GENDERED NATURE OF CYBER VICTIMIZATION AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CONTROL

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Abstract

This research used a deductive post-hoc statistical design and Statistics Canada's 2009 General Social Survey on victimization to explore the social control function of cyber victimization and determine whether this is gendered. Social control was operationalized as a composite measure of self-responsibilization. A multiple regression analysis identified predictors of social control and additional multiple regression models were used for a gender specific examination of social control. A total of 14 predictor variables were entered into three blocks: cyber victimization; sociodemographic characteristics; and violent victimization in physical space. The results reveal that cyber victimization remains a significant predictor of social control in addition to gender, a number of other sociodemographic characteristics of respondents, and physical space victimization types. The findings suggest that the theory of social control, which has been applied to violence against women in physical space, can also be applied to cyber space victimizations. This study also provides insights into the compound effects of physical space and cyber space victimizations on women and identifies implications for policy, methods, and theories for addressing and examining violence against women in cyberspace.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Violence against women is a widespread social issue that negatively affects many women and has a range of physical, psychological, social, and financial impacts (Johnson & Dawson, 2011; Waller, 2011; United Nations, 2006). Pioneer feminist researchers Mary Koss (1982) and Diana Russell (1982) shed light on the realities and frequencies of sexual violence, which challenged predominant androcentric understandings of forms of violence against women. While expansions of forms of violence against women have been explored in research, the cyber victimization of women requires further attention and exploration. Estimates of the prevalence of cyber victimization are mixed and are not directly comparable due to differing conceptualizations and forms of measurement. The General Social Survey on victimization by Statistics Canada in 2009 revealed that 7% of men and the same percentage of women 18 years of age and older have experienced cyber victimization (Perreault, 2011) and women report to police at a higher rate compared to men, 8% and 5% respectively. However, Canadian police-recorded data on cyber victimization suggest that women are targeted at a higher frequency compared to men (Mazowita & Vezina, 2014). In addition, other studies, both within Canada (Craig & Edge, 2011; Steeves, 2014; West Coast LEAF, 2014) and internationally (Pew Research Center, 2014; Oritz-Zezzatti, Gallegos, & Diaz, 2013; Philips & Morrissey, 2004; Citron, 2009a; Barak, 2005; Chrisholm, 2006), found that there is a gendered difference in which women and young girls experience more cyber victimization and more severe types (Reyns, Henson & Fisher, 2012).

National attention towards the impacts of cyber victimization increased after the suicides of Amanda Todd in 2012 and Rehtaeh Parsons in 2013. In brief, Todd showed her breasts on an online web chat group and a male from the Netherlands took a photograph, without her consent, and used this image to blackmail her into continuing to be involved in sexual cyber encounters (West Coast LEAF, 2014), whereas the distributed images of Parsons' were captured during a gang rape as she was vomiting (The Huffington Post, 2013). In both cases, these young women were subjected to online harassment, threats, and humiliation to the point where they committed suicide. There has also been heightened awareness around the issues of sexual violence and cyber misogyny on university campuses. For example, two particular incidents in 2014 involving University of Ottawa male students resulted in the President of the University developing a Task Force: the sexual assault of a woman in Thunder Bay by members of the University of Ottawa's men's hockey team and the violent misogynistic private Facebook conversation, that was made public, about the female President of the Student Federation of the University of Ottawa (University of Ottawa, 2015). The purpose of the Task Force was to "foster a campus culture that encourages respectful behaviour, prevents sexual violence and ensures that the members of the community can learn in an environment that is free of harassment and sexual violence (University of Ottawa, 2015, p. 5).

Despite growing attention to and public discussion about the impacts of cyber victimization on women, the severity of the content and the harms tend to be downplayed. As just one example, in 2014 male students in the Dalhousie University dentistry program created a Facebook page that included polls on who they want to have 'hate sex' with and group discussions on drugging female classmates (Dalhousie

University, 2015). Rather than acknowledging the harms of this violent and misogynistic material, sympathy and consideration was directed towards the male students for their poor judgment that may negatively affect their future.

Previous empirical research on forms of violence against women has identified key risk factors, such as victimization history and various sociodemographic characteristics, and factors associated with adopting precautionary measure and avoidance behaviours, such as type of victimization experienced, perceptions of fear of victimization, and sociodemographic characteristics (Johnson & Dawson, 2011; Perilloux, Duntley & Buss, 2012; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Nobels, Reyns, Fox & Fisher, 2012). Feminist scholars Sheffield (2007) and Brownmiller (1975) argue that violence against women, whether it is actual or threatened violence or whether it is the perception of potential violence, is a male tool that socially controls the behaviour of women by reminding them that they can be attacked at any given time and there are 'ways to prevent' attacks, such as adhering to prescribed gender roles for women. This can result in many women adopting precautionary/ avoidance and/or self-responsibilization behaviours to 'protect' themselves from unknown dangers. This research will expand on the theory of social control by examining the gendered norms and behaviours in cyber space and how cyber victimization also functions as a mechanism of social control over women. Within this study, the adopted precautionary measures/ avoidance behaviours examined post victimization is explored in terms of engagement in self-responsibilization behaviours for self-protection from crime, which is modeled on Nobels and colleagues' (2012) comparative study on avoidance behaviours of victims of physical space stalking and cyber stalking.

This current research intends to shed light on the gendered nature of cyber victimization as a mechanism of social control with the following research questions:

1. Does cyber victimization predict social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours?
2. Is social control, in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours, gendered?
3. Does sexual assault have an independent effect on the self-responsibilization of women?

In order to empirically explore the research questions, a deductive post-hoc statistical design was conducted on Statistics Canada's 2009 General Social Survey on victimization. The 2009 GSS on victimization conceptualizes cyber bullying as "the use of the Internet to threaten, antagonize or intimidate someone" (Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 236). This definition is quite broad and that arguably allows respondents to place their experience(s) within the broad range of behaviours included (Jaquier, Johnson & Fisher, 2010). The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 23) was used to explore the univariate characteristics of both the outcome measure and predictor variables and to conduct the appropriate bivariate and multivariate hypotheses testing.

