the Officer's lack of empathy and "to her it was a theoretical construct" (Participant #2). The ROL report provided many recommendations for the training of senior officials in regards to sexual/gender harassment. Another recommendation, I argue, could have been made by the PACSW to ensure that the one key person on the University of Saskatchewan campus, who would be assigned as

the first contact for victims of sexual assault to turn to, should receive updated training on a regular basis on how to respond properly and provide support for victims of sexual assault.

4.4.2.5 The burden of unpaid work. The last barrier that members of the PACSW faced came from both within and outside of the Committee. The committee members of the PACSW consisted of students, faculty, and staff members. These positions were full-time work on their own. On top of these roles, they also had families and some women were also on committees other than the PACSW. Therefore, the women had at least two full-time jobs although they were receiving monetary compensation for only one. One participant articulated, "as we're pushing for more influence for women at various levels of university, there was also this sense that "okay, if you get asked to do something you gotta do it" (Participant #4). The committee members' time was stretched thin with the activities they were 'requested' to be involved with outside of their paid work. Balancing their work and private lives was difficult. Ultimately, the burden of the workload left the members of the PACSW with limited time for their doings in advocating for women at the University of Saskatchewan. The societal expectation that women would involve themselves with any task requested of them is another illustration of the ruling relations that affected the work of the PACSW.

4.5 ROL: Lacking an Impact?

The participants looked back on the impact that the ROL report had on the University of Saskatchewan and the effect it had on improving the environment for women on campus and providing more adequate services and resources for victims of sexual assault on campus. Many of the PACSW committee members felt that the ROL report did not have the impact they were hoping for. One participant commented that today most people do not view women having any issues standing in their way at post-secondary institutions:

I don't feel very positive about it because…I think that what's developed now is this veneer of…everything is okay with respect to the status of women…there's just a lack of critical reflection about the role of women in society and that women take on, and they're happy. They seem to be happy without adequate child-care, they seem to be happy with having the double workload of career and family. (Participant #1)

She made the point that because issues that women faced in the public space of a post-secondary institution were more implicit, the issues were not seen to exist. Moreover, she focused on childcare, an issue that groups at the University of Saskatchewan began addressing as early as 1972. Another participant viewed the ROL report as a bureaucratic process, rather than taking issues such as campus sexual assault seriously:

It did kind of get shelved in the end, it became safe…it became an administrative sort of tick box exercise is how it feels…it feels like it's become bureaucratized rather than embedded in its heart, in the heart of the institution…you might have like a whistle-blower policy or something or a place to report it, but if people don't feel safe in using that because they know they're not gonna get real support, you know… (Participant 6)

The participant further raised the point that a policy and a contact person are necessary, but not sufficient. In order to make lasting change, the way people viewed victims of sexual assault needed to shift and the stigma attached to sexual assault needed to be removed. Another committee member also maintained that although the ROL report did not have the impact they expected, the report can be used as a benchmark for the University of Saskatchewan. She went on to explain one of the possible ways that lasting change in addressing sexual assault will likely occur:

Unfortunately, I don't think it's had a lot of effect; on the other hand, you know, we can always go back to it and sort of look at it in terms of a progress report…it seems like unfortunately the only way to create change… sometimes the only way you can create change is to actually have…a challenge, like a legal challenge or a court case against the university...it almost seems like you have to force people. (Participant #2)

The participants provided several different perspectives of the impact of the ROL report and reflected on their work producing the report and how they could have engaged in their work differently, potentially leading to greater lasting change.

4.6 Twenty Years of Perspective: "Doing" Work Differently

Reflecting on the doings that were undertaken is important to understand what types of work were most efficient, effective, and conducive of lasting change. As well, there may be activities that would have been useful, but were not utilized during the creation of the ROL report. The six participants contemplated, with twenty years of perspective, on the activities of the PACSW that could have been done differently. They all discussed different ideas. One participant felt that more student engagement would have been useful. Another woman felt that there were not any timelines set to review the work of the ROL report. She asked, "what progress have we made five years, ten years down the road?" (Participant #4) and suggested that a larger push should have been made to ensure that the recommendations were acted upon: "if you don't keep pushing, to have them activated it doesn't happen" (Participant #4). Still another member expressed that more full-time staff are needed to take on some of the doings. She said; "it's not a worthwhile activity for all the rest of the people involved if there's no staff follow-up for it" (participant #3). Media coverage was also an aspect brought up by a participant. She felt that having a stronger communication strategy, "sort of blitz people on the radio and somehow got television spots…that might have helped" (Participant #2). Another strategy that was proposed was to enlarge the public space for greater debate and discussion throughout the campus:

