NARRATIVES OF SEXUAL ASSAULT:
MILITARY AND CIVILIAN ONLINE RESOURCES

By

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis is based on a content analysis of military and civilian websites providing sexual assault prevention and response resources. In 2014 I downloaded a purposive sample of 130 webpages and coded the narratives using ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software. Adopting a theoretical lens informed by the literature on master and collective action frames, I compared military and civilian resource narratives. I found that while a duty-oriented master frame was most common in the military online sexual resources, civilian organization websites were more likely to adopt a multicultural feminist frame. In my analysis I discuss the contradictions inherent as a military hypermasculinized institution deploys frames that align with its given structure and culture, while through a multicultural feminist lens these very systems are inculpated. To this extent, this frame analysis suggests issues that must be addressed in future discussions and decisions on military–produced resources for sexual assault prevention and response resources.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the years, people have told me that a master’s thesis is more about learning skills, such as self-motivation, that will help you to move forward with your life. Some students start teaching, others go on and get their PhDs. Wherever you want to go next, the push to finish the master’s thesis will prepare you for the next step. For me, this process was no different. This program has been just as much about personal growth as it has been about completing the academic requirements. In my experience, growth and change is the product of personal relationships. I have many people in my life to thank for their support, feedback, honestly, and love. Without you all, I would not have made it this far.

Life is beautiful when you find people walking down a similar path. In the fall of 2009, I was introduced to a bright, eager cohort of new graduate students of which I was one. My cohort graduated in May of 2011. I didn’t realize how challenging the process would be without their support, which at the time I took for granted. To my cohort, Katie Mills, Colin Trujillo, Dusty Mabry, Amanda Ybarra, Alex Weiland, and Jimmy Valdes: thank you for your friendship, willingness to learn, and being open to new experiences. You pulled me through the rough times and inspired me with your successes. I hope our paths meet again over the course of our careers.

Five years is a long time to be finishing a master’s degree. Life took twists and turns I wasn’t expecting; some were self-fulfilling, others challenging. But all the while I knew that my time would come. In April 2013, I quit my stressful job as a transitional
housing coordinator for veterans to practice radical self-care. In this case, I had to finish the degree I started. In part I was ready to move on to the next goal, but also it didn’t sit well with me to have lingering unfinished business. Imagine my surprise when one of my original cohort members, Katie Mills, came back to Humboldt County in the spring of 2014 to finish her thesis also. Katie, I couldn’t have done this without you. Your support and encouragement has been momentous. Our lifes’ parallels were almost eerie but our futures are bright. Let’s keep in touch this time.

Then there were people outside of my cohort I connected with, creating a sort of “cohort by choice.” We were inspired by the same classes, danced to the same music (sometimes with controllers in our hands), and shared deep belly laughs. Your friendship reminds me of home. To Jennifer Maksim, Samantha Bryant, Karen August, Vanessa Villavicencio, and Nell Allred: I could not have done this without your support, care, and the frank words you had for me when I needed it.

This program wouldn’t exist without the professors who have dedicated their careers to studying and understanding our social world. The work of sociologists is bold and can be worrisome at times. Sometimes it makes us bad conversationalists. I know that the school systems are impacted and you may leave the office at the end of the day feeling like there’s never enough time to give the attention you’d like to your work and your students. But I must admit, you hide these concerns well. You teach inspirational classes, talk about the deep issues that most people avoid, and remind me that social change is possible.
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At the end of any road, it is normal to reflect back in wonder about the life circumstances that brought you here in the first place. My undergraduate professors deserve some mention here. They pushed me toward graduate school, built up my
confidence, and prepared me for academically rigorous environments. The most motivational professor at Bradley University for me was Dr. Michael Greene, a philosophy professor who always pushed me to perform at my best. Your kind words and keen career advice led me to where I am today. I always remember one of your teachings: that life’s not about knowing all the answers, it’s about asking the right questions. Where the right questions take you might surprise you. They most certainly have!

But we’re sociologists aren’t we? We know our life circumstances affect what we’re able to achieve. So let’s back up even further…I have the most supporting, loving family of all time. Since I was a child, my mom and dad encouraged every dream I could come up with, large and small. I was taught to never settle, always speak my mind, and that hard work pays off. Thank you Sean, my brother, and my parents for being you! I’m always proud of our family, but this year we have made some amazing strides in the right direction. I’m happy for us individually and collectively – I love you!

I have an amazing fiancée who couldn’t be any more loving, giving, and kind. Every time you look at me, Jason, I can sense how much you believe in me and want to see me succeed. That’s a rare quality in a person and I thank you from the bottom of my heart. It’s been an amazing year and I cannot wait to move to Sacramento with you and start our life together.

I’ve had friends who have been through it with me, thick and thin. Though none of us live in the same city, let alone the same continent half the time, I love to share my successes with you and vice versa. It’s amazing how far we’ve come and I am excited to
see where this life takes us. Lauren Kepple, Lauren Bright, Amy Hodapp, Emily Walsh, Langley Routson: you are all beautiful; thank you for being in my life!

If there had to be one dedication for my work, I would have to thank my late friend Beau Nieblas, who passed away too young in 2012. From you I learned a true sense of belonging, which I used to struggle with as a consequence of moving so often. Although it hurts that you aren’t around anymore, the grief is passing and I am emerging a better person. Your death shook my world to the point where I couldn’t ignore the fact I needed new coping strategies and now I’m thriving in a way I had forgotten was possible. You are always with me. Haunt me, please.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1994, military bans of women serving in direct combat roles were reduced (Zinzow, Grubaugh, Monnier, Suffoletta-Maierle, and Frueh 2007). Female integration plus the switch to an all-volunteer military has increased the amount of female service members and veterans. Women make up 15% of individuals serving active duty (Zinzow et al 2007:385; Mota, Medved, Wang, Asmundson, Whitney, and Sareen 2012:165) and there are approximately 1.7 million female veterans (Zinzow et al. 2007:385). Sexual assault rates have increased concurrently (Sadler, Booth, Nielson, and Doebbeling 2000; Suris and Lind 2008). Researchers have related the phenomena:

[D]uring the Vietnam era, women served in more ancillary positions, such as nursing, whereas in more recent eras women are placed in more vulnerable and isolative positions with men (Suris and Lind 2008:259).

This is just one of many explanations for the high rate of sexual assaults in the military (Seifert 1996). A deep analysis of collective sexualized violence in the military deserves attention, especially since rape rates increase during times of war (Seifert 1996; Zinzow et al. 2007).

Some explanations for sexual assault focus on how female service members are a vulnerable population. For instance, military sexual assault victims are more likely to have experienced childhood sexual abuse. Trauma in early childhood is a history more common for military compared to civilian individuals (Rosen and Martin 1996; Suris and Lind 2008). Escaping a negative home life is often a reason to join the military (Suris and Lind 2008), and prior trauma has been identified as a predictor of being sexually
assaulted in the future (Sadler et al. 2000; Zinzow, Grubaugh, Freuh, and Magruder 2008). This correlation is described by researchers:

Known risk factors for sexual revictimization among civilian women also could play a role during military service, including alcohol use, risky sexual behavior, fear of stigmatization for rejecting sexual advances, and exposure to patriarchal gender role norms (Zinzow et al. 2007:386).

Other explanations highlight cultural realities which may contribute to rape prevalence. Rape rates vary across culture, suggesting a social cause to the issue (Seifert 1996; Smith 2005). The United States has been called a “rape-prone society” (Sadler et al. 2000:473). In the U.S., 20% of women are raped by age 21 (Sadler et al. 2000:473). Lifetime prevalence rates of sexual violence range from 12 to 32% among women and between 3% and 16% of men (Zinzow et al. 2008:227). Additionally, over 60,000 rapes of women over fifty are reported in the U.S. every year (Sadler et al. 2000:473).

Certain workplace cultures are found to be more prone to violence, including military service (Sadler et al. 2000). It is so prevalent within the institution that a separate diagnosis was conceived to account for disorders associated with its occurrence: military sexual trauma, or MST (Suris and Lind 2008). Studies of MST estimate that between 20% and 43% of females in the military are sexually assaulted during service (Suris and Lind 2008:253). On average, rape rates are higher for women in the military compared to their civilian counterparts (Suris and Lind 2008):

[R]ates for military sexual assault are usually based on a time period of 2 to 6 years, whereas studies of civilian sexual assault are typically based on lifetime prevalence, suggesting increased risk for sexual assault for active duty military personnel of both genders (P. 252).
Despite the use of gender neutral language, it is agreed upon that women are more at risk for sexual assault in the military than men (Kimerling, Street, Pavao, Smith, Cronkite, Holmes, and Frayne 2010; Mota et al. 2012). Even more importantly, men are the perpetrators in 95% of military and civilian sexual assault cases (Mississippi Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014).

Rape-prone cultures put their populations at significant individual and collective risk:

[S]exually assaulted veterans represent a highly traumatized population who demonstrate significant mental health problems, above and beyond veterans who have experienced other forms of traumatic events (Zinzow et al. 2008:234).


Physical health issues for sexual assault victims include chronic fatigue, chronic pain, headaches, obesity, weight loss, hypothyroidism, pelvic trauma, STDs,
AIDS, “physical symptoms…impaired health status…more chronic health problems” (Suris and Lind 2008:262), body pain, and tiredness (Sadler et al. 2000). These physical and mental health issues are so problematic that for any disorder resulting from military sexual trauma, as determined by a primary care physician, veterans are offered free care through the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA)’s Veterans Health Administration (VHA) (Turchik et al. 2012).

Beyond effects at the individual level, there are also significant systemic issues connected to rape, associated with systems of inequality that support sexual violence. Rape and other forms of sexual violence are often described as tools of patriarchy (Crenshaw 2005; Smith 2005), the institutionalized state of gender discrimination. However, all forms of oppression are intersectional in nature (Collins 1998; Connell 2005), so sexual violence is also a tool of racism, colonialism, ethnocentrism, class privilege, and heterosexism, among others (Smith 2005; Solokoff and Dupont 2005). Institutionalized states of inequality are damaging to the privileged as well as the oppressed (Freire 2006). From this perspective, sexual violence will continue to be prevalent in the absence of fundamental social changes that address systems of inequality (Seifert 1996; Smith 2005). By addressing the sociocultural framework surrounding rape propensity, one has a higher likelihood of understanding high rape rates in the military and can make more effective attempts at its prevention.

In this study, I viewed rape prevention and response efforts in the military from a social movements and framing theoretical lens. Specifically by analyzing collective
action frames present within military and civilian online sexual assault resources, I identified framing processes employed by movement leaders. The sociocultural framework within the military is discussed in detail since the collective action frame must situate itself in the existing sociocultural framework of the institution.

The first chapter details my review of relevant research on social movements, change, and framing processes. This literature informed my methodology and structured my analysis, a process I develop in the subsequent chapter where I also describe my data sample. In the next three chapters, I identify master and collective action frame themes present in the online self-help resources. I then compare the frames to one another to identify similarities and contradictions. The two final chapters discuss the results of the frame analysis by referring to my literature review and suggest avenues for future research.
My study identified and analyzed the framing language used on sexual assault prevention and response online resources. My broad theoretical lens was drawn from the framing and social movements literatures. These frameworks provided methods for organizing frame types in my study. Here I also incorporated empirical studies that have addressed the framing of domestic violence and sexual assaults in general as well as studies that have specifically considered framing or discourse analyses of sexual assault in the military.