The organization of this thesis is as follows. Chapter 2 discusses the conceptualization of cyber victimization as well as some of the methodological debates inspired by feminist informed research on this form of victimization, examinations of prevalence of cyber victimization as well as correlates, and gendered interactions in cyber space. The theoretical framework examined in Chapter 3 frames the gendered nature of physical space and cyber space victimization within the theory of social control and discusses the process and mechanisms by which women are controlled, both informally

and formally. Chapter 4 describes the survey methodology carried out by Statistics Canada, the epistemology and ontology of this research, and the operationalization of concepts and variables used for this study, which includes univariate descriptions for each variable and described methods of analyses. Chapter 5 presents the results from the bivariate and multivariate hypotheses testing. Chapter 6 discusses the gendered nature of the newly researched area of cyber victimization as a function of social control and the under-researched area of sexual violence as a function of social control, as well as limitations of the study. Chapter 7 summarizes the conclusions from this study and offers directions for future methodological improvements to research and feminist informed research.

Chapter 2: Review of the Literature

Violence against women is a violation of human rights and can have a range of negative consequences including fear, injury, ill health, and even death (Waller, 2011; United Nations, 2006). The 2009 victimization General Social Survey (GSS), a self-report victimization survey carried out by Statistics Canada every five years (Statistics Canada, 2011a), estimated a rate of 34 sexual assault incidents per 1,000 women (Sinha, 2013, p. 31). The National Intimate Partner and Sexual Victimization Survey (NISVS), a national survey in the United States, estimated that one in five women have been sexually assaulted in their lifetime (Black et al., 2011).

What constitutes violence against women continues to evolve to incorporate new and emerging acts that cause harm to women (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Traditionally, harms against women have been defined from an androcentric perspective, a concept originally coined by Charlotte Gilman (1911), which refers to the production and maintenance of knowledge, traditions, religion, social etiquette and practices that are monopolized by male interests. These male interests, as discussed by Bem (1993), can result in "males and male experience [being] treated as a neutral standard or norm for the culture of species as a whole, and females and female experience [being] treated as sex specific deviation from that allegedly universal standard" (p. 41). The experiences and impacts of sexual violence have long been minimized and victims have been blamed; however, feminist scholars, sexual assault survivors and advocates have challenged damaging stereotypes and beliefs and advocated for greater political attention towards rape and other forms of sexual assault and harassment and the development of new theoretical frameworks to explain sexualized violence against women (Muehlenhard,

Danoff-Burg, & Powch, 1996). From early research incorporating the voices of rape victims (Russell, 1982; Koss & Oros, 1982), it became evident that rape was not an attempt at seduction or an ultimately pleasurable experience for women; but rather, it was violent and terrifying and resulted in lasting negative effects. Despite advancements made in research and legislation, sexual violence continues to be one of the most underreported crimes (Kelly & Radford, 1996; Deming, Covan, Swan, & Billings, 2013).

One of the first steps towards globally addressing violence against women was the 1993 United Nations *Declaration on the Elimination of Violence against Women*, which defined violence against women as:

> any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or private life (United Nations General Assembly, 1993).

There are numerous studies examining the harmful long-term impacts of sexual assault, with one of the earliest studies carried out by Burgess and Holmstrom (1974) who coined the concept “rape trauma syndrome”, which is now recognized as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD). Rape trauma/PTSD for rape victims can include an acute phase, which is immediately after the sexual assault where women may experience shock, fear and anxiety, and a long-term phase, which can include relocation in order to feel safe, change of telephone number, nightmares, and fears (e.g., being outside, inside, alone, in crowds, people walking closely, and refraining from sexual relations). The findings from this study have been replicated in recent research with regards to women fearing for safety and refraining from daily activities as a result of sexual violence (Black et al., 2011). In addition, it has also been found that many sexually assaulted women report experiencing

depression (Black et al., 2011), more likely to have PTSD (Waller, 2011; Black et al., 2011), meet the requirements for major depressive syndrome, possess suicidal thoughts, and have attempted suicide at least once (Ullman & Brecklin, 2002).

The 1993 UN Declaration also states that definitions of violence against women should encompass a variety of spaces in which violence could be perpetrated (United Nations General Assembly, 1993). Traditionally, violence and threats of violence were restricted to being carried out through face-to-face interactions, telephone calls, and mail (Citron, 2009b); however, there needs to be further consideration into the methods of communication in response to the development and widespread use of internet technology. Statistics Canada's (2013) Canadian Internet Use Survey estimated 83% of Canadians, 16 years and older, use the Internet. From that it is estimated that 58% of Internet users access the Internet through handheld devices, such as smartphones and tablets, and that 84% of these users are between the ages of 16-24. According to a social media usage study carried out by the Pew Research Centre, the most popular social networking website is Facebook, 71%, which outranked Instagram, 26%, and Twitter, 23% (Duggan, Ellison, Lampe, Lenhart & Madden, 2015), with the majority of Facebook users being women and between the ages of 18-29.

These new and widely adopted methods of communication and interaction have created new spaces for social interaction, which have created new opportunities for forms and modes of violence against women, and new fears associated with it. Franks (2012) noted that there are three elements that amplify the perpetration of cyber victimization and its effects. First, online perpetrators have the ability to remain anonymous, which can bring "out the worst in many people" (Bartow, 2009, p. 428) since these individuals do

not foresee any legal or social sanctions (Citron, 2014; Pittaro, 2007). Second, online perpetrators have access to a large social audience and the ability to invite/encourage others to participate in the perpetrating behaviour(s) (Franks, 2012). The perpetration and effects of cyber violence can be amplified if others voice similar positions in agreement, which can influence these individuals to gain a sense of confidence for their positions (Citron, 2014). Citron (2014) refers to this as 'group polarization', which involves individuals coming across others who share similar viewpoints and the 'individual' aspect is diminished as a sense of cohesion is formed. Last, it is difficult to completely remove content, such as comments, pictures, and private contact information, once it is posted online (Franks, 2012), particularly in instances of the non-consensual online distribution of intimate images since the original image(s) can be copied or 'sold' to misogynistic websites used to shame and harass women (Fairbairn, 2015). Internet or cyber-based forms of threats, harassment and violence is an emerging area of research and requires further exploration. This chapter explores the research literature on cyber victimization by discussing definitions and conceptual limitations, prevalence and correlates.