> More opportunities for dialogue and deliberation on campus…how do we get people engaged in the political world to see that it's not only a vote that we need, but we need your energy around all kinds of issues…I think if anything that I would do differently in terms of what I have learned since this report came out is, many more opportunities for people to just get around and talk about the status of women on campus. Having very public openings, spaces for people to do that. (Participant #1)

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As illustrated by the above quotes, the women of the PACSW came up with several different aspects of their work that could have been changed or included that may have led to lasting change and provided a stronger push towards improving existing services and resources for sexual assault victims, as well as filling in gaps.

Although the ROL report was perceived as lacking in impact by the PACSW women I interviewed it is important to acknowledge that, as Lorde (1984) argued, they acted on the "permission" to advocate for change knowing that they would be subject to patriarchal views such as Mr. Hayden's. Despite the potential backlash from others in the campus community, the women involved in the PACSW used their creative energy to un-silence women's voices by providing a forum for women to share their lived experiences, contributing to the improvement of status of women issues by indicating the barriers to change. As well, it is evident that the ROL report did have a positive effect on the University of Saskatchewan campus because there are Women's and Gender Studies courses, funding is available for female students, more women are entering "non-traditional" disciplines such as the sciences and engineering, and although the University of Saskatchewan does not have a formal sexual assault policy at this time, information on sexual assault is available on the University of Saskatchewan website. So, despite the barriers within and outside the PACSW, all of the effort that the thirteen women put into their work positively impacted the lives of women on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

4.7 Summary

Many women's groups at the University of Saskatchewan were formed to improve the public space of the post-secondary institution for women, as well as to address a myriad of issues that female students, faculty, and staff faced in their everyday lives during the second wave of feminism. The creation of the PACSW allowed the campus community the opportunity to voice

their concerns. The *Reinventing Our Legacy* report illustrated the many barriers that women faced at the University of Saskatchewan in the early 1990s. Moreover, the negative responses that the PACSW received regarding the information in the report indicates that the prevailing view of many people, or at least those who were given 'air time' in the public space at the University of Saskatchewan campus, kept many women silent and limited improvements for victims of campus sexual assault.

The next section will summarize the information provided by the study. As well, I will explain the strengths and limitations of the current study, the contributions made to the sexual assault literature, and the future implications and directions of the research.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Across Canada, post-secondary institutions are battling to come up with solutions to address the problem of campus sexual assault with every new story that reaches the public's attention. The University of Saskatchewan is not unique in this instance. The current project took a step back from looking at how the University of Saskatchewan is addressing campus sexual assault and took an historical approach to explore how women's experiences and actions affected the development of sexual assault policy and procedures on the University of Saskatchewan campus.

The fight to have complaints of sexual assault taken seriously in society generally, as well as within the context of the university, took courage, strategy, and stamina. Prior to the 1983 rape legislation, women were perceived as not deserving of legal protection and could not make a complaint against a perpetrator since women were viewed simply as property of men. The federal government and women's groups, both in concert and in opposition during the 1980s, worked to create a better system in addressing sexual assault nationally. However, it also became apparent that the effects of changing the laws regarding sexual assault would be limited. Societal views and norms also needed to be changed. The anti-rape movement spurred campuses to address campus sexual assault by holding university administrations accountable for their repressive policies and unsafe working and studying environment. Demonstrations, petitions, marches, and consciousness-raising workshops were held on campuses to provide greater awareness of the issue of sexual assault.