I also reviewed the literature on gender and multicultural feminism. This body of work provided a theoretical lens for a more nuanced analysis and contextualization of the specific narratives on sexual assault. In particular, I was interested in the ways in which this literature connected masculinities, sexual assault, violence and war.

Framing, Change and Movement Theory

Over the past two decades, full female integration into the military has been a fundamental change in the armed forces’ operation (Morris 1996; Zinzow et al. 2007; Titunik 2008; Kitfield 2012). The change has disrupted the status quo of the hypermasculine institution of the military (Titunik 2008). High levels of sexual violence correlating with increased female presence in the military has generated a lot of media attention (Titunik 2008) and led to significant policy changes, which have been shown to instigate social movements (Oberschall 1993).
Discursive analysis can be helpful in understanding this transition process and social change in general since systems of gender inequality manifest in discourse. For instance, discourse analyses illuminated how the military’s exclusionary laws and policies have often been justified by stating combat effectiveness is better achieved in homogenous (male) groups (Firestone 1984; Dunivin 1994). In this section I briefly discuss the organization of gender inequality systems, emphasizing their manifestation in discourse. Later I link that theory to a lens that highlights the visibility, production, and reproduction of gender inequality systems in discourse.

**Activation and Consensus Symbols**

Although a great deal of research on social movements focuses on grassroots organizers opposing elites or other authoritarian groups, social movements born out of institutions are reported (Tarrow 1994). The majority of social change in the military, such as racial integration, has been externally imposed from civilian pressure (Dunivin 1994), due in part to the military’s coterminous relationship with civilian institutions (Moskos 1976; Bland 1999; Burk 1999). Military resistance to civilian influence has been noted:

Drawing from a combat, masculine-warrior paradigm, traditionalists stress that the military’s core activity remains combat, and the military should not be a laboratory for social experimentation (Duvinin 1994:541).

Despite the critiques, racial integration was arguably more successful in the military than in the civilian sphere (Seifert 1996; Lundquist 2008), in part due to its reliance on rank
instead of class (Lundquist 2008) but also because personnel share common culture (Gamson 1990).

When behavior changes are sought from members already attached to a group, it is called “activation” as opposed to “mobilization” (Gamson 1990). Activation can be more successful because members have preexisting symbolic resources through which a movement can articulate its points (Gamson 1990). Solidarity is created when the individual members join together around a common goal; to do so they need a unified understanding of the issue (Gamson 1990; Tarrow 1994).

Although female integration is externally opposed, the mission to prevent sexual assaults is the duty of military leadership (Firestone 1984). Leadership has a number of options on how to frame the changes and actions. Social movement theories provide lenses to analyze these changes and actions.

**Collective Action Framing**

All social movements produce collective action frames, articulations of their calls for change (Tarrow 1994). A product of framing processes, a collective action frame contains ideological assumptions, expressed through describing social injustice, identifying its cause(s), and providing solutions aimed at its eradication (Tarrow 1994; Benford and Snow 2000). These three collective action frame features are called “diagnostic,” “prognostic,” and “prescriptive” framing, respectively (Tarrow 1994; Benford and Snow 2000).
To be effective, the movement’s goals must relate to the predispositions of the target population and orient the prescribed action in line with the target’s culture (Tarrow 1994). “Framing work” is the process of identifying the injustice through an appropriate cultural lens while “frame alignment” is when the frame resonates with the target population to inspire action (Tarrow 1994). Social movement leaders have several options when implementing framing work to achieve frame alignment.

**Consensus Symbols**

One way to achieve frame alignment is to borrow a group’s existing cultural symbols, called consensus symbols, in order to activate group members to change (Tarrow 1994). This option is useful when attempting to mobilize individuals who share culture through common group membership. Cultural symbols present in the military could theoretically be used to frame the prevention of military sexual assault. However, Tarrow (1994) warns that consensus symbols are relatively ineffective at spurring social change since they were created to maintain the status quo. “The costume of consensus cannot mobilize consent against the system that produced it” (Tarrow 1994:125).

**Master Frames**

Master framing is purposely adopting frames used by previously successful movements to situate emerging calls to action (Tarrow 1994; Benford and Snow 2000). Master frame can also refer to the hegemonic paradigm operating within the target population’s culture. When considering the prevention of sexualized violence in the military, leaders could borrow frame processes used by traditional feminist, multicultural
feminist or civil rights movements, among others, or they could work with master frames already present within military culture.

A discursive study of activists seeking gender equality in the military showed that feminist master frames were often avoided by military activists (Titunik 2008). Researchers suggest (Brown 1988; Connell 2005) that military activists predicted resistance to feminist symbols since they might be considered radical in the military’s hypermasculine context. This resistance highlights the need for movement frames to resonate with potential movement members by considering their culture (Tarrow 1994).

A frame purposefully attempts to create a collective identity and solidarity that will unify a target population in support of social change (Tarrow 1994; Gamson 1996; Benford and Snow 2000). Solidarity can be difficult to achieve. For instance, the feminist movement attempted to create one collective identity for all women (Solokoff and Dupont 2005), but this identity was articulated by women with the most power and influence: white women. The feminist movement did not create frame alignment through this articulation because the identity only resonated with the dominant race (Collins 1998; Solokoff and Dupont 2005; Smith 2005). The response by women of color was to introduce multicultural feminism, also known as intersectionality theories (Collins 1998; Connell 2005; Smith 2005; Solokoff and Dupont 2005). This perspective expands the collective identity of “woman” so frame alignment could be achieved with women from various backgrounds (Collins 1998; Smith 2005).
Framing the Prevention of Sexual Assault in the Military

Since military activists have historically avoided feminist master frames, but cannot rely solely on the institution’s consensus symbols, how can a collective action frame for sexual violence prevention be successfully articulated? Inducements to change behavior rely on convincing the target audience that they will personally benefit from such changes. Behavioral change has typically been achieved through: (1) exchange for something equally valuable, (2) persuasion, or (3) threats, pressure, or coercion (Oberschall 1993). People weigh the benefits and costs of various courses of action, choosing the alternative with the highest anticipated benefit (Oberschall 1993).

Preventing sexual violence in the military relies on convincing average service members that reducing rape propensity will be of personal benefit. However, the armed forces are 85% male (Zinzow et al 2007:385; Mota et al. 2012:165). Men are privileged to not view themselves as potential victims of sexual assault, so convincing them to change their behavior for the benefit of potential victims may be a challenge. The argument must be articulated through a frame that produces a collective identity and resonates with them considering their hypermasculine culture (Brown 1988). The first step to achieving resonance is to understand the military’s social context into which the message will be situated.

**Military Culture and Socialization Process**

The military has a unique culture compared to the civilian population (Wilson 2008). Some military cultural norms that may impact sexual assault prevention framing
are hypermasculinity and adherence to traditional sex stereotypes. The internalization of masculinities offers clarity on how these norms are rationalized and perpetuated.

**Hypermasculinity**

Gender roles refer to expressions of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviors that cultures consider “appropriate” based on an individual’s sex (Kreiger and Dumka 2006). Stereotypes contribute to the creation of ideal gender types; women who conform are seen as “good” while deviants are “bad” (Crenshaw 1991). Deviants receive less sympathy and responsiveness following sexual assaults, suggesting that some women’s bodies are more important than others’ (Crenshaw 1991; Donovan 2007).

Social actors tend to normalize their behavior to match that of the ideal type to maintain group membership (Munsch and Willer 2012), which can be impossible if the ideal type is attached to a gender, race, sexual orientation, age range, physical ability, etc. The ideal type for a military “soldier” is male, not surprisingly since military culture has been shaped by men (Dunivin 1994). In this “masculine-warrior ethos” paradigm (Dunivin 1994), women and homosexuals are deviant:

Due to being the minority sex...women are treated as the ‘others’ and given stereotyped traits, which could contribute to greater work stress and also influence well-being (Mota et al. 2012:165).

This attitude was reflected in discourse, identified by Firestone (1984) and Cohn (2000) conducting separate studies. Females were accused of being ineffective “soldiers” because they often could not meet physical training requirements expected of male counterparts (Firestone 1984; Cohn 2000).
To understand how gender role beliefs perpetuate male dominance, theorists have conceptualized higher than average adherence to gender role stereotypes (Kreiger and Dumka 2006). Hypermasculinity refers to “instances of extreme forms of sex-typed behavior on the part of some males” (Broude 1990:103). This concept has also been called “protest masculinity,” because strictly adhering to an ideal type is a common reaction when group membership is threatened (Broude 1990). Hypermasculinity could be a defensive maneuver for servicemen reacting to female and homosexual integration into the military.

Hypermasculinity has been associated with high levels of physical aggression (Broude 1990; Kreiger and Dumka 2006), believing that violence is “natural” for men, domination of others (Kreiger and Dumka 2006), destructiveness, crime, drinking (Broude 1990), correlating danger with excitement, suppressing “vulnerable” emotions (Kreiger and Dumka 2006), and low tolerance for delayed gratification (Broude 1990). Hypermasculinity has also been associated with rigid sexual attitudes toward women, approval of sexual aggression (Parrott and Zeichner 2003; Kreiger and Dumka 2006), a higher likelihood to blame the victim for sexual assaults (Munsch and Willer 2012), and predicts past and future sexual aggression (Parrott and Zeichner 2003). Hypermasculine tendencies breed violence:

Standards of masculinity that emphasize dominance, assertiveness, aggressiveness, independence, self-sufficiency, and willingness to take risks, and that reject characteristics such as compassion, understanding, and sensitivity have been found to be correlated with rape propensity (Morris 1996:702).
Rape propensity correlates with a potential perpetrator’s views on sexuality. If one has “adversarial sexual beliefs,” he or she understands sexual relationships to be fundamentally exploitative and is more prone to rape conducive behaviors (Morris 1996:703). Adherence to traditional sex roles has been correlated with rape acceptance, especially when the victim deviates from the ideal sex role stereotype (Morris 1996; Angelone, Mitchell, and Lucente 2012). Hostility toward women can then manifest as sexual aggression toward women (Morris 1996; Yamawaki 2007).

The pursuit of military glory has been used as a construct to measure an individual’s adherence to protest masculinity characteristics (Broude 1990). Furthermore, social actors have joined the military in a purposeful attempt to learn and adopt stereotypically masculine qualities, believing it “would make a man out of [them]” (Brown 1988:536). This is due to the fact that:

> The military places a high premium on virility, stoicism, machismo, assertiveness, and all that is, by definition, hypermasculine (Brown 1988:533).

In fact, maleness in general is associated with higher likelihood for rape acceptance (Donovan 2007). Due to the military’s gender composition and hypermasculine cultural norms (Cohn 2000), framing opportunities for sexual prevention could be impacted. For instance, Donovan (2007) suggests that rape victims are less likely to report their experience to authorities when personal and community perceptions are accepting of violence against women. These perceptions also negatively affect the survivor’s recovery.
process (Nagel, Matsuo, McIntyre, and Morrison 2005; Donovan 2007; Yamawaki 2007; Mota et al. 2012).

The Production of Hegemonic Masculinities in the Military

Hegemony has been described as “the cultural dynamic by which a group claims and sustains a leading position in social life” (Connell 2005:77). A form of masculinity, internalized by the individual, is hegemonic when it gains widespread acceptance at the institutional level (Connell 2005; Munsch and Willer 2012). Characteristics most often associated with hegemonic masculinity are aggression, nuclear (heterosexual) family life, competitiveness, political power, hierarchy, territoriality, promiscuity, and the formation of men’s clubs (Connell 2005).