Defining cyber victimization

The 2000 United Nations *Congress on the Prevention of Crimes and Treatment of Offenders* was the first step towards acknowledging a need for preventative measures to address cyber victimization (Halder & Jaishankar, 2011). Initially, cyber-offenses were limited to theft of files and identity, terrorism, piracy and child pornography (Halder & Jaishankar, 2012). This was later expanded to incorporate language used to endorse acts of terrorism and threats to national security, as well as racist remarks. Within the last two

decades, technological developments have rapidly expanded with the shift away from large slow running stationary computers to handheld devices that offer quick and immediate access to the Internet at any time (Corcoran, McGuckin & Prentice, 2015).

Cyber space parallels societal structures in physical space in that it is structured in a way that privileges the positions and viewpoints of dominant groups over the less powerful groups on the basis of gender, race, religion and ethnicity (Menzies, 2008; Bailey, 2015). The Internet was developed in the context of a social world heavily dominated by androcentric ideologies in which women were not banned, in the literal sense, from the Internet but were excluded from initial participation since the primary careers that involved the Internet, such as the military, business, and science were male-dominated (Semmens & Willoughby, 2001). Despite advancements towards gender equality in physical space, the technological world and cyber space emphasize that women should either adapt to the androcentric online standards or expect to be excluded (Citron, 2009b; Semmens & Willoughby, 2001), abused or harassed (Fairbairn, 2015). These technological developments have also resulted in a new space—cyber space—for interaction and communication, which offers new opportunities to perpetrate victimizing behaviours (Philips & Morrissey, 2004).

There have been debates surrounding the terminology used in research on victimizing behaviours in cyber space. A commonly used term in this area of research is ‘cyber-bullying’ (Fairbairn & Black, 2015), broadly conceptualized as using the Internet to “support deliberate, repeated, and hostile behavior by an individual or groups, which is intended to cause harm” (Michaelides & Hosszu, 2013, p. 27). Fairbairn and Black (2015) noted that ‘cyber-bullying’ is a popular term used in research based on their

search in the ProQuest database that resulted in more than 19,000 articles since 2010 with that term. Despite the popular use of this term, there are some conceptual concerns. First, the Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights (2012) argued that the term 'cyber-bully' should not be used when examining online harm since it implies "the bully exists only as a function of cyberspace, not in physical space" (p. 12), meaning no physical harm is experienced and the perceived harms experienced by the online targets are minimized. Second, the term 'bully' is a form of behaviour not restricted to the younger population, which the juvenile connotation of 'bully'/'bullying' might imply (Ainsley, 2011; Halder & Jaishankar, 2012). Last, this specific term has been criticized for failing to capture the gendered, racial, and sexualized nature of much online abuse (Fairbairn & Black, 2015, p. 14). While some research has expanded on definitions of cyber victimization, the most recently available definition from Statistics Canada's 2009 victimization survey, which uses cyber-bullying, defines this form of victimization as "the use of the Internet to threaten, antagonize or intimidate someone" (Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 236). The questions that comprise this definition include asking the respondent if he/she have ever:

- been the recipient of threatening or aggressive e-mails or instant messages
- been the target of hateful comments spread through email, instant messages or postings on Internet sites
- had someone send out threatening emails using [their] identity
- or subjected to other forms of cyberbullying that involve a perpetrator antagonizing or them or the use of intimidation.

Statistics Canada, 2011a, pp. 204-205

A methodological area of concern for this broad definition is that the term does not offer a way for respondents to categorize the context in which they were attacked in cyber

space and this results in different victimizations being equated as similar (Fairbairn, 2015).

Fairbairn and Black (2015) advocate for using the broad term ‘cyber violence’ since it can refer to a wide-range of the victimizing behaviours experienced by women, which includes, but is not limited to: revenge porn, cyber harassment, cyber sexual harassment, and misogynistic comments. The term cyber violence is less focused on physical space victimization, although it acknowledges that in some instances threats made in cyber space can be carried out in physical space, and is primarily focused on “something that does psychological and emotional harm to those who experience it” (Fairbairn & Black, 2015, p. 14). In addition, others have argued when examining the harms experienced that it is important to incorporate the views and impacts experienced by victims into definitions in order to understand how the group being studied identifies their experience(s) (Schultze-Krumbholz, Jäkel, Schultze, & Scheithauer, 2012; Halder & Jaishankar, 2012) because some online ‘targets’ do not feel negatively affected by the experience (Mishna & MacFadden, 2009; Steeves, 2014). Harms experienced as a result of cyber victimization are often overlooked and minimized because the perpetration is not experienced physically (Hand, Chung & Peters, 2009) and some perpetrators view the cyber behaviour as a ‘joke’ (Steeves, 2014; Schultze-Krumbholz et al., 2012; Lenhart, 2007). For example, some find humour in terrifying online peers with various threats (Lenhart, 2007) while others will recant threatening comments with ‘I wasn’t really going to rape her’ (Fairbairn, 2015).