The lived experiences of women during second wave feminism were influenced by texts written by Brownmiller, MacKinnon, Dworkin, and Lorde. Radical feminists, such as Brownmiller, focused on violence against women, including sexual assault. Her work

emphasized the intimidation and silencing felt by women at the hands of men. As well, she argued that power relations were involved in sexual assault. Power imbalances in the context of the post-secondary institution include student and professor, student and staff members, and student and university administration. Other power imbalances include staff members and their superiors, and faculty members and their superiors.

Despite their influence on many women's understandings of their lived experiences, the texts of the radical feminists were not taken seriously by many others. In order to change the prevailing view of women and sexual assault, MacKinnon maintained that it was necessary to begin hearing about women's stories and experiences. In line with MacKinnon's thinking, the PACSW called for submissions from women across campus as a means of collecting their stories. The lived experiences of women at the University of Saskatchewan can also be understood in terms of Dworkin's inside/outside dichotomy. Moving away from a life strictly inside the private space of the home, women encountered new forms of sexism in the public space of higher-learning institutions.

In this study, I used Dorothy Smith's IE as a way of understanding women's lived experiences. Their work in the university setting was investigated by looking at the process and organization of their work, how ruling relations affected their work, and how their work was coordinated and standardized. Skocpol's Interpretive Historical Sociology was used to augment IE in order to make visible the historical pattern of women's experiences moving in the public spaces of university. The archival documents I analyzed, along with the six semi-structured interviews I conducted with previous members of the PACSW, helped explain the climate at the University of Saskatchewan for some women, their experiences of sexism, sexual harassment

and sexual assault, the type of work women at the University of Saskatchewan were involved in to address campus sexual assault and the challenges women faced in that work.

In the study, I found there were a number of women's groups on the University of Saskatchewan campus, including the PCSW and the PACSW, that advocated for change for the status of women. The PACSW, formed in February 1990, had the main goal of hearing women's stories of their experiences, which were crucial in creating the ROL report to inform the campus community of the problems women faced and make recommendations to overcome those problems. The 200-page report involved a number of incoming and outgoing texts of the PACSW, as illustrated below in Figure 4.

Submissions were requested through The Sheaf and the President's Newsletter to the entire University of Saskatchewan community to share their experiences on issues affecting women locally on campus. The PACSW received submissions from students, staff, and faculty members, and from women and men alike. However, because of ruling relations, some women were too intimidated to share their experiences. The silencing of those women's stories prevented the University of Saskatchewan campus community from hearing about and learning from those women's experiences. A number of the submissions the PACSW received included sexual assault. The ROL report provided the University of Saskatchewan with nine recommendations to address campus sexual assault. Also, the PACSW attempted to change the institutional discourse on sexual assault through their work on the University of Saskatchewan mandate and the *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment.* However, the ROL report and the PACSW members themselves were met with resistance.