To internalize a hegemonic masculinity, a person positions his masculinity above other people’s (such as racial or sexual minorities) and femininity in general (Connell 2005; Hinojosa 2010). The military offers the symbolic resources necessary to create a hegemonic masculinity as individuals place their masculinities above men’s in other branches, military occupations, ranks, civilian workforces, and women in general (Hinojosa 2010).

It has been suggested that adherence to the hegemonic masculinity defined within the military institution inspired policies which banned “out” homosexuals from service (Connell 2005). The “unadmitted reason” to reject homosexuals from military service, was the cultural importance of a particular definition of masculinity in maintaining the fragile cohesion of modern armed forces (Connell 2005:73).
Hinojosa (2010) studied the hegemonic masculinity defined by male Army personnel, which embodies emotional control, overt heterosexual desire, physical fitness, self-discipline, self-reliance, willingness to use aggression and physical violence, and risk-taking behaviors (Hinojosa 2010). Another study discussed hegemonic masculinity construction within the US Navy, found to be associated with,

physical toughness, the endurance of hardships, aggressiveness, a rugged heterosexuality, unemotional logic, and a refusal to complain (Barrett 1996:132).

Barrett (1996) reiterates the importance of the military institution in the formation of masculinities (Ferrell 2011):

The military is a prime candidate for the study of masculinity, not only because it is an institution populated with men, but also because it plays a primary role in shaping images of masculinity in the larger society (Barrett 1996:129).

Maintaining hegemony within the military has arguably been responsible for permitting sexual violence among service members:

Authority and the feeling of power play a central role in gender violence. Rarely is the sexual aspect the main reason why men harass women. The reason lies even deeper and is institutionalised in the system of male privilege and superiority” (Wagner:1999:61).

Hegemonic masculinities are maintained through the use of symbolic or actual physical force (Connell 2005). Therefore, violence is often internalized as a component of masculinity:

Men’s violence…is not an individual pathology but a logical consequence of men’s collective privilege. Violence grows out of inequality, sustains inequality, and is also a response to the contemporary challenge to inequality (Connell 2005:245).
Furthermore, sexualized violence has been normalized in the context of war: rapes are often likened to war’s “regrettable side effects” (Seifert 1996:36).

The internalization of a hypermasculine gender role identity reinforced by its hegemonic position in the military institution may also impact the framing of sexual assault prevention. Cultures dominated by white, heterosexist male norms have been shown to be problematic for victims of rape as rape acceptance myths are more common (Sleath and Bull 2012). Furthermore, since violent tendencies are present in the military’s master frame, it may be confusing to situate the collective action frame within it.

### Structural Consequences of the Military Institution

Gender inequality, which manifests at the individual level, is institutionalized (Farrelly 2011), further illustrating how masculinity is hegemonic (Connell 2005). Institutionalized gendered inequality is known as “patriarchy” (Patil 2003; Connell 2005; Farrelly 2011). Theorized as a global trend conceived to address resource scarcity in primitive societies, gendered divisions of labor have formalized into superstructures which perpetuate inequality, to the detriment of all people (Farrelly 2011). It has been described in the following way:

The system of patriarchy is characterised by male privilege and dominance where women play the subordinate role in public as well as in private…Many rules, laws, traditions, and behaviour patterns arise out of the notion of unequal power between male and female…Sexual violence flourishes under a system of male privilege and superiority, where sexuality only serves as a tool to reinforce women’s subordinate roles (Wagner 1999:59).
The military is gendered insofar as it separates divisions of labor based on reproductive roles of the sexes (Firestone 1984; Farrelly 2011). Consequently:

This social function [reproduction] has come at a deep cost to the autonomy and rights of women as a class (Farrelly 2011:19).

The justifications for this, relying on gendered assumptions (Firestone 1984; Connell 2005), are passed on through institutional norms and sharing of culture. In the military, units serve as primary groups which socialize service members, in a way which includes the justification to perpetuate gendered inequalities (Morris 1996).

Firestone (1984) analyzed discourse from reactionary documents produced by the Department of Defense (DoD) in 1978 concerning female integration into the Army. She identified the following ideological assumptions regarding women: they negatively affect combat readiness, are unable to meet basic standards, and cost the institution money due to their role in reproduction (Firestone 1984). Although overt sexist attitudes are politically incorrect, the subordination of women is now justified on new grounds which change as society does (Connell 2005).

Institutional power has to be practiced, often through violence, for it to be sustained (Connell 2005; Servatius 2007; Farrelly 2011). Sexual violence has historically been a tool for maintenance of power (Smith 2005). Gender inequalities manifest in who controls and uses the means of violence (Connell 2005). Patriarchal definitions of femininity portray women as fearful, dependent, and therefore unarmed, reinforcing females’ subordinate role (Connell 2005; Smith 2005). These stereotypes have been
formalized by the military through policies which disallow women to occupy direct combat roles (Firestone 1984; Morris 1996).

The military uses a direct socialization process, employed through training, to create pattern maintenance, or strong group commitments, in service members (Gamson 1990). The socialization process reinforces masculine norms and values. Traditional images of men as independent, competitive, aggressive, and virile are promoted and rewarded at all stages of training in the military (Dunivin 1994).

Pattern maintenance, along with centralized power, hierarchical leadership (Gamson 1996), specialization (Herbst 1976), enforcing quality control through supervisory inspections, and reliance on written rules and policies (Hodson, Roscigno, and Lopez 2006), allow the bureaucratic organization to function (Gamson 1990). Bureaucratic organizations have been linked to workplace bullying; minority groups, such as females in the military, are more vulnerable (Hodson et al. 2006). Furthermore, power differentials associated with hierarchical leadership often lead to abuses of power (Smith 2005), such as sexualized violence. These structural realities also must be taken into consideration when developing a collective action frame.

Discursive Studies and Frame Analyses: Relevant Research

A number of researchers have employed frame analyses or general discursive research methods which clarify how sexual violence prevention in the military could be framed (Spry 1995; Berns 2001; Leisenring 2006). By reviewing previous work surrounding narratives and master frames of rape and domestic violence, military culture,
and military sexual trauma (MST), the conceptualization of military leader’s framing process options are brought to light.

**Framing Studies on Domestic Violence and Rape**

Nancy Berns (2001) sampled popular men’s magazines to employ a content analysis, identifying how domestic violence is being framed as a “backlash” to the feminist movement (Berns 2001). Media’s framing of social issues contributes to how individuals understand them, therefore shaping public perception. Typically one discourse dominates, reflecting power differentials in who holds and controls society’s knowledge (Berns 2001).

One theme Berns (2001) discussed is the degendering of domestic violence and rape as social problems. By claiming that men and women are equal contributors to domestic violence, the narrative ignores the contribution of patriarchal power differences (Berns 2001). Blame was gendered insofar as the issue was discussed in terms of how victimized women are also to blame (Berns 2001). Additionally, gendering the issue is likened to “male-bashing,” a common “backlash” to the feminist framing of social issues (Berns 2001). The most popular men’s magazines not only rejected feminist framing, but framed the issue with a contradictory master frame. Berns (2001) referred to this frame as “degendering the problem” and “gendering the blame.”

Leisenring (2006) focused on domestic violence narratives. She identified differences in how battered women relate to “victim,” “victim empowerment,” and “survivor” discourses (Leisenring 2006). Victim discourses can lead to self-blame since
the implication is that victims are weak for being victimized (Leisenring 2006). The victim narrative generates public sympathy for a social issue, but robs the victim of personal agency (Leisenring 2006).

In response, the “survivor” narrative emerged as a frame including positive qualities, such as, “agency, coping, resistance, decision making, recovery, and survival” (Leisenring 2006:312). It differs from the victim narrative, providing an opposing position on agency and responsibility (Leisenring 2006). However, the survivor narrative has proven to be problematic in the criminal justice system since it generates less public sympathy (Leisenring 2006). A narrative would be more complete if these two elements were combined, by acknowledging the batterer’s responsibility for violence and facilitating victim/survivor empowerment (Leisenring 2006).

Spry (1995) applied the “victim” and “survivor” narratives to individuals making sense of being sexual assaulted. She wrote that choosing between these two narratives reduces a woman’s agency, citing how it forces her to relate to the phallus on some level (Spry 1995). By re-conceptualizing these phallocentric divisions, a liberatory narrative would allow a woman to understand sexual violence committed against her from a position that reflects her own bodily experience (Spry 1995).

Ryan (2011) discussed the connection between rape acceptance myths and sexual scripts, or “culturally determined patterns of behavior that inform desire and influence sexual behavior” (Ryan 2011:774). Myths are “deeply rooted in US history, law, religion,
and media stereotypes” and create an environment “in which rape is perpetuated and rape victims blamed for their victimization” (Ryan 2011:774).

Common myths include that rapists are atypical men, women lie about rape, and women like rape (Ryan 2011). Understanding how these cultural scripts work to breed acceptance of rape myths through the conduct of interviews is a common discursive way to understand sexual violence (Ryan 2011).

Framing Military Sexual Trauma and Sexual Assault Prevention

An approach to understanding the social determinants of health states that interest should be paid to “the ways we generally recognize, define, name, and categorize disease states and attribute them to a cause or a set of causes” (Aronowitz 2008:1). Diagnoses organize illness by “identifying treatment options, predicting outcomes, and providing an explanatory framework” (Jutel 2009:278). Diagnoses can also affect opportunities and services available for the diagnosed and guide medical care (Jutel 2009).

Haaken and Palmer (2012) analyzed discursive strategies used to discuss prevention and treatment of military sexual assault (MST), a unique diagnosis since the symptomology is related to a social cause (Haaken and Palmer 2012). Data for the study consisted of texts and videos produced by the U.S. military addressing in-service prevention or post-service treatment through the VA, and interviews with clinical VA staff and National Guard employees serving on the Sexual Assault Prevention Team (Haaken and Palmer 2012).
Haaken and Palmer (2012) identified use of the incest narrative, which relates to common feminist master framing, of military sexual trauma. The incest myth narrative operates by describing rape in a family unit where clear power differentials are present (Collins 1998; Haaken and Palmer 2012). Common discourse related military sexual trauma to incestuous family relationships, as hierarchical power differentials are present and military units are often compared to family units:

The parallel includes the dynamics of dependency as well. The MST survivor, like the incest survivor, is forced to continue to interact with the perpetrator on a daily basis and is pressured to keep the “family secret” to protect both the perpetrator and the military unit as a whole (Haaken and Palmer 2012:331).

The connection could be problematic as by borrowing from the incest narrative, women’s agency is undermined as they are likened to perpetual children (Haaken and Palmer 2012). The home is the most dangerous place for a woman as far as where sexual violence occurs (Wagner 1999) and society’s power differentials are mirrored in ideal family types with a male authoritarian figure (Collins 1998).

These discursive studies provide a foundation with which to analyze framing processes implemented by military leaders in the prevention of and response to MST. The literature addressing master frames, master narratives, and collective action frame typologies provided an analytical lens through which to study the framing process of online sexual assault resources. The following chapter describes how this lens is useful for the proposed study.
METHOD

This research is based on content analysis of 130 webpages collected in 2014 that contained online sexual assault resources written for victims and/or their caregivers from government agencies associated with the military (n=66) and nongovernmental organizations working from a multicultural feminist perspective (n=64). Adopting a frame analysis lens, I analyzed the narratives and identified collective action frames and master frames developed for military and civilian audiences. This chapter details my procedure and supports my decisions by referring to a literature review of related methodology.