Despite dismissive views and claims, studies have suggested that cyber victimization can psychologically affect victims, in which they can experience depression

(Bonanno & Hymel, 2013; Brown, Demaray, & Secord, 2014; Michaelides & Hosszu, 2013), suicide/suicidal contemplation (West Coast LEAF, 2014; Michaelides & Hosszu, 2013), engagement in self harm (Mishna, Schwan, Lefebvre, Bhole, & Johnston, 2014), stress (Brown et al., 2014), anxiety (Halder & Jaishankar, 2012; Michaelides & Hosszu, 2013), and fear, especially among women, of future online victimization(s) (Holt, Henson, Reyns & Fisher, 2013). Some studies have shown that cyber victims are more likely to engage in avoidance and/or self-protective behaviours compared to physical space victims (Nobels et al., 2012), more likely to be fearful for their personal safety (Filipovic, 2007; Citron, 2009b; West Coast LEAF, 2014; Halder & Jaishankar, 2012; Oritz-Zezzatti et al., 2013) and fear that the threats will be carried out in physical space (Melander, 2010; Shariff & Gouin, 2006). The School Crime supplement survey of the National Crime Victimization Survey in the United States found that 13% of cyber victims feared an attack in physical space compared to 10% who have been victimized only in physical space and were more likely to engage in avoidance behaviours and carry a weapon, (U.S. Department of Education, 2013). The fear of an attack in physical space is not unwarranted given that this survey also found that those who experienced cyber victimization experienced more victimization in physical space, including sexual assault, physical assault and robbery.

Another term that is commonly used when discussing forms of cyber violence is 'troll'/'trolling', which refers to online users who are "subtly or blatantly offensive in order to create an argument, or may seek to lure others into useless circular discussions…[and] negative behaviour on comment threats and forums" (Binns, 2012, pp. 547-548). Trolling ranges on a spectrum of online behaviours from disagreements to

sexualized harassment (Philips, 2015). The term has recently been subjected to debate since 'trolling' can imply that the online perpetrator is behaving in a playful manner, which "provides an all-too-convenient rhetorical out for aggressors" (Philips, 2015). This can be seen when perpetrators claim they were seeking a reaction and were not actually going to sexually assault someone. Furthermore, the 'playful' connotation of trolling minimizes the harms experienced and online targets are portrayed as overreacting since the nature of the behaviour was a 'joke'. Aside from the playful connotation of the term, trolling has primarily been a term adopted by those who perpetrate, typically males, and these androcentric experiences and perceptions dominate discussions and understandings of women's experiences.

The gender differences in online experiences are particularly present when examining cyber victimization. There is pressure on young women, once they join social media, to digitally present themselves in a certain manner (Bailey, 2015). First, young women's social status in cyber space is primarily based on the number of social media 'friends' they have in which the higher count of 'followers' or 'friends' is an indicator of popularity. Second, young women are pressured to adhere to vanity norms by appearing 'physically attractive' in which many attempt to compete for attention by posting 'selfies', which are solo photographs of a person in attempts to appear attractive. This is gendered for two primary reasons. First, young women must constantly navigate the divide between appearing attractive yet not overly sexual and 'slutty' (Steeves & Bailey, 2014), and second, young males are not pressured to adhere to this form of digital behaviour; instead, males are subjected to homophobic insults since posting too many 'selfies' is deemed as 'feminine' behaviour. Furthermore, there is more emphasis on

young women, compared to young men, with regards to policing themselves in cyber space by not engaging in risky behaviour that could potentially result in embarrassment or an online attack, while the perpetrating behaviour of some males is not subjected to the same social scrutiny or condemnation (Karaian, 2014). For example, rather than focusing on the perpetrating behaviour of the non-consensual distribution of images that results in shame, harassment, social and financial losses, greater emphasis is placed on young girls to prevent the dissemination of intimate photographs by suggesting that they should not take sexual photographs in the first place.

Men's experiences in cyber space differ from women's, especially in instances of cyber victimization, with men being more likely to experience name-calling and the experienced impacts are more likely to be in the form of embarrassment (Pew Research Center, 2014, p. 3). In contrast, women are more likely to receive gender-based threats of physical and sexual violence and are more likely to be attacked on the basis of their gender. For example, these can include attacks masked as 'criticism' that are based solely on being a woman rather than constructively critiquing and contributing to the discussion, such as suggesting that women belong in the hidden domestic sphere rather than in public spaces like the primarily male dominated workforce (Citron, 2014). Citron (2014) studied newspaper articles that included interviews with female bloggers and found that the majority of the women received sexually vulgar insults and/or have been informed that they deserve to be sexually victimized. Similar findings have also been produced by the Pew Research Center, a nationally representative panel called the American Trends Panel that is made up of randomly selected individuals residing in the U.S. who participate on a monthly basis either through a self-administered survey of preferred method of contact,

which found that women participating online are subjected to similar comments, such as "'I was told that someone should rape me which was horrific because it's one of the things I fear most.'"(Pew Research Center, 2014, p.34). In some instances, the rape threats go into graphic detail. For example, Anita Sarkeesian, best known for confronting misogyny within the videogame community, was tweeted on Twitter by a male user, Kevin Dobson, "I'm going to go to your apartment at [address blacked out] and rape you to death. After I'm done, I'll ram a tire iron up your cunt" (Feminist Frequency, 2014a). The same user also tweeted "I'm going to kill your parents too. I've seen their house. But instead, I'll drink your blood out of your cunt after I rip it open" (Feminist Frequency, 2014a). Caroline Criado-Perez advocated having Jane Austen on the £10 bank note and was met with extremely violent threats online that made her fear for her safety:

> I remember the man who told me I'd never track him down, only feel his cock while he was raping me; the man who told me he would pistol-whip me over and over until I lost consciousness, while my children watched, and then burn my flesh; the man who told me he had a sniper rifle aimed directly at my head and did I have any last words, fugly piece of shit? I remember the man who told me to put both my hands on his cock and stroke it till he came on my eyeballs or he would slit my throat; the man who told me I would be dead and gone that night, and that I should kiss my pussy goodbye, as a group of them would "break it irreparably"; the man who told me a group of them would mutilate my genitals with scissors and set my house on fire while I begged to die. I can see their words on the screen. I remember where I was when I got them. I remember the fear, the horror, the despair. I remember feeling sick. I remember not being able to sleep. I remember thinking it would never end (Mantilla, 2015, p. 48).