Figure 5.4: PACSWs Incoming and Outgoing Texts
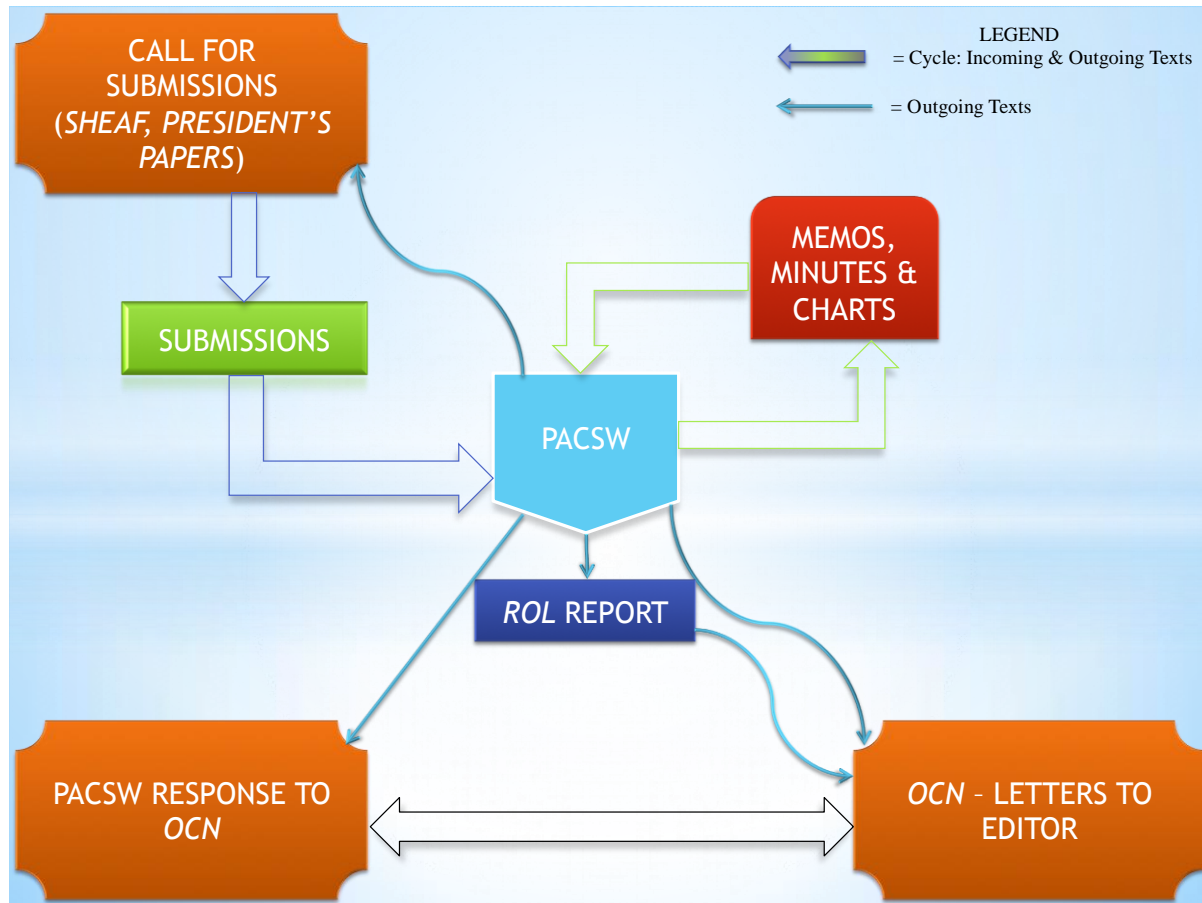
The SH Office and the *University of Saskatchewan Policy and Procedures on Sexual Harassment* were other forums on the University of Saskatchewan campus to address sexual assault. Two texts in the form of reports in 1992 and 1994 were created by the SH Office in order to provide the University of Saskatchewan campus community information regarding the issue of sexual assault on campus and the ways in which they were attempting to address the problem. The response the PACSW received from their colleagues when the ROL report was presented to the University of Saskatchewan community illustrated that further education on issues affecting women was necessary. The PACSW received anonymous phone calls from different members of the campus community complaining about the information in the report. Several texts then emerged from *On Campus News* criticizing the ROL report. Despite the criticisms, the women at the University of Saskatchewan did not remain silent. Women wrote letters to the editor expressing their concerns about the criticism and about the position and power held by the critic, which afforded him the ability to replace women's lived experience reported in the ROL report with his own version. As well, PACSW members and other women on campus expressed their frustration about how many things have remained the same in regards to status of women issues.

The PACSW members who were interviewed in this study expressed their disappointment that the ROL report did not have the expected outcome. However, they also felt the information could still be used a benchmark. Members of the campus community or community organizations can go back to the ROL report at any time and compare the challenges and ruling relations facing women at the University of Saskatchewan to the shape of those challenges during the early 1990s when the report was produced. The women felt that the ROL report may have had a larger impact if they had pushed harder to ensure that their

recommendations were acted upon by wider coverage of the report with the help of the media, for instance. However, the ROL report did have a positive impact, which is evident in the improvements for women on campus such as the Women's and Genders studies courses and information about sexual assault on the University of Saskatchewan website.

5.1 Strengths and Limitations

The current study has strengths and weaknesses. One strength of the current study is that it fills a gap in the IE literature by taking an historical focus. By augmenting IE with Skocpol's interpretive historical sociology I was able to link the patterns of sexism found in the data to those I found in the literature. Secondly, IE largely focuses on texts that reinforce and stabilize ruling relations. In contrast, the current study explores the texts of Brownmiller, MacKinnon,Dworkin, and Lorde, and the processes that <u>challenged</u> prevailing ruling relations.