Research Questions and Sampling Frame

My research question was: “What are the different framing processes employed to present online sexual assault information to ex- and current military personnel compared to their civilian counterparts?”

I chose to sample online self-help health resources, written for sexual assault survivors or direct caregivers, because seeking health information using the Internet is becoming more common; one study reported that 80% of adult Internet users were seeking health information online (Cotten and Gupta 2004:1797). Cotten and Gupta (2004) found that 19% of participants sought information on sexual health issues (P. 1797). Two other studies showed that 33% and 50% of individuals searched for
information online that they did not wish to discuss with people face-to-face (Rainie and Fox 2000; Kummervold, Gammon, Bergvik, Johnsen, Hasvold, and Rosenvinge 2002).

Cotten and Gupta (2004) also found women are more likely than men to seek health information online. Since women are most often the victims of sexual assaults, this gendered difference might affect how rape victims seek health information following an assault. Cotten and Gupta (2004) also found that individuals who seek health information are likely to be younger and have higher incomes; the military offers a unique space for both of these criteria to be met.

For these reasons it seems extremely likely that a person might seek information about sexual assault online, especially since many rape victims are hesitant to report their experiences. And because more than half of people surveyed said they sought health information on behalf of someone else (Cotten and Gupta 2004), I included in my sample frame resources written for people other than victims, such as family, friends, or supervisors.

Sample

This research is based on content analysis of 130 webpages collected in 2014 that contained online sexual assault resources written for victims and/or their caregivers. Sixty-six (n=66) were online resources from government sources written for a current or former military audience and sixty-four (n=64) were generated for a civilian audience operated by a nongovernmental agency operating from a multicultural feminist orientation. Web pages included the following types: agency homepages, campaign

“Agency homepages” were webpages that described the functions or goals of an agency, organization, or subgroup therein. To be included in the sample, the goal of these agencies had to be preventing or responding to sexual assault, but could not be limited to law enforcement or legal interventions. “Campaign descriptions” were pages that informed a reader about awareness campaigns surrounding sexual assault or were the campaign materials themselves. Examples included brochures, but the majority of campaign descriptions were embedded promotional videos.

An “informational” page described sexualized violence by providing definitions of sexual assaults and related crimes, listing frequently asked questions, and describing consent and similar concepts aimed to answer the question, “what is sexual assault?” A “prevention” page was written for bystanders, victims, or potential perpetrators and included strategies on how to prevent sexual assaults before they occur. A “resource list” was a list of links to other webpages that could be useful to readers. Typical lists included laws or policies, self-help websites, media or other news stories, and internal webpages with related content.

“Response” pages were typically written for unit commanders (in the military sample) who are obliged to respond to sexual assault reports within their unit, or described detailed services provided by an organization for victims/survivors. The difference between these pages and other types was that “response” pages were not
encouraging victims or survivors to seek help (such as “self-help” pages) and were not
describing the act of sexual assault itself (such as “informational pages”). “Self-help”
pages were written for individuals dealing with the aftermath of being sexually assaulted
and provided step-by-step explanations of what to do next. These pages were typically
headed with, “I’ve been sexually assaulted - what should I do?” or similar questions that
might be asked by people seeking acute assistance.

Military Data Sample

Of the sixty-six (66) webpages in the military sample: thirteen (n=13) webpages
were categorized as Agency Homepages, eleven (n=11) were Campaign Descriptions,
eleven (n=11) were Informational, nine (n=9) were categorized as Prevention, nine (n=9)
were Resource Lists, nine (n=9) were Response pages, and four (n=4) were Self-Help
Pages (Table 1).

Table 1: Types of Webpages in Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type of Webpage</th>
<th>Civilian Cases (n)</th>
<th>Military Cases (n)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agency Homepage</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Descriptions</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informational</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prevention</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resource Lists</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Response</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-Help</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>64</strong></td>
<td><strong>66</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Civilian Data Sample

Within the sixty-four (n=64) webpages constituting the civilian, non-
governmental, multicultural feminist sample, seven (n=7) pages were Agency
Homepages, seven (n=7) were Campaign Descriptions, nineteen (n=19) were Informational pages, ten (n=10) were Prevention pages, two (n=2) were Resource Lists, seventeen (n=17) were Response pages, and two (n=2) were Self-Help pages.

**Sampling and Initial Coding Process**

Data collection and the first stage of analysis happened concurrently as I identified online resources meeting my search criteria and coded for intended audience, military or civilian, and page type. I compiled two data sets: (1) webpages operated by a government agency intended for military or veteran audiences, and (2) webpages run by non-government agencies written for a civilian audience. Both data sets consisted of webpages purposed to inform Internet users about sexual assault issues.

Starting at each agency’s homepage, I either referenced the “A to Z index” or searched the site - using the key term, “sexual assault” - to find pages relevant to my research question. For a page to be included in my sample, two conditions had to be met: (1) the page’s intended audience had to be easily deduced or stated; and (2) the page had to include one of the following key terms in its title or directly referenced elsewhere: “sexual(ized) violence,” “sexual assault,” or “rape.”

When pages met my criteria, I copied and pasted all text and images into one Microsoft Word document, which I later broke up into individual documents (each representing one sampled webpage) for analysis. When an audio-visual piece was embedded on the page, I personally transcribed the information (describing images with text) to include in the sample.
Identifying Military, Governmental Online Resources

I collected sixty-six (n=66) webpages meeting my criteria between February 19, 2014 and February 23, 2014. The government bodies I selected for this study were retrieved using usa.gov, a website providing a comprehensive list of government agencies (organizations governed by the Executive, Judicial, or Legislative branches of the U.S. government). I selected two agencies of the Executive branch due to its function of carrying out legislation. Actions inspired by laws pertaining to sexualized violence are performed at this level. Website URLs of government agencies ended exclusively with “.gov” or “.mil.”

I chose two government bodies, the Department of Defense (DoD) and Department of Veterans Affairs (VA), due to their direct association with the military. The military institution carries out orders to engage in wartime activities and protect the borders of the United States (Department of Defense 2014). Long-term care for transitioning ex-military personnel falls under the VA’s responsibility. Data was gathered for analysis if it mentioned the DoD or any branch within; including the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force, Coast Guard, National Guard, or Reserves. For this study information was only relevant if it pertained to the United States’ armed forces. I stopped sampling when I collected the full population sample of the chosen websites.

Identifying Non-Governmental, Civilian Online Resources

I collected sixty-four (n=64) non-governmental webpages meeting my criteria on March 16, 2014. Civilian organizations were those not directly associated with the
Civilian organizations can be governmental or non-governmental, but this study focused solely on the latter. If a non-governmental body only provided services to current or ex-military personnel, it was classified as “military” and was not sampled.

For an agency to be considered nongovernmental, it could not be directly supervised by any of the three branches of the U.S. government. Its financial support could not solely be grant money from any (or multiple) government agencies, and only in part if the organization was documented as a non-profit. Online resources were selected if its governing agency self-identified as a non-profit and provided enough information about funding sources to show they are not financially supported exclusively by the U.S. government. URLs of their websites tended to end in “.org,” but this was not used as a means to select agencies for sampling.

I consulted experts on Humboldt State University’s faculty, identifying non-governmental organizations that inspired on-campus sexual assault responders operating from a multicultural feminist perspective. By communicating with Kimberly Berry (Chair of Humboldt State University’s Sexual Assault Prevention Committee) via email on February 5, 2014, I was introduced to the following agencies: California Coalition against Sexual Assault (CALCASA), Mississippi Coalition against Sexual Assault (MCASA), and California Black Women’s Health Project (CBWHP). Despite their state-wide focus for direct services, their websites were presented to the public at the national level and therefore were still useful when considering how the general public seeks information online after experiencing rape.
Kimberly Berry also pointed me in the direction of the local Rape Crisis Prevention Team, whose website I visited on March 16, 2014. By doing so I identified a nongovernmental national organization, the Pandora Project, which I also sampled. The final organization I chose was the Rape, Abuse & Incest National Network (RAINN) since it is one of the largest anti-sexual violence organizations in the nation and was cited often within military websites from my first data set.

Following the same procedure (starting at an agency’s homepage then copying and pasting all relevant text, images, and audio-visual material), I found webpages that performed similar functions to those intended for current and ex-military personnel. Since I gathered this secondary data for comparative purposes, I stopped sampling when I reached sixty-four (n=64) webpages. Before analyzing this data set, I noticed that the webpages (on average) contained more information per page than those from my first set so I felt confident I had sufficient comparison material. Interestingly there were no audio-visual files embedded on the webpages sampled, a difference noted before analysis began.

Search Criteria

A webpage was included in the sample when “sexual(ized) violence,” “sexual assault,” or “rape” was clearly stated as subject matter, in its title or elsewhere. Furthermore webpages were only relevant which met the criteria of collective action framing insofar as they described sexual assault, diagnosed its features, or provided a description of preventative possibilities.
Sexualized violence referred to any violent act sexual in nature and unwanted by its receiver. This study focused on resources which have an intended audience of individuals victimized by completed or attempted rape, defined as penetration (without consent) of any bodily orifice with a body part or foreign object. The term, “sexual assault,” can encompass a variety of acts including stalking, dating violence, videotaping or photographing sex acts without consent, or forcing a victim to perform an unwanted sex act on someone else (Tracy, Fromson, Long, and Whitman 2012); however this study focused on online resources with content about rape or its consequences. I used the terms; “sexualized violence,” “sexual assault,” and “rape” interchangeably within the scope of this study.

Within websites operated by sampled organizations, any webpage created for victims of sexualized violence or their direct caregivers (family or non-medical, non-legal professionals) was a relevant online resource. Webpages were not included if they only presented prevalence rates of victimization or prosecution, demographics of victims or perpetrators, news articles, training manuals for any professional, or information geared toward legal or medical professionals. Also pages with general information on violence against women or pages that specialized in sexual assaults other than rape were not sampled.

I chose pages assumed to be most accessible to rape victims (or concerned others) seeking acute assistance or information, which I determined based on relative ease for finding the page when searching the website or accessing the “A to Z index,” use of
language geared toward a general audience, and straightforward descriptions of page content.

**Coding and Analysis**

**Initial Coding**

Using the qualitative research software ATLAS.ti, I performed an initial coding of my first data set (military, governmental webpages). Inspired by grounded theory, I performed a sentence-by-sentence coding for each sampled webpage focusing on processes, which is a common technique used by qualitative researchers who prefer results stemming from the data itself rather than collapsing data into preconceived analytical categories (Charmaz 2006).

My purpose for the initial coding was to familiarize myself with the data so I could match the first set of data when I collected data for my second set, increasing the likelihood that a useful comparison between the two data could be made. In the spirit of constructing grounded theory, I performed the initial coding before reviewing literature on framing analyses so the processes I coded for initially were not shaped by my reading of this material (Charmaz 2006).

**Refining the Coding Process**

My initial coding was performed during data collection to guarantee a proper comparison of my two data sets. Coding for collective action frames then constituted a secondary layer of coding (for my first data set). I relied on ATLAS.ti’s ability to construct “supercodes,” an analytical tool which allowed me to build off of my initial
codes by creating formulas that attached codes to more macro effects of framing processes. Specifically I categorized my initial codes into the following framing functions: (1) descriptive, (2) prognostic, and (3) prescriptive. I also created codes which named consensus symbols, master frames, and master narratives within the data sample.