The differences in the victimizing experiences for men and women can distort understandings of the severity of attacks by claiming that women overreact and are overly sensitive to free-speech (Citron, 2014). Citron quoted Brendan O'Neill's, from The Telegraph, position on women's sensitivity over online attacks: " 'If I had a penny for every time I was crudely insulted on the internet, labeled a prick, a toad, a shit, a

moron, a wide-eyed member of a crazy communist cult, I'd be relatively well-off.'" (Citron, 2014, Chapter 3, para. 2). One critical distinction between the comments women and this particular male, and others, received is the remarks did not threaten his life or compromise his personal safety, the insults made were not based solely on his gender, and he was not threatened with sexual violation. The dismissive statements suggest that the forms of cyber victimization experienced by men and women are not distinct from one another, despite the fact that empirical evidence and case specific studies suggest otherwise. The online attacks women receive are arguably a form of gender-based violence because women, compared to men, are subjected to cyber victimization in the forms of sexual harassment, threats of violence, stalking, digital alteration of photographs to make them appear pornographic, and theft of personal information (Halder & Jaishankar, 2011). Likewise, this form of gendered behaviour could be referred to as "cyber misogyny", which is defined as the "diverse forms of gendered hatred, harassment, and abusive behaviour directed towards women and girls online" (West Coast LEAF, 2014, p. 5).

Research in the last decade has expanded on the broad definitions to incorporate the breadth of perpetrating behaviours carried out in cyberspace, particularly against women, with the expansion on definitions going beyond merely name-calling behaviours. Conceptualizing cyber victimization in gender-neutral terms ignores the gendered differences in forms of victimization experienced by women and men; this makes it easy to dismiss as the result of overreacting and/or careless behaviour (Bailey, 2015). The Learning Network at the Centre for Research and Education on Violence Against Women and Children (Baker, Campbell, & Barreto, 2013) identified six broad typologies of cyber

victimization predominately experienced by women, and there can be a number of sub-categories for each broad categorical victimization type (see Table 1).

Table 1: Cyber victimization typologies

Concept	Definition
1. Hacking	The use of technology to gain illegal or unauthorized access to systems or resources for the purpose of acquiring personal information, or slandering and denigrating the victim and/or violence against women and girls organizations.
1.1 *Hacking*	Breaking into an online profile to obtain personal information, which is then used in a malicious manner such as advertising sexual activities on Facebook.
2. Impersonation	The use of technology to assume the identity of the victim or someone else in order to access private information, embarrass or shame the victim, contact the victim, or create fraudulent identity documents.
2.1 *Cloning*	Creating a false profile by using the identity of a person, for example on social networking websites like Facebook.
2.2 *Impersonation and cheating*	Creating a false profile with the intention of luring in a victim by faking an emotional interest, which in turn can result in the woman sharing personal secrets or engage in sexual discussion. This perpetrator may present false credentials and extort money from the victim.
3. Surveillance/ tracking	The use of technology to stalk and monitor a victim's activities and behaviours either in real-time or historically (e.g., GPS tracking via mobile phone; tracking keystrokes to recreate victim/survivor's activities on computer).
3.1 *Cyber stalking*	Continuously monitoring a woman's online activities by repeated checks for status updates or posts on her social networking website(s).
4. Harassment/ spamming	The use of technology to continuously contact, annoy, threaten, and/or scare the victim. This is ongoing behaviour and not one isolated incident.
4.1 *Cyber verbal abuse by groups of perpetrators expressing hatred*	A woman is harassed and/or stalked by groups of people through her social networking site(s) and/or private messages.
4.2 *Cyber harassement*	Repeated private and/or public messages or unwanted requests for social networking friendship.
i) *Active verbal*	Gender stereotypical remarks, such as: women only being useful for domestic or sexual purposes, sexual comments and sexual jokes.
ii) *Passive verbal*	Offensive content attached to a specific user, such as an online nickname that implies they are skilled in a particular sexual activity.
iii) *Active graphic gender harassment*	Deliberately sending pornographic images and/or videos in a private and/or public message.
iv) *Passive graphic gender harassment*	Pornographic content already published on websites to which users have no prior knowledge about the content, such as pornographic pop-ups or websites redirecting them to sexually explicit websites.

4.3 *Unwanted sexual cyber attention*	Involves direct sexual messages in which the cyber perpetrator is asking about sexual organs, sexual functions, sexual history, and makes sexual advances. There is the intention to elicit some sort of sexual connection, either online or offline. In some instances these individuals seek out sexual relations or pressure the victim to participate in sexual activities, which can involve threats of physical force against her or against her friends and/or family.
4.4 *Virtual rape*	The victim is threatened online with acts of sexual violence, which can result in other members of the online community encouraging or engaging in similar behaviour towards her.
4.5 *Banning a female member and restraining her from expressing her views*	Commonly found in primarily male dominated sites in which a woman who speaks out against sexist and misogynistic remarks is specifically targeted for online abuse and banned from the site for challenging the dominant values.
4.6 *Cyber bullying and name calling*	A person is bullied through private and/or public messages. Women are more likely to be targeted than men, especially with regards to sexual purposes, difficulty ending a relationship, and domestic violence.
4.7 *Domestic violence and cyber flame*	Online aggressive and threatening arguments with a previous partner and/or publicly discussing their anger towards their previous partner.
4.8 *Blackmailing and threatening*	Flaming is a somewhat more hostile form of trolling where a person attacks someone else verbally through insults, name-calling, or other forms of antagonism, often over hot-button topics such as religion, politics, or sexism. Flaming, in comparison to debates, intends to use insulting language for the purposes of provocation.
4.9 *Blackmailing and threatening*	Women can be threatened or blackmailed because their information is available online. These perpetrators are typically previous partners/ spouses, stalkers, and those who intentionally cause distress.
5. Recruitment	The use of technology to lure potential victims into violent situations.
5.1 *Using carriage service to procure a sexual assault*	The use of online dating sites or cellular phone dating apps to lure women for the purposes of sexually assaulting them.
6. Malicious distribution	The use of technology to manipulate and distribute defamatory and illegal materials related to the victim and/or violence against women and girls organizations (e.g., threatening to or leaking intimate photos/video; using technology as a propaganda tool to promote violence against women).
6.1 *Cyber defamation targeting the individual self*	Vengeful ex-male partner disperses false information on his social networking site(s) about a previous female partner.
6.2 *Cyber obscenity*	This can happen in a number of ways: digitally altering a photograph of a person in an obscene manner and distributing it online; publicly posting obscene messages on Facebook or other social networking websites; and hacking into a woman's profile and altering their photographs and information.
6.3 *Morphing*	Digitally altering photographs of women to make it appear pornographic.