The current study also has some limitations. First, a large portion of the results of the current study was based on information found in The University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections. Archival documents seldom provide a researcher with a full picture of the issue under investigation, leaving a researcher to engage in speculation. I attempted to alleviate holes in the archival data by interviewing key informants who were members of the PACSW. The women I interviewed were able to provide me with some information I was missing. However, the women were speaking to events that occurred approximately twenty years earlier, and memory lapses, while understandable, were another limitation of the current study. Although this was the case, the women were also very honest in telling me when they simply did not remember information. As well, if the women were unsure, they would also make note that the information they were providing were of their own perspectives, as opposed to matter-of-fact information.

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Another limitation of the current study is that the focus is on one women's group at one mid-sized university in Canada. However, many articles I found in <u>The Sheaf</u> were about issues facing women in other universities across Canada. These articles illustrated that status of women issues, including sexual assault, were not isolated issues affecting women only at the University of Saskatchewan. Rather, by publishing articles about events that were occurring in other universities across Canada, <u>The Sheaf</u> indicated that it was not only women at the University of Saskatchewan who were experiencing sexism, sexual harassment and sexual assault. This allowed me to draw conclusions and make speculations with some confidence.

The current study's focus is solely on women, which is the last limitation of the study. There is no denying that men and people within the LGBT community at the University of Saskatchewan were also experiencing sexual assault. None of the information I found regarding targets of sexual assault included men. It is possible that some of the submissions the PACSW received were from men and the LGBT community, but that information would not necessarily be presented along with the submission since some submissions were anonymous.

5.2 Future Directions

With the preferred scenarios provided by the ROL report, the current research could be extended to explore how the university not only directed its attention to the issue of campus sexual assault in consideration of the nine recommendations, but also how the University of Saskatchewan attempted to be more inclusive in its work and not discussing the issue of campus sexual assault as though it was an issue that only affected cis gender white heterosexual women.

I was unable to utilize a large amount of the archival documents I obtained for the current study, including documents from the Presidential Papers, Help Centre, Women's Centre collections and articles from <u>The Sheaf</u>. As well, there is still a rich amount of information to

obtain from the Glenis Joyce collection. My data collection ended in 1994 and there are several more boxes of archival information to read from her collection. As well, at least one other member of the PACSW was invited to submit her documents to the University of Saskatchewan Archives and Special Collections. And there may still be a wealth of knowledge to be gained by the other Women's Centre documents and Sheaf articles, which I was unable to explore.

The archival data I collected and was unable to utilize in the current study is full of lived experiences of women who attended the University of Saskatchewan during the time frame of the present study, as well as up until the present. Specific sexual harassment cases in Saskatchewan Human Rights Commission newsletters and lived experiences including newsletters with rape poems and what is titled "the rape tapes" are available. Information in articles such as "Dating Violence: What Part of No Do You Not Understand?" and further information on how the University of Saskatchewan addressed sexual harassment/sexual assault can be found in "The Report of the Advisory Committee on Sexual Harassment" are also important documents for further reading.

Interviewing Dr. Carole Pond, the Sexual Harassment Officer, which later became the Discrimination and Harassment Prevention Services, would be very informative. Although the Sexual Harassment Office did receive negative feedback, the Office also attempted to address campus sexual assault by providing education to the campus community and counseling to targets of sexual assault. Having the opportunity to interview Dr. Pond would provide an understanding of her involvements and 'doings' with the Sexual Harassment Office and the barriers she faced that limited her ability to engage in education and counseling.

Analysis of these additional archival materials and interview data would follow a similar form to the current study. The main focus of such a study would be the 'doings' of Dr. Pond,

with archival data providing further stories of women's experiences at the University of Saskatchewan. Also, a close examination of the University of Saskatchewan's focus on inclusiveness would be fruitful to determine to what extent sexual assaults varied by race, sexual orientation, and gender identities and to illustrate the inadequacies of a 'one-size-fits-all' approach to addressing campus sexual assault.