The “supercodes” helped formulate a clear presentation on how collective action frames, master frames, and consensus symbols are created within the webpages’ language. Then I used the resulting coding structure to analyze the second data set. To remain consistent with a grounded approach, new codes were identified (and created) specific to the second data set, but only to inform the three major constituents of collective action framing.

Analysis and Comparison

When I generated quotations demonstrating the three main functions of collective action framing, consensus symbols usage, and adopting of master frame language taking place within the sample, I began to compare my findings across data sets. Starting with consensus symbols, I made comparisons between the use of preexisting symbols representing the status quo and how they were used between data sets.

I then contrasted emerging themes from both data sets focusing on how key ideas were defined and who or what was being described as affected by the problem (individuals, groups, or society), to begin an analysis of collective action framing. When considering the prognostic piece of collective action framing, I highlighted the text’s themes surrounding where and on whom responsibility is placed and how the frame
described the responsible agent’s influence on the social problem. To capture prescriptive framing, I compared themes regarding preventative measures described by each data set, looking at who or what needs to change and how. Finally, I compared the prevalence of using master frame language, focusing on civil rights and feminist movements, between military and civilian online resources.
ONLINE MILITARY RESOURCES: MASTER AND COLLECTIVE ACTION FRAMES

The data was analyzed for its frame choices in the articulation of collective action. Within each data set, the use of a master frame was identified and described. Assumptions related to diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive descriptions of the social problem were identified, completing the frame analysis.

The military’s online sexual assault resources articulated prevention and response efforts through a duty-oriented master frame that highlighted responsibility to follow orders through a hierarchical chain of command. The collective action frame described sexual assault as a crime committed by deviants that will be solved by improving criminal justice outcomes.

Master Frame

Sidney Tarrow (1994) discussed the adoption of consensus symbols, preexisting in the target population’s shared culture, by social movement leaders to mobilize people to change. The military’s online sexual resources and prevention campaign videos used branch emblems, DoD and other military emblems, and the U.S. flag, indicating their use of consensus symbols.

Military resources also situated their collective action message within an existing master frame from military culture, which emphasized interdependency, duty, responsibility, and following the chain of command. This paradigm is used in groups
whose primary function is combat and has been adopted by social movements, such as Deep Green Resistance (McBay, Keith, and Jensen 2011), when attempting to create organized social change. The duty-oriented master frame was evident through the webpages’ emphasis on military cultural values and combat-related language.

_Military Cultural Values_

One common theme surrounding sexual assault prevention and response was to cite branch-wide (core) “values,” internalized and passed on through military training. The specific values varied somewhat by branch, but all five and the DoD adopted preexisting cultural values when framing sexual violence prevention. The values cited most often were interdependency, self-sacrifice, teamwork, trust, respect, loyalty, strength, courage, and professionalism.

At times the values were referenced in a general sense:

_We live our lives by following our core values, on and off duty. Sexual assault or tolerating predatory or inappropriate behavior is contrary to these core values and is contrary to service in the United States’ Coast Guard (Brown and Tamargo 2013b)._ 

At other times they were listed in more detail:

_The targeted end state will institutionalize cultural imperatives of mutual respect and trust, professional values, and team commitment to create an environment where sexual assault is not tolerated, condoned or ignored (U.S. Department of Defense 2012)._ 

Values were often juxtaposed to bystander apathy. By claiming that a good soldier, wingman, or shipmate reports and stops sexual predatory behavior, the cultural values were redefined to include the responsibility of bystander intervention. The message
attempted to create cognitive dissonance within military personnel, eager to adhere to military values, who may have ignored or condoned sexual violence in the past.

*Combat-Related Language*

The duty-oriented military master frame also featured the use of combat-related language, naturally since the primary function of the military is to engage in combat. In this framework, activity is organized around combat-readiness where duties, missions, fighting, war, safety, protection, leadership, and the chain of command are emphasized. Such language was present in the online sexual assault resources on military websites.

Bystander intervention was also presented as a duty or mission:

> When you see or sense the risk of sexual harassment or sexual assault, it is your duty to intervene and protect your fellow Soldiers (U.S. Army 2012).

Additionally, sexual assaults were described as interfering with duties or missions:

> Sexual assault is a crime. It is blue on blue. It betrays the victims, it betrays the band of brothers and sisters, and it breaks the bond of trust essential to our mission and our team (U.S. Army 2012).

Sharing a cultural value to follow orders without question, military personnel are being influenced to prevent sexual assault as a matter of duty.

There was also direct mention of fighting and war, on Marine Corps and Army webpages, further exemplifying the duty-oriented master frame. A case in point, referring to bystander intervention:

> Marines love to fight. We thrive where there’s friction and chaos. Step in and do something, especially if one of our brothers or sisters is in distress (U.S. Department of Defense 2013).
War and fighting language often correlated with notions of providing safety and protection:

The safety of your fellow soldiers, your unit, and your community may depend on your reporting of these incidents (U.S. Army 2013b).

By citing military cultural values; such as interdependency, teamwork, self-sacrifice, trust, respect, loyalty, strength, courage, and professionalism; and using combat-related language, including duty, mission, following the chain of command, fighting, and war; the online resources situated sexual violence prevention and response within the military’s preexisting master frame.

**Collective Action Framing**

The collective action frame, situated in the military’s duty-oriented master frame, provided data for further analysis by identifying how the social problem was being defined. The online resources provided the frame’s diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive articulations, constituting a lens through which to understand the discursive construction of sexual violence in the military.

**Diagnostic Framing**

Primarily, sexual violence in the military was described as a crime defined in legal terms, such as:

Sexual assault is defined as intentional sexual contact, characterized by use of force, physical threat or abuse of authority or when the victim does not or cannot consent (U.S. Marine Corps 2014).
Consent was also defined and discussed, along with the differences between acquaintance, date, and stranger rape.

With the emphasis on sexual assault as a crime, it fit that one of the main issues promoted by military leaders was victims underreporting assaults. Leadership stated that reporting policies were changed to address a portion of rapes they could not control because they were not aware of them. An alternative reporting option now allows victims to maintain confidentiality and does not initiate an official investigation. The officials urged victims and bystanders to report sexual assaults, a key theme in their proposal to address the issue.

There were references to women having higher victimization rates, but the problem was mostly degendered. The webpages stressed the amount of male victims:

Although rates of MST are higher among women, because there are so many more men than women in the military, there are actually significant numbers of women and men seen in VA who have experienced MST (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs 2013).

There was acknowledgement that people are more likely to be assaulted by people they know, but the prevention tips were geared toward stranger rape scenarios. Furthermore, sexual violence was not discussed as a crime motivated by power or control.

The consequences related to sexual assaults were primarily short- and long-term individual mental and physical health issues ranging from shock, denial, and STDs to substance abuse issues, trouble sleeping, and chronic pain. At times awareness campaigns cited collective consequences, such as the decrease in morale, discipline, unit readiness,
professionalism, or trust among personnel. These collective problems fit into the
schemata of the duty-oriented military master frame.

**Prognostic Framing**

Despite highlighting the failure of victims to report as a key diagnostic issue, the
data emphasized the avoidance of victim-blaming:

The victim should never be blamed based on past history, nor should it be assumed that the victim instigated the incident (U.S. Army 2014).

Instead it was stressed that the responsibility lies with the perpetrators, who are most often acquaintances of the victim:

Perpetrators can be men or women, military personnel or civilians, commanding officers or subordinates, strangers, friends, or intimate partners (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs 2010).

There was evidence of degendering the problem in the prognostic features of the frame and prevention suggestions focused on potential victims’ behavior. Risk-reduction techniques were listed, which suggested that people stay alert (i.e., be aware of surroundings, lock doors, watch out for unauthorized personnel, stay in lighted areas at night, never leave a drink unattended, etc.), be assertive (i.e., define sexual limits outright, say “no” assertively, etc.), and watch out for warning signs (i.e., violating personal space; being ignored, interrupted, or made fun of; getting too intoxicated or encouraging others to; inappropriate anger; isolating, etc.).

Blaming the victim came up as a theme in the data when it referenced collateral misconduct, which refers to military law infractions the victim is punished for after reporting a sexual assault. If the victim was drinking alcohol or having a relationship with
someone forbidden by military code, then they could be punished. The online resources referred to collateral misconduct as a reason why sexual assaults were not reported. It also mentioned how collateral misconduct can be re-traumatizing and made suggestions to unit commanders:

Commanders are encouraged to wait until the sexual assault investigation is completed before holding a victim accountable for their misconduct. However, a commander can choose to address the victim's misconduct at any point in the process (U.S. Marine Corps 2014).

The online resources encouraged unit commanders to wait to punish victims, but offered no further information on how to make these decisions.

Cultural realities of the military institution were also highlighted as responsible for sexual assault prevalence. For instance there is a high rate of alcohol and other drug use in the military (Bray, Marsden, Herbold, and Peterson 1992), which was related to sexual violence in the data. Bystanders, potential perpetrators, and potential victims were warned to drink alcohol responsibly and avoid drugs as a prevention effort. For instance:

It's time we discuss sexual assault, discuss how to identify predatory behavior and also it's time to discuss the abuse of alcohol and how oftentimes that leads to poor decision-making (U.S. Coast Guard 2014).

It was also acknowledged that other military cultural norms contribute to the prevalence of sexual violence:

Precursors to sexual assault are innuendos, sexual harassment and egregious indecent assaults (U.S. Army 2013a).

From what was present in the online resources, the cultural precursors were referenced but not defined or discussed in a meaningful way, nor were they related to the hypermasculine qualities of the military institution.
Prescriptive Framing

The National Guard succinctly summarized the range of solutions suggested online:

The National Guard Bureau is committed to eliminating incidents of sexual assault by instituting a comprehensive policy that focuses on increasing awareness through prevention and education, victim centered support, intimidation free reporting, thorough investigation, and accountability for those who commit sexual crimes (Brown and Tamargo 2013a).

The main prescriptive foci were on increasing awareness through bystander intervention training, providing services for victims, and improving criminal justice outcomes for perpetrators and victims.

Bystander intervention was discussed as a prevention topic on multiple occasions:

Bystander Intervention is a strategy that motivates and mobilizes people to act when they see, hear, or otherwise recognize signs of an inappropriate or unsafe situation, to act and prevent harm…Active bystanders intervene to: (1) help someone who may be a target for sexual assault, or (2) prevent someone from becoming a perpetrator of sexual assault (U.S. Coast Guard 2013).

There were also several references to training programs on bystander intervention being conducted at military establishments.

Educating individuals through training was a common theme throughout the military’s sexual assault resources. In addition to bystander intervention training, sexual violence training is required within fourteen days of enlistment, unit commanders receive training on responding to assault reports, and VA health staff has mandatory training on MST treatment. Again the emphasis on training reinforces the duty-oriented master frame usage.
Oftentimes bystanders were trained to report suspicious behavior to their superiors, demonstrating how the criminal justice system was framed as the primary solution. Victims were also urged to report their assaults:

Use this as an opportunity to experience your personal strengths by holding your head up high, looking others in the eye, and holding the accused accountable for inappropriate behavior (U.S. Marine Corps 2014).

There was a strong reliance on law and policies to achieve the desired result:

MCO 1752.5 requires all Marines and Service members attached to Marine units to report all allegations, suspected, or actual incidents of sexual assault (U.S. Marine Corps 2014).

Mandating victim advocacy services represented another policy change aimed at prevention.