6.4 *Revenge porn*	The perpetrator posses a nude photograph of a woman, in which the photograph was originally taken with or without her knowledge and consent, and publishes the material online. A previous male partner or a male who has possession of intimate photographs of celebrities typically perpetrates this form of abuse.
6.5 *Distribution of sexual assault images and/or recordings*	The victim is recorded, either images or video, during a sexual assault and the content is distributed/shared or threatened to be shared.
1. United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 1.1 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 2. United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 2.1 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 2.2 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 3. United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 3.1 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011, p. 305 4. UN Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 4.1 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011, p. 305 4.2 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 i) Barak, 2005 ii) Barak, 2005 iii) Barak, 2005 iv) Barak, 2005 4.3 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 4.4 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 4.5 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 4.6 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 4.7 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 4.8 Mantilla, 2015, p. 7 4.9 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 5. United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 5.1 Henry & Powell, 2014, p. 88-89. 6. United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22 6.1 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011, p. 305 6.2 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 6.3 Halder & Jaishankar, 2011 6.4 West Coast LEAF, 2014 6.5 Henry & Powell, 2014, p. 88	

The placement of the sub-typologies for each broad category of cyber violence was influenced by authors who have conducted comprehensive reviews of the literature (Halder & Jaishankar, 2011) and created a number of literature-based typologies (Barak, 2005), as well as the researcher's discretion on the compatibility of terms and categories.

The first broad category is *hacking*, which refers to technologically illegal methods to access an individual's account(s) with the intent of obtaining "personal

information, altering or modifying information, or slandering and denigrating the victim and/or [violence against women and girls] organizations" (Baker et al., 2013, p. 4). An example of this is gaining unauthorized access to a female ex-partner's account and altering information, such as changing her name to 'whore', or changing passwords of personal accounts (Baker et al., 2013). The second broad category is *impersonation*, which refers to an individual's cyber identity being falsely used for the purposes of accessing personal information, humiliation, or to deceive and contact a victim. The cloning sub-category occurs when a perpetrator creates a false social media account to pursue an online target, or creates a false social media account under the victim's identity (Baker et al., 2013). Another sub-category for this form of cyber victimization is impersonation and cheating, which could involve a perpetrator using false interest in a woman in order to extort information. The third broad category is *surveillance/tracking*, which refers to the utilization of forms of technology to track a victim, ranging from tracking his/her whereabouts through GPS monitors or monitoring his/her activity online. The sub-category of cyber stalking pertains to a social media user continuously monitoring a woman's statuses, pictures, locations, friendships and relationships on social media (Baker et al., 2013). This also occurs when a possessive partner aggressively requires his female partner to send text messages throughout the day in order to assure that she is not having an affair. The fourth broad category is *harassment/spamming*, which refers to the continuous utilization of technology and cyber space to contact and/or threaten an individual. There are a number of sub-categorical forms of harassment that women are subjected to in cyber space, including: cyber verbal abuse, cyber harassment, unwanted sexual cyber attention, virtual rape, banning a female member and restraining

her from expressing her views, domestic violence and cyber flame, flaming, and blackmailing and threatening. The fifth category is *recruitment*, which is the utilization of technology to trick individuals into possibly risky situations such as when young women are lured under false pretences into sex trafficking (Baker et al., 2013). This can also be seen in situations where women are targeted through online and/or cellular phone dating sites/apps where they are lured and sexually assaulted (Henry & Powell, 2014). The final broad category of cyber victimization is *malicious distribution*, which is the "use of technology to manipulate and distribute defamatory and illegal materials related to the victim and/or [violence against women and girls] organizations (United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group on Broadband and Gender, 2015, p. 22). The sub-categories of this form of cyber victimization could include cyber defamation targeting the individual self, cyber obscenity, morphing, revenge porn, and the distribution of sexual assault images/recordings.

Three particularly unique, and extremely harmful, forms of the cyber victimization typology of *malicious distribution* that are primarily committed against women include 'sexting', 'revenge porn' (West Coast LEAF, 2014) and the sharing/distributing images of a sexual assault (Henry & Powell, 2014). Karaian (2014) defines 'sexting' as "any sexual communication with content that includes both pictures and text messages, sent using cell phones and other electronic media" (p. 283). There are difficulties with defining 'sexting' due to issues of consent in the distribution of the image(s) and consent, coercion, or knowledge of the original image/video (Henry & Powell, 2015a). Henry and Powell (2015a) argue that it is important to understand 'sexting' as existing on a continuum with the consensual sharing of intimate photographs

at one end, coercive tactics used to elicit ‘consensual’ intimate photographs in the middle of the continuum, and abusive and exploitive tactics at the other end in order to account for the complex nature of consent and coercion, especially in instances where women are “pressured into sending their male partners or peers sexually explicit images of themselves” (p. 107). Sexting is often discussed as a sexual “ moral panic” among young persons with an emphasis on young persons to protect themselves from cyber predators and cyber bullies (Henry & Powell, 2015b, p. 765). In some instances in which there are laws for young persons for sexting, more often the victims, typically female, are punished alongside the perpetrators for sharing what is legally labeled as distributing child pornography since they are under the age of 18, which results in the victim being criminalized for being victimized (Henry & Powell, 2015b).