5.3 Past Strategies for Present-day Committees

Women and men on university campuses across Canada are still advocating for gender justice and an end to ableism, racism, and many other forms of discrimination that are still affecting students, faculty, and staff. The work of the PACSW provided important insights for individuals and groups who are working towards positive change in these areas. There are three key strategies that were pivotal in the success of PACSW's work, which present-day groups and committees may consider utilizing:

1. **Representation and Inclusion**: The many day-to-day concerns affecting campus communities affect people of all sexual orientations, gender identities, races, abilities, and socioeconomic status. Diverse groups and committees allows for different perspectives, which in turn produce greater understanding and knowledge on the committee because of the different points of view that others many not be aware of or think about. Therefore, it is important for committees to be representative of the campus community. If possible, students, both undergraduate and graduate, and faculty and staff from different departments should be on the committee. As well, the committee should be gender inclusive.

2. **Communication**: There are three strategies to foster communication between committee members. First, communication among committee members is key. Having agreed upon

ground rules, established at the outset, can assist in creating and maintaining a positive and respectful environment where everyone feels safe to articulate their ideas. As well, the ground rules allow the committee to determine how they are going to address disputes or disagreements that might occur. The second communication strategy is for committee members to be involved with other groups on campus and people in university leadership roles. This strategy allows for networking and resources, monetary and otherwise. For example, collaborating with other groups on campus events. The third communication strategy is the dissemination of information from events, surveys and other work in order to keep the campus community informed of committee activities. Different forums such as campus papers, social media, television, and radio should be utilized in order to reach the maximum number of people possible.

3. **Follow-through**: There are lessons to be learned from both the successes and mistakes of the PACSW work. This last suggestion for present-day committees is based on the latter. The ROL report covered many important issues regarding the status of women and post-secondary institutions during the 1960s to early 1990s. However, the immense amount of work the women put into creating and writing the ROL report, in large part because of its breadth, left them without the energy to ensure that the 'preferred scenario' recommendations were implemented. This aspect of the PACSW experience shows it is better to advocate for a few select issues in order to afford committee members the time and energy to work towards the implementation of the recommendations.

5.4 Recommendations

Incidents of sexism, sexual harassment, and sexual assault are still occurring at the University of Saskatchewan. It is important to ask why in order to determine ways of attending

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to the issue with either new strategies or more activism using strategies from previous times. Despite all of the work that has been done by various groups on campuses and communities, sexual assault still occurs. Based on information I received from the women I interviewed, the archival data I collected, and other research involvement regarding campus sexual assault, I present five recommendations for the University of Saskatchewan. Some of the recommendations were previously recommended strategies which were implemented and later withdrawn:

1. *A Safe Space*: The University of Saskatchewan needs to provide a welcoming and accessible space for targets of sexual assault where they can obtain the supports necessary for recovery (e.g. counseling, academic accommodations, etc.). As one interviewee explained, some women will avoid accessing help because the space is located in a high traffic area. Therefore, the women would not feel comfortable entering the space without being judged, or being perceived as being judged. Simply having a space on campus for women to access services and support is not enough. The University of Saskatchewan needs an inclusive, safe space, considerate of the location to ensure that everyone feels comfortable entering the space. Accessibility also includes ensuring that the entire campus community knows that the space exists.

2. *Professional Staff*: It is necessary to hire staff that is specifically trained in providing services to targets of sexual assault. The SH Officer was available for members of the campus community to make informal and formal complaints and receive information on what the options were. However, it became apparent through the semi-structured interviews that targets of sexual assault require more than information. They also need someone to talk to who is empathetic and understands the issue of sexual assault at the

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societal and individual level. The University of Saskatchewan community includes

approximately 24,000 people including students, faculty, and staff each academic year.

With such a sizeable community, the university needs to ensure that the thousands of

people working and studying on campus will be provided with services by trained,

professional staff in the case of an unfortunate incident, such as a sexual assault.

3. *Education*: The University of Saskatchewan needs to take a proactive stance in

   addressing campus sexual assault, rather than waiting to deal with unfortunate incidents

   after they happen. Along with an inclusive, accessible space and professional staff,

   educating the entire campus community on the issue of sexual assault is necessary. There

   are a number of forums in which education can occur, including student orientation week,

   student calendars, posters, brochures, workshops, class presentations, social media, and

   other measures spanning the entire academic year.