Another example of the criminal justice angle as a prescriptive feature of the frame was how self-help resources for victims often focused on collecting evidence for criminal investigations (i.e., do not bath, shower, change clothes, brush teeth, disturb the crime scene, etc.). Victim services were framed in the following way:

Research indicates when sexual assault victims receive care, system confidence builds, which increases the likelihood victims will report to law enforcement (U.S. Department of Defense 2014).

This quote illustrated how providing adequate victim care was framed as a way to strengthen criminal justice outcomes. Victim care services included providing medical care, confidential counseling services, waivers of collateral misconduct, and preferences for transferring (victim or perpetrator) to different units. In fact the only thing framed as “double victimization” (U.S. Army 2014) was transferring a victim to another unit against his/her wishes.
Victims were encouraged to seek mental health services. The most common self-help opportunity provided in the resources was to visit SelfHelpline.org, a website operated by the Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network (RAINN), designed to:

provide additional channels for adult Service members of the DoD community to seek one-on-one sexual assault assistance and crisis support securely and anonymously (U.S. Department of Defense 2014).

The importance of building community around victims was stressed, especially by the VA, so at times narratives of victims recovering from associated traumas were provided. The VA also reminded veterans of their ability to sign up for monthly service-connected disability payments. The websites did not mention that in order for the disability rating to be achieved, there had to be proof in the DoD’s records of a sexual assault report.

Active duty personnel were encouraged to seek a medical examination or call 911 if in immediate danger. The Veterans Health Administration encouraged screening through a VA clinic or hospital. Both institutions recommended mental health treatment and counseling for victims experiencing difficulties adjusting following an assault.

Victim Advocates were described as roles created to assist victims in signing up for services available to them.

An analysis of diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive features of the collective action frame articulated through online sexual assault resources further illustrated the use of a duty-orientated master frame preexisting in the military institution being used to frame sexual violence prevention efforts.
Within the civilian, nongovernmental online resources, master frames reminiscent of traditional feminist and multicultural feminist frameworks were observed. These frames represented an alternative master frame than the one used by the military, which focused on duty and responsibility. By identifying diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive features of the civilian collective action frame, I analyzed the use of master frames within this data set.

*Master Frames*

Language and ideas borrowed from the feminist, multicultural feminist, and civil rights movements were present in the data. By mentioning how oppression is the root cause of sexual violence, the online resources were situating the social issue in language reminiscent of all three master frames. One website stated:

> Honoring our grassroots, feminist and civil rights history is important (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014b).

By discussing sexual violence in the context of power and control, the issue was situated in a master frame highlighting oppressive power relations, stating:

> the healing of survivors cannot be separated from the healing of society (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014b).

They also discussed how feelings of powerlessness can result from sexual violence victimization to illustrate how victims often feel silenced. The narrative of empowerment
was used when framing victim recovery as a way of overcoming the barriers of powerlessness.

Some resources also discussed society’s defining of hegemonic masculinity as problematic to the issue:

there is a crisis in masculinity that needs to be addressed, especially with young men and boys, if we are to stop sexual violence (California Black Women’s Health Project 2014).

There is less evidence of degendering the problem compared to the military data set; it is clearly referenced that men are most likely to commit sexual acts of violence as a means of engaging in power and control. Although male victims’ needs are acknowledged, it is done so in a way that reiterates discriminatory practices:

Some sexual assaults of men are actually forms of gay-bashing, motivated by fear and hatred of homosexuality. In these cases, perpetrators may verbally abuse their victims and imply that the victim deserved to be sexually assaulted. It's important to remember that sexual assault is an act of violence, power and control and that no one deserves it (Stillerman 2014).

The websites also discussed the unique issues experienced by LGBTQ individuals, further honoring intersectionality issues.

Intersectionality theories were also used as master frames by mentioning how sexual orientation and race can affect the issue:

Doing effective, survivor-centered work requires that we are aware of personal privilege(s), personal biases and how they affect personal expectations and behavior (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014b).
The organizations discussed services they provided to address needs of under-served populations, including women of color, people with disabilities, and communities in rural areas. One webpage emphasized the difficulty associated with African American people reporting assaults, as they fear abuse by the criminal justice system. Acquaintance and date rapes have been silenced in communities of racial minorities as victims wanted to protect their victimizers from discriminatory legal practices (Crenshaw 1991).

**Master Narratives**

Master narratives often emerged in relation to master frames and are shared ways to describe a social issue at hand. A feminist master frame was adopted when the problem was described in terms of systems of gender inequality. It was common for this sample of websites to discuss prevention techniques geared toward boys and young men, which suggested an acknowledgement of the issue being gendered.

Another master narrative identified on civilian nongovernmental websites was to critique rape acceptance myths, including: women are turned on by forced intercourse, women are committed to have sex with a man after “leading him on” by “making out,” women have to fight back for the assault to be considered “rape,” silence can imply consent, women lie about being raped, if a victim is intoxicated then s/he is responsible, most people are raped by strangers, being in a relationship equals consent, and that women can keep themselves safe by practicing risk reduction techniques (i.e., not dressing provocatively, staying out of dark areas at night, women should always be
traveling with a buddy, etc.). These cultural scripts are often adopted by individuals and can support rape propensity.

The civilian data did not rely as heavily on prevention techniques available to potential victims:

We are told that if we do all the "right" things, if we "follow the rules", then we will be o.k.-meaning that we will "prevent" sexual assault from happening to us…The strategies we all learned as girls to protect ourselves are risk-reduction, not prevention. By becoming empowered and informed women, children, and men can reduce the risk of becoming a victim of sexual assault (California Black Women’s Health Project 2014).

This quote referred to another common master narrative in the civilian data: the empowerment narrative. When power and control were highlighted as sexual violence precursors, the narrative suggested that empowering victims or females in general was the key to changing the situation. There were several references to training programs seeking female and other victim empowerment. One goal of CALCASA’s Feminist Empowerment Based Self Defense Program was to:

Teach women and girls that their voices matter, that they have the capacity to embrace their own power, and that they can have ownership over their own bodies and are, therefore, agents of change in their community (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014c).

This echoed another common narrative of “victim to survivor:”

It is our belief that all survivors can move from victim to survivor to thriver (Pandora’s Project 2009).

Empowerment has become a key component of sexual assault victim recovery:

[T]he path to recovery and healing…are deeply rooted in the empowerment of the survivor, the establishment of a psychotherapeutic
relationship, and the value of a support system that includes family and friends (Feczer and Bjorklund 2009:282).

Collective Action Framing

In addition to master frames and master narratives, I also identified general themes of the collective action frame, focusing on diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive assumptions of sexual violence.

Diagnostic Framing

The civilian websites described sexual violence as criminal acts motivated by power and control, and a consequence of oppression. They also defined differences between stranger rape, partner rape, date rape, acquaintance rape, sexual assault, and consent. The problem was described as affecting both men and women and was framed as mostly occurring between people who know each another. It was acknowledged that men are more likely to rape than women. Psychological, physical, and emotional traumas were also attributed to the criminal act.

Prognostic Framing

The civilian resources were clear that partners and acquaintances are most likely to be victimizers. The data stated that men are most likely to commit sexual assaults and that the responsibility lies with the attacker, not the victim. There were many personal narratives of victims expressing how they feel responsible in order to show readers that this reaction if normal, but unwarranted.
Prescriptive Framing

The online resources provided victim-centered services such as hotlines, confidential counseling, and information about local rape crisis centers:

All those affected by sexual violence have the right to receive compassionate, culturally relevant, linguistically relevant and accessible services with dignity, privacy and respect (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014b).

Building community around victims was also a common theme so web-based peer-support discussions were created so survivors could share with each other.

Reporting the assault to police was described as a key solution to prevention:

Our goal is have every rape reported to police, just as every murder is reported and investigated. It's the best way to get rapists off the streets and make sure they can’t find new victims (Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network 2014).

Going through the criminal justice system was framed as a means of empowerment for victims.

It was also acknowledged that large-scale social change is necessary for sexual violence to be truly prevented:

In order to end sexual violence, there must be a shift in the public perception. Changing social norms and challenging bystander attitudes and behaviors are essential prevention strategies…Everyone has a role and a responsibility in ending sexual violence, and the healing of survivors cannot be separated from the healing of society (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014b).

Training programs and awareness campaigns were developed to address needed social change, which focused on changing behavior in boys and young men. In some cases, training programs were offered for school-aged boys and girls. Also victim-
centered trainings were empowerment-centered to help victims reject feelings of powerlessness. Bystander intervention was mentioned, but not as prevalent as it was in the military data set.

By focusing on sexual violence motivation as power and control, and acknowledging intersectionality as an issue, the diagnostic, prognostic, and prescriptive components of the collective action frame echoed the civil rights, feminist, and multicultural feminist frames employed by the online civilian sexual assault resources.
DISCUSSION

Frames: Civilian and Military Data Comparison

The military and civilian online resources employed separate master frames; the former focused on duty-oriented responsibility while the latter emphasized oppression as a root cause. The military’s master frame employed the same ideas which sustain the institution’s status quo in their efforts to prevent and respond to sexual violence. The civilian organizations’ master frame often referenced large-scale social change, rejecting the current status quo and highlighting it as fundamentally problematic.

To begin, I discuss contradictory or problematic elements when employing the military’s master frame in an effort to reduce sexual violence. Then I discuss whether or not feminist and multicultural feminist master frames could achieve frame alignment within the military’s hypermasculine culture. Finally, I identify similarities and differences between military and civilian collective action frames.

Within the duty-oriented master frame, there was heavy reliance on adherence to military cultural values. None of the online resources mentioned how these cultural values may have contributed to sexual violence in the first place. The following cultural values could actually prevent reporting of sexual assaults: trust, respect, loyalty, self-sacrifice, and teamwork. By not acknowledging how these sentiments could lead to bystanders protecting victimizers instead of victims, the use of the military master frame in this way could have a deleterious effect.
There was also no discussion on how the internalization of these values could lead to further victim traumatization. The values of teamwork, self-sacrifice, and interdependency could contribute to assault victims failing to report in an attempt to avoid disharmony. In addition, expecting trust, respect, and loyalty from one’s peers could add to feelings of betrayal after being sexually attacked (Seifert 1996). When the military emphasizes unit cohesion as a value, sexual assaults become doubly victimizing. Individuals are betrayed by someone they believe they could trust, then blame themselves for involvement in corrosion of unit cohesion (Kitfield 2012). The value of self-sacrifice manifests in the individual sacrificing autonomy to the demands of the institution (Herbst 1976).

Some values and characteristics reinforced by the master frame are problematic insofar as they reinforce masculine stereotypes: strength and courage. To illustrate:

Sexual assault is a shameful, disgusting crime and failing to intervene if you witness it is a cowardly act (U.S. Department of Defense 2013).

Promoting stereotypically male behaviors could inadvertently strengthen attitudes correlated with sexual violence propensity. The reinforcement of traditional sex roles could influence men to exercise power through sexual violence, as these acts maintain gender discrimination (Smith 2005). To be used effectively, these cultural symbols should be placed in a historical context highlighting their connection to patriarchal oppression. A discussion of this nature was not present in the online resource materials.

The master frame adopted by the military also contained elements of fighting and war. Using these cultural symbols might appear effective since personnel are trained to
follow orders without question, especially when framed as part of a duty or mission. Scholars often reduce military culture to a “culture of war” (Wilson 2008:14). References to following the chain of command were frequent along with mentioning the importance of leadership, reinforcing the centralized power structure conducive to combat responsiveness. However, the connection of these war symbols to collective violence cannot go unnoticed. Framing sexual violence in a manner that sanctions other violent acts may be too contradictory to be effective.