In contrast to ‘sexting’, which is primarily viewed as a consensual act, ‘revenge porn’ is conceptualized as a previous partner, typically male, distributing intimate images of their previous partner, typically a female, without consent and with the intended purpose of causing emotional and psychological harm (Fairbairn, 2015). The non-consensual ‘sexting’, whether it is a coerced image or the lack of knowledge of the image being captured, could be conceptualized as a form of ‘revenge porn’; however, it is questionable as to whether it is a form of revenge porn if the distributor of the image(s) did not share the image(s) in a spiteful manner (Henry & Powell, 2015a). Defining incidents as ‘revenge porn’ can be problematic since victims often have their harms dismissed and are subjected to backlash for their naivety and are held accountable for their role in the incident (Fairbairn, 2015). In some instances the wording associated with ‘revenge porn’ includes extortion, harassment, embarrassment, cyber bullying, financial

and social damages, rather than viewed as a form of 'violence'. Fairbairn (2015) also argues that this form of cyber victimization goes beyond intentions to cause embarrassment and privacy violations, for this perpetrating behaviour restricts a person's comfortability in participating in public spaces based on gender and sexuality (p. 244).

Another sub-typology of the malicious distribution of images is the sharing/distributing of images of a sexual assault. While this specific area of cyber victimization against women has not been empirically explored with regards to frequency and impacts, there are a number of specific case examples that have demonstrated the negative effects of this form of cyber victimization (Henry & Powell, 2015b; West Coast LEAF, 2014). In 2006 a group of teenage males filmed themselves sexually assaulting a teenage female and also setting her hair on fire (Henry & Powell, 2015b). These young males later went on to distributing the sexual assault film, for profit, under the title "Cunt: The Movie". In addition to the various physical and psychological traumas women can experience post sexual assault, this young woman was "terrified she would be recognized in public after the distribution of the DVD and that her life had changed forever" (Henry & Powell, 2015b, p. 759). In addition to the disturbingly common shame and blame women are subjected to for their sexual assault victimization, some women are shamed and blamed for the distribution of sexual assault images (West Coast LEAF, 2014). For example, the group sexual assault of Rehtaeh Parsons was recorded and widely distributed online and Parsons was subjected to 'slut shaming' and other forms of bullying, which ultimately led her to commit suicide. Henry and Powell (2015b) note that the advancement of technology and technological forms of communication has

"enable[d] the continuation of harm against sexual assault victims well beyond the original crime" (p. 767).

Prevalence

Estimates of the prevalence of cyber victimization vary across studies depending on how researchers conceptualize and operationalize it. Survey research on the prevalence of cyber victimization has been conducted with various age groups, using various conceptualizations, and carried out in different settings. The findings thus cannot be directly compared. The only consistent finding is that cyber victimization, as defined and measured for a particular study, is a social problem with serious impacts.

There have been only a few national surveys on cyber victimization. In Canada, the first nationally representative and age inclusive exploration into cyber victimization was with the 2009 victimization cycle of the GSS (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The findings revealed that 7% of adults, ages 18 and older, have experienced cyber victimization, which is defined as "the use of the Internet to threaten, antagonize or intimidate someone" (Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 236). The age inclusive sample helped expand the focus of research in cyber victimization by debunking the myth that it only occurs among young people. Other national surveys in Canada are restricted to young populations. In 2010, the national Health Behaviour in School-aged Children, in collaboration with the World Health Organization, estimated that cyberbullying slightly increased with age and it was lower among boys (Craig & Edge, 2011). Canada's second nationwide survey for youth was the *MediaSmarts* survey, which asked students from grades four through 11 about their experiences and concerns about cyber bullying. The findings showed higher estimates with 31% of students reporting that someone had

threatened them online by saying something "I'm going to get you" or "You're going to get it"." (Steeves, 2014, p.19). Lower estimates were produced by Beran, Mishna, McInroy and Shariff's (2015) national study on students between the ages of 10 to 17, with 14% of respondents reported they experienced cyberbullying at least once in the past month.

A supplement survey of the National Crime Victimization Survey in the United States examined cyber stalking among those age 18 and older, measured as experiencing "harassing or threatening communication from one or more of the following internet technologies during the prior 12 months: email, instant messenger, chat rooms, blogs, message or bulletin boards, or other Internet sites" (Nobles et al., 2012, p. 998). It is estimated that 23% of respondents experienced cyberstalking, with the most common method being through e-mail (83%) (Baum, Catalano, Rand & Rose, 2009, p. 5). In addition, Nobles and colleagues (2012) compared physical and cyber space stalking and estimated that 19% of those who experienced stalking in physical space also experienced cyber stalking.

There has been more national exploration into cyber victimization experienced among youth in the United States. The Youth Internet Safety Survey, which has been carried out in 2000, 2005 and 2010 on youth between the ages of 10 and 17, collects data on experiences of "unwanted sexual online solicitation, harassment, and exposure to pornography" (Jones, Mitchell & Finkelhor, 2011, p. 179). There was an increase in harassment from 6% in 2000 to 11% in 2010, a decline in unwanted sexual solicitation from 19% to 9%, and the estimates for unwanted exposure to pornography fluctuated, from 25% to 34% between 2000 and 2005, down to 23% in 2010. Different estimates

were calculated with the 2011 NCVS, with 9% of youth between the ages of 12 and 18 having experienced cyber victimization, including having private information distributed, receiving unwanted contact through various electronic means, and experiencing isolation from the online community (U.S. Department of Education, 2013, p.5).

There have also been a number of school-based surveys in the United States and in Canada on cyber victimization among youth and the post-secondary population. An online survey by Hinduja and Patchin (2008) examined cyberbullying, defined as "bothering someone online, teasing in a mean way, calling someone hurtful names, intentionally leaving persons out of things, threatening someone, and saying unwanted sexually-related things to someone" (p.138) revealed that 33% of boys and 36% of girls have experienced cyberbullying. Higher estimates were calculated in Mishna, Cook, Gadalla, Dacjuk and Solom's (2010) study of students in grades six, seven, 10 and 11 with 50% of respondents reporting they experienced cyberbullying in the last three months. Mishna and colleagues (2010) found that the most common form of cyberbullying experienced by the respondents was name-calling (27%), followed by rumours (22%), online identity impersonation (18%), threats (11%), unwanted sexual images or messages (10%), unwanted sexual requests (9%), and non-consensual distribution of intimate photos (7%).