4. *Policy and Procedures*: A specific sexual assault policy should be created and revised as

   required. Applying to all students, faculty, and staff regardless of sexual orientation or

   gender identity, the policy should provide statements articulating the university's

   commitment to addressing sexual assault. The procedures associated with the policy

   should include the dissemination of on-and-off campus contact information for targets

   with clearly stated definitions of sexual assault and consent. The policy and procedures

   should make clear that students, faculty, and staff can be both targets and perpetrators of

   sexual assault and specify protocols for how to report a sexual assault, how the university

   will inform the campus community that a report of sexual assault has been made, and the

   time frame in which that information will be sent out. The policy and procedures also

   need to state that a complainant of sexual assault has the right to representation and a

support person during mediations, hearings and/or investigation and the interim measures that will be in place to protect complainants. Information on how statistics on sexual assault will be kept, maintained, and shared with the public also needs to be made clear. Investigative procedures and protocols should articulate:

- the procedures for investigating reports of sexual assault;

- the procedures for disciplining people accused of sexual assault;

- the timelines for notifying the campus community of the results of disciplinary hearings;

- a statement that the complainant has the right to be informed of the result of an investigation, hearing or disciplinary hearing;

- the complainant has the right to appeal any decisions made; and

- the policy needs to address conflicts of interest for those tasked with following up on a report of sexual assault.

 In regards to academic accommodation, the policy should outline specific procedures for academic accommodations for targets, for changing living accommodations for targets living in campus residence, and for academic accommodations for secondary targets such as friends or family members. The policy should also provide information regarding university education programs for students on sexual assault and contact information for a person assigned to coordinate the education programs. Training for staff, faculty, and administration should be mandated, along with whether and when the training is mandatory for those leading investigations, hearings, or mediations. Lastly, the policy should stipulate the importance of confidentiality when responding to reports of sexual assault and the specific confidentiality procedure needs to be outlined.

5. ***Resources***: In order to enact the changes outlined in the above four recommendations, monetary resources are essential.

The five recommendations above, a safe space, professional staff, education, policy and procedures, and resources are all important in addressing campus sexual assault at the University of Saskatchewan. Separately, each recommendation is necessary but not sufficient

There are many people of varying sexual orientations, gender identities, races, abilities, and socioeconomic status entering post-secondary institutions each year across Canada. Every single person should be able to feel that in the event of an unfortunate incident, sexual assault or otherwise, the institution will rise to the occasion by taking the issue seriously, providing the necessary resources, and making improvements to address the issue. That is, the institution will believe the people who report, support them in their recovery, and take the necessary disciplinary measures against the perpetrators. My research has shown that there were students, staff, and faculty on campuses fighting for equity and equality in the early 1990s. It is apparent that fight is still necessary today. Is it not time that the administration stop enacting short-term band aid measures and instead make positive long-term changes that show the members of their campus community that we matter?

Appendix: Interview Guide

Committee Involvements:

1. How did you become a member of the President's Advisory Committee on the Status of Women?

2. What was your particular role in the PACSW?

3. What was your position at the University while you were on the PACSW?

4. I have been in the archives and have looked at the Committee's report "Reinventing Our Legacy." Can you tell me what was the overarching purpose of the report?

Prompt: what was the Committee hoping the University would do with the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report?

5. Can you explain the process of developing the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report?

6. Were there any barriers that the PACSW faced because of power relations? For instance, what was the working relationship with President Ivany and other members of the U of S administration? Did those power relations have an effect on the Committee's work?

Lived Experience:

7. In general, what was the climate at the University of Saskatchewan campus at the time regarding women's presence?

Feminist Texts:

Around the time of the PACSW, there was a lot of feminist consciousness raising activities and writings. Rape crisis centres were springing up and feminist organizations were working towards women's equality in education, the labour market, and all other aspects of public life. On the topic of rape, there were three very prominent feminist thinkers – Susan Brownmiller, Catharine MacKinnon, and Andrea Dworkin – who brought the issue of rape and sexual assault out of the closet and provided important discussion on the topic.