Furthermore, a lot of responsibility was placed on the unit commanders and other leaders to resolve the sexual assault issue, from prevention to reporting responses. This placement of responsibility echoed common sentiments conveyed by the duty-oriented frame, that military leaders should have absolute authority over their command. However, allowing individuals with potential personal biases or who may have engaged in sexual violence themselves to play such a pivotal role in response efforts could be problematic (Kitfield 2012). Being so immersed in a hypermasculine culture with little sexual violence training, the unit commanders may not have the proper tools to make a difference.

Additionally, rank is the military’s class system and one main military cultural value is to submit to requests from superiors. This reality has led to abuses of power, including sexual violence, and can also impede rape investigations (Kitfield 2012). If the criminal investigators are of lower rank than the accused, societal pressure would make it difficult for them to press charges against their superior (Kitfield 2012). Also, it is out of
the ordinary to believe a subordinate over someone who outranks him/her, which contributes to how rape victims in the military are not believed by their peers (Kitfield 2012).

To summarize:

[V]iewed through a certain prism, much about military life--the lopsided power imbalances of rank, the emphasis on unit cohesion over personal welfare, the captive troops with nowhere to escape, the tester one-fueled spirit of an overwhelmingly male profession that is heavily dependent on female volunteers--could make the military an almost ideal hunting ground for sexual predators (Kitfield 2012:3).

No doubt military leaders have considered the use of alternate master frames to avoid these contradictory issues within its current master frame. There was some evidence of feminist master framing in the online resources. For instance, the military webpages mentioned sexism very briefly:

Service members, civilians, and leaders at every level must work everyday to instill a climate that does not tolerate or ignore sexist behavior, sexual harassment, or sexual assault (U.S. Air Force 2013).

Though sexism is referenced, there was no deeper analysis offered regarding gendered power relations’ relationship with sexual violence, a common feminist framing of the issue.

As far as a multicultural feminist frame, which would highlight intersectionality, websites providing information on treatment options discussed how minority social identities might impact sexual violence:

Although the reactions men and women have to MST are similar in some ways, they may also struggle with different issues…Race/ethnicity, religion, sexual orientation, and other cultural variables can also affect the impact of MST (U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs 2013).
So not only is sexual violence not framed as an abuse of gendered power differentials by military leaders, it is not connected to the matrix of domination which also impacts the issue.

Furthermore, the step-by-step assault responses on military webpages were geared toward people who felt comfortable engaging with law enforcement, which can marginalize minority groups (Crenshaw 1991; Smith 2005; Solokoff and Dupont 2005). Military master framing did not include issues associated with intersectionality nor did the data acknowledge poorer mental health statuses of individuals who go through the legal system following an assault (Powell 1993).

There was one instance of use of a narrative reminiscent of a feminist master frame: the incest myth. Also identified in the framing of military sexual trauma by Haaken and Palmer (2012), the incest myth was referenced when sexual violence between service members was likened to incest in the family unit. Sexual violence was often described as a violation occurring between brothers and sisters in arms. However the master narrative was not taken to its conclusion by relating violence in the family unit to structural power relations (Collins 1996). Even here systems of inequality were not discussed in reference to sexual violence. An example of how it was discussed online:

[T]he consequences of MST may differ from nonmilitary sexual assault in some important ways, resulting in more severe physical and mental health consequences. The nature of the perpetrator-victim relationship has been found to be associated with severity of subsequent symptoms…and in MST; the perpetrator may be a coworker, supervisor, or personnel with higher rank (Suris and Lind 2008:264).
Sexual assault victims in the military are likelier to have continued contact with their perpetrator when compared to the civilian population (Suris and Lind 2008; Zinzow et al. 2007). The issue with the incest myth is that even if it is absorbed by the target population, only people meeting the definition of “family” are potential victims that the men should refrain from raping.

Historically feminist master frames have been avoided by activists in the military, even when they are promoting gender equality (Titunik 2008). This could be due to the fact that this frame cannot achieve alignment when the target population is hypermasculinized. The feminist movement is often likened to “male-bashing” in this cultural setting (Berns 2001). So even if military leaders believed sexual violence to be caused in part by systems of gender inequality, perhaps framing it as such would not achieve the mobilization leadership seeks.

There were some similarities in the collective action frames produced by military and civilian sexual assault resources (Table 2). For instance, degendering the issue was common to both. Even within the feminist master frame employed by the civilian resources, they were being inclusive of all forms of victim-perpetrator gender compositions, so it was common for gender neutral language to be used in reference to perpetrators and victims. The online resources also stated that “the vast majority of men, like the vast majority of women, are not rapists” and over 10% of rape victims in the United States are male (Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network 2014).
Table 2: Military and Civilian Results Comparison

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<tr>
<th>Master Frame</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Duty and Responsibility</td>
<td>• Oppression as Root Cause of Violence</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Interdependency, Self-Sacrifice, and Teamwork</td>
<td>• Systemic Inequality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Unit Cohesiveness</td>
<td>• Role of Power and Control</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Trust, Respect, and Loyalty</td>
<td>• Crisis in Masculinity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Following the Chain of Command</td>
<td>• Effects of Social Identities</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Centralized Power Hierarchy</td>
<td>• Addressing Needs of Marginalized Groups</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Combat Readiness, Fighting, and War</td>
<td>• Focus on Large-Scale Social Change</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Courage and Strength</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Professionalism</td>
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<tr>
<td>Master Narratives</td>
<td>• Incest Narrative</td>
<td>• Empowerment Narrative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Victim to Survivor</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• Critiques of Rape Acceptance Myths</td>
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<th>Diagnostic Framing</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
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<td></td>
<td>• Criminal Act</td>
<td>• Criminal Act</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Defined in Legal Terms</td>
<td>• Defined in Relation to Power</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Degendering the Problem</td>
<td>• Victim Powerlessness</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Individual Mental and Physical Health Issues</td>
<td>• Individual Mental and Physical Health Issues</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Deterioration of Unit Cohesiveness</td>
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<th>Prognostic Framing</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Underreporting</td>
<td>• Men are Vast Majority of Perpetrators</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Avoidance of Victim-Blaming</td>
<td>• Systems of Inequality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Collateral Misconduct</td>
<td>• Power and Control</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• High Prevalence of Acquaintance Rape</td>
<td>• High Prevalence of Acquaintance Rape</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Social Precursors to Violence</td>
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<td>• Use of Alcohol and Drugs</td>
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<th>Prescriptive Framing</th>
<th>Military</th>
<th>Civilian</th>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Bystander Intervention</td>
<td>• Educating Boys and Young Men to Redefine Masculinity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Reporting Assaults</td>
<td>• Victim Empowerment</td>
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<td></td>
<td>• Increasing Awareness through Education</td>
<td>• Community- and Coalition-Building</td>
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<td>• Victim-Centered Services</td>
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<td>• Strengthening Criminal Justice Outcomes</td>
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<td>• Reviewing Laws and Policies</td>
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<td>• Duty of Unit Commanders and Other Leaders</td>
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<td>• Risk-Reduction Techniques for Potential Victims</td>
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Degendering sexual violence in this manner is so common it has been identified as a master narrative by previous researchers (Berns 2001). By not acknowledging that sexual violence is committed by men in the majority, they are not highlighting gendered power relations as a cause (Berns 2001). Using this master narrative could be problematic as it reduces a patriarchal critique of the issue. Considering the cultural milieu of the military, this could have been an educated choice by movement leaders.

There were many discussions of masculinity and social precursors elsewhere in the civilian data. It stated that “men commit 95% of sexual assaults” (Mississippi Association Against Sexual Assault 2014) and “86% of male survivors are sexually abused by another male” (Stillerman 2014), but other websites provide confusing statistics which make it seem that men and women are equally likely to experience sexual assault:

- Nearly 1 in 5 women (or 22 million) have been raped at some point in their lives in the U.S.
- Nearly 1 in 5 men (or 25 million) have experienced sexual violence other than rape at some point in their lives in the U.S. (California Coalition Against Sexual Assault 2014a).

Another similarity between the two data sets is their framing of sexual violence as a crime which will be solved by strengthening criminal justice outcomes. For this reason, both data sets encouraged victims to report sexual assaults, even though studies show that reporting can lead to further traumatization (Powell 1993).

Also, some theorists who acknowledge the intersectional nature of oppression would warn that strengthening the criminal justice system serves to strengthen discrimination:
Any movement seeking to end violence against women will fail if its strategy supports and helps sustain the prison industrial complex. Prison, policing, the death penalty, the war on terror, and the war on drugs all increase rape, beatings, isolation, oppression, and death (Smith 2005:161).

The military’s self-help resources for victims assumed that they would be comfortable dealing with law enforcement, which may not be true for minorities of race and sexual orientation (Crenshaw 1991).

For these reasons, rape interventions that do not address intersectionality will not be effective (Crenshaw 1991). When addressing sexism in isolation, the hegemonic (white) racial interests or needs will be treated as paramount. Similarly in considering racism, men of colors’ perspectives will be placed above those of their female counterparts (Crenshaw 1991). In both cases women of color are marginalized.

Even though it may marginalize individuals, strengthening the criminal justice system is a common sentiment expressed among scholars addressing rape prevalence. For instance, Faley (2006) discussed how the military should, “strengthen efforts to suppress ritualized, sexualized hazing,” improve comprehensive training programs for soldiers, and promote the normative use and warnings of formal action when violence is committed (P. 572).

Future Research

Identifying the product of the framing process is informative, but also has its limitations. One can only speculate why military and civilian social movement leaders made the choices they did when articulating their message for social change. A thread of
future research might interview military leadership, those creating the collective action frame, to understand their decision-making processes.

Also, the issue of collateral misconduct deserves more attention. If the unit commanders are simply encouraged to defer collateral misconduct, are they actually doing so? How are these commanders trained to make these decisions and what are the typical outcomes? Additionally, it would be interesting to understand what types of military code infractions the victims are punished for most often. Since there is so much ambiguity in the deferment process, it would be interesting to see how personal biases affect victim punishment outcomes.

Another interesting avenue for future researchers is to better understand the impact of rank in military criminal justice rape investigations. This could be done through interviewing investigators to understand the difficulties associated with investigating a person who outranks them. A quantitative study could also understand how rank influences rape trial outcomes. There is likely some quality cross-cultural data to share, since many countries have taken sexual assaults out of the military justice chain of command (Kitfield 2012).

Further research in the area of understanding military personnel’s perceptions on rape could be extremely useful for preventing sexual violence. As any collective action frame must resonate with its target population, it would behoove social movement leaders to understand the values held by the target population since they will influence how a message is received.
Since thesis focused on framing processes employed by military leadership, who are likely officers, it would be interesting to examine efforts of grassroots organizers, enlisted men and women not holding leadership positions as they participate in social movements around the issue of military sexual assault. Hayes (1975) identified social movements emerging in this manner, focusing on anti-war movements in response to the Vietnam War. The anti-war movement became organized and more effective when anti-war and anti-racism organizers joined together in a coalition-based movement aimed at increasing Constitutional rights afforded to military personnel (Hayes 1975). It would be interesting to question whether or not this type of inter-movement organizing is surfacing surrounding sexualized violence.

Although the VHA has been criticized for focusing on MST treatment as opposed to prevention (Suris and Lind 2008), its mandated MST-screening during primary care appointments provides researchers with data to understand the issue and may be a model fit to be carried over into the civilian sphere. Researchers often argue that proper screening techniques in the primary care sector could increase connecting victims to services (Zinzow et al., 2008; Turchik et al., 2012). Consider the impact of these statistics:

- Few civilian victims of sexual assault seek formal mental health services or victim assistance immediately, but 98% make outpatient physician visits in the first year after victimization (Sadler et al. 2000:478).