8. Did these thinkers, those writing on the general topic of feminism and those writing about rape in particular, affect the PACSW in:
   a. Its activities?
   b. Its mission/goals?
   c. The report produced by the PACSW?
   d. The interactions the Committee had with University of Saskatchewan students, faculty, staff, and administration?

PACSW Texts:

9. In the archives, apart from the "ReInventing our Legacy," I have also found PACSW-created documents: memos, minutes, and charts. Here are some examples. Can you describe how these documents coordinated the activities of PACSW?

Development of Sexual Assault Policies:

My study, as I described earlier, focuses on the development of sexual assault policies. So, I want to turn now to the particular recommendations in the "ReInventing Our Legacy" that relate to sexual assault. There are nine recommendations that were made in regards to sexual assault services and policies on the University of Saskatchewan that came out of the "Reinventing our Legacy" report. READ THEM.

    I. The first priority of the Sexual Harassment Officer is to expand educational efforts to provide systematic consciousness-raising to all sectors of the campus, to eliminate all forms of sexual and gender harassment.
        a. The University Administration endorses an ongoing mandatory program in each administration unit on campus.
    II. Senior officers to whom official complaints of sexual/gender harassment are referred receive training in the complex nature of such harassment, and in policies and procedures.
    III. The quasi-legal work of investigation and advising complainants has been separated from the psychological counseling function by creating a half-time position to do the investigative work.
    IV. The university contracts with people outside the campus who are trained in labour relations generally and are knowledgeable about sexual/gender harassment in particular to investigate and work to resolve cases at the formal level.
    V. In accordance with Canadian Human Rights Legislation, sexual/gender harassment is, by definition, viewed as constituting discrimination. Harassed persons do not need to prove that their harassment constitutes discrimination because the University's policy explicitly accepts responsibility for ensuring safe and non-sexualized conditions for employment, research, and study.
    VI. A large-scale, university-wide survey of sexual/gender harassment is conducted to help program planning and education
        a. Statistics on sexual/gender harassment are computerized anonymously to help develop effective educational programs and policies.
    VII. The sexual harassment officer telephone number is listed separately in the university phone book, rather than under student counseling, and also on the book's cover.
    VIII. Information on date rape is widely distributed.
    IX. Reports of sexual assault are regularly published.

10. Do you remember what prompted these recommendations? For instance, were there any cases of sexual assault that the university responded to publicly?
    a. If so, how did they respond?
    b. What was the response of the campus community/women's groups on campus?

11. Can you describe how the University handled sexual assault complaints before the recommendations in the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report came out? (lived experience)

12. Before the development of the PACSW, were you aware of any sexual assault/rape policies?
    a. If so, what were those policies?
    b. When were the policies developed?
    c. Who was involved in the development of those policies?

13. I noticed the coincidental timing of the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report and the USSU's sexual assault survivors Bill of Rights, which I will read to you. After hearing the Bill of Rights, can you comment on how the recommendations of the Students Rights' Handbook of 1992 affected the development of the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report?
    a. The right to be informed of their options to notify the proper law enforcement authorities.
    b. The right to be informed of their options to seek medical attention.
    c. The right to be notified of existing services for sexual assault survivors.
    d. The right to be informed of their options in changing academic and living situations.
    e. The right to decide which course of action (or non-action) is best for them.
    f. The right to confidentiality.
    g. The right to have all allegations of sexual assault to be treated seriously.

14. Can you tell me what the outcomes were of these recommendations? Did these recommendations lead to other recommendations?

Discourse:

What I noticed about these recommendations, and in other documents of the time, is that the terms rape and sexual assault are used interchangeably and often fall under the broad term of sexual harassment (provide Sheaf article as example).

15. How did the lack of definitional distinction affect the work of PACSW, if at all?

16. Did the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report change the practices of addressing sexual assault on the University of Saskatchewan campus?

Forward Thinking:

17. With twenty years of perspective, how do you see the "Reinventing Our Legacy" report and the effect it had?

18. What could the Committee have done differently, if anything?

Conclusion:

19. Is there any other information that you would like to discuss that was not brought up previously? Do you have any final comments?

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