- Macy, Giattina, Montijo, and Ermentrout (2010) interviewed domestic violence and sexual assault agencies’ directors to see which services are considered most helpful
for victims. They identified the following core services to be most important: (1) operation of 24-hour crisis hotlines, (2) counseling services, (3) support groups, (4) court and legal advocacy, (5) medical and social advocacy, and (6) shelter services (Macy et al. 2010). These services will only be helpful to rape survivors if they identify themselves for treatment. The VHA-inspired model of screening during primary care appointments could connect victims with services and be an interesting area for future research.
CONCLUSION

A frame analysis of military and civilian online sexual assault resources indicated a different use of master and collective action framing processes. Civilian and military movement leaders were making different framing choices due to their need to resonate with different target populations. Future researchers might interview military and civilian leaders to better understand their framing choices.

The military social movement leaders did not frame sexual violence as being rooted in oppression. Instead they situated their collective action frame within the military’s existing duty-oriented master frame. By doing so, they ignored systems of inequality which must be addressed to produce the desired result: decreasing sexualized violence. This thesis also identified contradictions within that frame which may support rape propensity instead of remove it from the culture.

The difficulty lies in marrying the military’s master frame, which is born out of a hypermasculinized culture, with a frame that promotes social change by addressing systems of inequality. Feminist frames typically result in a backlash within hypermasculine contexts, so the development of a collective action frame to prevent sexual violence in the military is challenging. Future research could further elucidate an effective collective action frame that resonates with military culture without erasing patriarchal critiques of the sexual violence issue.
REFERENCES


Cohn, Carol. 2000. “’How Can She Claim Equal Rights When She Doesn’t Have to Do as Many Push-ups as I Do?:’ The Framing of Men’s Opposition to Women’s Equality in the Military.” *Men and Masculinities* 3(2): 131-151.


### Table 3: U.S. Coast Guard Webpages in Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“What is the Coast Guard Doing to Eliminate Sexual Assault?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_policy.asp">http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_policy.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“How Do I Educate Myself to Prevent and Respond to Sexual Assault?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_education.asp">http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_education.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Video: Sexual Assault Prevention Month Message, Master Chief of the Coast Guard Leavitt”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.dvidshub.net/video/285588/sexual-assault-prevention-month-message-master-chief-coast-guard-leavitt#.UwkNP1WmXuc">http://www.dvidshub.net/video/285588/sexual-assault-prevention-month-message-master-chief-coast-guard-leavitt#.UwkNP1WmXuc</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Coast Guard Articles about Sexual Assault Awareness”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_news.asp">http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_news.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Support for Victims of Sexual Assault”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_support.asp">http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/sapr_support.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Quick Facts About VA’s Health Care Services for Military Sexual Trauma (MST) Specific MST-Related Services Available Through the Veterans Health Administration”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/docs/pdf/sapr_VA_Healthcare_Services.pdf">http://www.uscg.mil/worklife/docs/pdf/sapr_VA_Healthcare_Services.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 4: U.S. Marine Corps Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Month”</td>
<td><a href="https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/Announcements">https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/Announcements</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“April is Sexual Assault Awareness Month”</td>
<td><a href="https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/Announcements">https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/Announcements</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“FAQs”</td>
<td><a href="https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/FAQ%27s">https://www.manpower.usmc.mil/portal/page/portal/M_RA_HOME/MF/D_Sexual%20Assault%20Prevention/FAQ%27s</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected February 20, 2014
Table 5: U.S. National Guard Webpage in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault Prevention and Response”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.nationalguard.mil/jointstaff/j1/sapr/">http://www.nationalguard.mil/jointstaff/j1/sapr/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>*Collected February 21, 2014.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 6: U.S. Department of Defense Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault Prevention and Response Office”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sapr.mil/">http://www.sapr.mil/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Gen Dempsey Sexual Assault Awareness and Prevention”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwrGMUrIQB4">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=LwrGMUrIQB4</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Secretary of Defense Sexual Assault Awareness and Prevention”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwUIxeNS6BU">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IwUIxeNS6BU</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“USMC SgtMaj: Sexual assault is shameful, disgusting crime”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_ZQOHVG6Rk">http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=n_ZQOHVG6Rk</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault Awareness and Prevention”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2012/0912_sexual-assault/">http://www.defense.gov/home/features/2012/0912_sexual-assault/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Initiatives to Combat Sexual Assault in the Military”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.defense.gov/home/features/department_messages/DoD_Initiatives_to_Combat_Sexual_Assault.pdf">http://www.defense.gov/home/features/department_messages/DoD_Initiatives_to_Combat_Sexual_Assault.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7: U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Military Sexual Trauma”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/mst_general_factsheet.pdf">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/mst_general_factsheet.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Military Sexual Trauma”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“VA Programs &amp; Services”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Articles &amp; Fact Sheets”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Other Resources”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/msthome.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Military Sexual Trauma Counseling”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.vetcenter.va.gov/Military_Sexual_Trauma.asp">http://www.vetcenter.va.gov/Military_Sexual_Trauma.asp</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Military Sexual Trauma”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/MST-BrochureForVeterans.pdf">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/MST-BrochureForVeterans.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Top 10 Things All Healthcare and Service Professionals Should Know About VA Services for Survivors of Military Sexual Trauma”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/top_10_public.pdf">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/top_10_public.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Military Sexual Trauma Fact Sheet – Veterans Health Administration”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/MST_Fact_Sheet_11-2013.pdf">http://www.mentalhealth.va.gov/docs/MST_Fact_Sheet_11-2013.pdf</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 8: U.S. Navy Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I Think I Was Sexually Assaulted”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cnic.navy.mil/ffr/family_readiness/fleet_and_faf_fami_supper_program/sexual_assault_prevention_and_respresp/i_may_be_a_victim.html">http://www.cnic.navy.mil/ffr/family_readiness/fleet_and_faf_fami_supper_program/sexual_assault_prevention_and_respresp/i_may_be_a_victim.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault Resources”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cnic.navy.mil/ffr/family_readiness/fleet_and_faf_fami_supper_program/sexual_assault_prevention_and_respresp/resources.html">http://www.cnic.navy.mil/ffr/family_readiness/fleet_and_faf_fami_supper_program/sexual_assault_prevention_and_respresp/resources.html</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


### Table 9: U.S. Air Force Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“If you have been sexually assaulted or think you may have been:”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.afpc.af.mil/library/saprap/report.asp">http://www.afpc.af.mil/library/saprap/report.asp</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected February 21, 2014.
Table 10: U.S. Army Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“SHARP Program: Sexual Harassment / Assault Response &amp; Prevention”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Living the Army Values”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/living-the-army-values.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/living-the-army-values.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I have been sexually assaulted. What should I do?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/what_to_do.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/what_to_do.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“How can I reduce my risk of being sexually assaulted?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_reduce_victim.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_reduce_victim.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What is acquaintance or ‘date’ rape?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_date_rape.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_date_rape.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“How can I reduce my risk of becoming a sexual assault offender?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_reduce_offender.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_reduce_offender.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What can I do to help prevent others from being sexually assaulted?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_help_others.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/prev_help_others.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What can I do to help prevent sexual assault in my unit?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_prevent.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_prevent.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What are my responsibilities when a sexual assault occurs in my unit?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_responsibility.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_responsibility.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Commander’s Sexual Assault Victim Assistance Checklist”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_commanders_checklist.cfm">http://www.sexualassault.army.mil/leader_commanders_checklist.cfm</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected February 19, 2014 to February 20, 2014.
### Table 11: Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“National Sexual Assault Hotline - 1.800.656.HOPE”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-hotline">http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-hotline</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“The Online Hotline”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-online-hotline">http://www.rainn.org/get-help/national-sexual-assault-online-hotline</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Reporting the Crime to the Police”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Reporting Rape”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information/reporting-rape">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information/reporting-rape</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What Should I Do?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information/what-should-i-do">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/legal-information/what-should-i-do</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Avoiding Dangerous Situations”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/avoiding-dangerous-situations">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/avoiding-dangerous-situations</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“In a Social Situation”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/social-situations">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/social-situations</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“If Someone is Pressuring You”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/avoiding-pressure">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/sexual-assault-prevention/avoiding-pressure</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Types of Sexual Violence”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Was I Raped?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/was-it-rape">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/was-it-rape</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Sexual Assault”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/sexual-assault">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/sexual-assault</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Rape”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/definition-of-rape">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/definition-of-rape</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Acquaintance Rape”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/acquaintance-rape">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/acquaintance-rape</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Male Sexual Assault”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/male-sexual-assault">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/male-sexual-assault</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Partner Rape”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/partner-rape">http://www.rainn.org/get-information/types-of-sexual-assault/partner-rape</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 12: California Coalition Against Sexual Assault Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Resources”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.calcasa.org/resources/">http://www.calcasa.org/resources/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected March 16, 2014.

### Table 13: Mississippi Coalition Against Sexual Assault Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“about us”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mscasa.org/about/">http://www.mscasa.org/about/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“f.a.q. (frequently asked questions)”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.mscasa.org/resources-links/faq/">http://www.mscasa.org/resources-links/faq/</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected March 16, 2014.
Table 14: California Black Women's Health Project Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“April is Sexual Assault Awareness Month”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.cabwhp.org/resources/issue_guides/effective_prevention_sexual_violence">http://www.cabwhp.org/resources/issue_guides/effective_prevention_sexual_violence</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected March 16, 2014.

Table 15: Pandora's Project Webpages in Sample*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title of Webpage</th>
<th>URL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Welcome to Pandora's Project”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/">http://www.pandys.org/</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Introduction to Pandora's Project”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/intro.html">http://www.pandys.org/intro.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Projects &amp; Programs: Serving Rape and Sexual Abuse Survivors”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/projects.html">http://www.pandys.org/projects.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What You Will Find in our Online Support Group”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/find.html">http://www.pandys.org/find.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Crisis Support &amp; Resources”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/crisissupport.html">http://www.pandys.org/crisissupport.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Meet Rape and Sexual Abuse Survivors”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/survivorstories.html">http://www.pandys.org/survivorstories.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“How do you define rape, sexual, and sexual assault?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/definitions.html">http://www.pandys.org/definitions.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What is Rape?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/whatisrape.html">http://www.pandys.org/whatisrape.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What is Sexual Abuse?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/whatissexualabuse.html">http://www.pandys.org/whatissexualabuse.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“What is Sexual Assault?”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/whatissexualassault.html">http://www.pandys.org/whatissexualassault.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“For All Survivors of Rape and Sexual Abuse”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/forsurvivors.html">http://www.pandys.org/forsurvivors.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“For Male Survivors of Rape and Sexual Abuse”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/malesurvivors.html">http://www.pandys.org/malesurvivors.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“For Survivors of Marital / Partner Rape”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/partnerrapesurvivors.html">http://www.pandys.org/partnerrapesurvivors.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“For Friends, Family and Partners of Rape and Sexual Abuse Survivors”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/secondarysurvivors.html">http://www.pandys.org/secondarysurvivors.html</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“For Professionals: Pandora’s Aquarium and the Benefits to Survivors of Sexual Assault”</td>
<td><a href="http://www.pandys.org/professionals.html">http://www.pandys.org/professionals.html</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Collected March 16, 2014.