In Canada, a Calgary based study, one of the first to examine cyber victimization among Canadian youth, examined online harassment from students in grades seven through nine. For the survey, harassment was first defined for participants as:

> Harassment occurs when a student, or several students, says mean and hurtful things or makes fun of another student or calls him or her mean and hurtful names, completely ignores or excludes him or her from their group of friends or leaves him or her out of things on purpose, tells lies or spreads false rumors about

> him or her, sends mean notes and tries to make other students dislike him or her, and other hurtful things like that. When we talk about harassment, these things happen repeatedly, and it is difficult for the student being harassed to defend himself or herself. We also call it harassment when a student is teased repeatedly in a mean and hurtful way. But we don't call it harassment when the teasing is done in a friendly and playful way. Also, it is not harassment when two students of about equal strength or power argue or fight (Beran & Li, 2005, p. 273).

Students were then asked, "Have these types of harassing behaviors involving technology been directed towards you?" (Beran & Li, 2005, p. 273). The results revealed that 35% of students have experienced cyber victimization in the form of online harassment. Higher estimates were produced in Li's (2006) study on randomly selected Canadian students from grades seven through nine, which revealed that 62% of respondents experienced cyberbullying one to three times. Lower results were produced by a Toronto school based survey which estimated that 21% of students have experienced cyber bullying in the form of threats, rumours, online impersonations, name-calling, unwanted sexual photographs and comments, propositions for sexual favours, or non-consensual distribution of intimate images (Mishna & MacFadden, 2008, p. 5).

There has been some attention towards the post-secondary population with regards to experiences of cyber victimization; however, studies are limited and research with this population is still in its infancy. Finn (2004) conducted an exploratory study, with the use of convenience sampling, of university students on their experiences of online harassment, conceptualized as insults, threats, continuous messages, and "inappropriate material such as pornography" (p. 472), and found that 10% to 15% have experienced a form of online harassment. Finn's study was replicated by Lindsay and Krysik (2012) in order to account for recent changes in technology and technological communication, which found that 43% of students have experienced online harassment.

Reyns and others (2012) found similar estimates with 40% of a post-secondary sample experienced cyber stalking. Higher estimates were produced at the University of Ottawa (2015) with the Report of the Task Force on Respect and Equality estimating that 63% students have experienced cyber victimization in the form of sexist comments, insults, and physical and sexual threats of violence.

Correlates

The numerous studies on estimates of cyber victimization have provided additional information aside from the prevalence of this form of perpetration: correlates. The studies that have examined cyber victimization have identified a number of risk factors associated with the chance of experiencing victimization in cyber space, such as low levels of self-control in the online social environment (Ngo & Paternoster, 2011), minimal exercise of privacy information control (Henson, Reyns & Fisher, 2011), the use of a female online name (Bartow, 2009), being a visible minority (Citron, 2009a; Reyns et al., 2012), being a homosexual, being in a form of a relationship/partnership compared to a single relationship status (Reyns et al., 2012), employed in a technologically related area (Pew Research Center, 2014), and frequent use of the Internet and social networking websites (Oritz-Zezzatti et al., 2013; Mitchell, Wolak, & Finkelhor, 2008; Pew Research Center, 2014). In addition, a 2014 study carried out by the Pew Research Center found that "those 18-29 are more likely than any other demographic group to experience online harassment" (Pew Research Center, 2014, p. 3).

One particular factor associated with the risk of experiencing cyber victimization is being a woman, especially a younger woman (Pew Research Center, 2014). Although a few empirical studies have found no statistically significant difference with regards to

cyber victimization and gender (Finn, 2004; Beran & Li, 2005; Brown et al., 2014), other data suggest that women are more likely to be targeted for cyber victimization compared to men (Oritz-Zezzatti et al., 2013; Citron, 2009b; Philips & Morrissey, 2004). The most recent study carried out by the Pew Research Center (2014) found that younger women between the ages of 18 and 24 are two to three times more likely than older women to be sexually harassed, stalked, and threatened with violence in cyber space. In addition, 25% of young women experienced cyber sexual harassment compared to 13% of males from the same age group. Other studies have shown that women are five times more likely to be cyber victimized than men (Zalaquett & Chatters, 2014): young girls are "twice as likely as boys to see online threats a serious problem" (Steeves, 2014); 40% of women are subjected to cyber stalking by either a current or previous partner (West Coast LEAF, 2014); and, women accounting for the majority, 67%, of cyber victims between 2000 and 2005 (Citron, 2009a). In addition, in their post-secondary sample, Reyns et al. (2012) found that women experienced a higher number of cyber victimization incidents (3.17 per victim) than did men (2.48). Although both men and women are at risk of cyber victimization, it is argued that this is a form of gendered victimization since women are more likely to be subjected to more aggressive and sexualized cyber victimization compared to men (Reyns et al., 2012). Despite the unreliable and complex nature of police recorded data on forms of violence against women (Johnson & Dawson, 2011), the Canadian police data corroborates other research and shows that female victims outnumber male victims, 84% and 15% respectively, of online sexual victimizations reported to police, which include "sexual assaults, sexual interference, invitation to sexual touching, luring a child via a computer, and other sexual violations against the

person" (Mazowita & Vezina, 2014, p.21). In addition, women also account for the majority of reported non-sexual cyber victimizations (65%) which include assaults, extortion, criminal harassment, threatening or harassing phone calls, uttering threats, and other non-sexual violent violations (Mazowita & Vezina 2014, p. 21).

Empirical research supports the assertion that males are more likely to be the perpetrators of cyber victimization. For example, Steeves (2014a) estimated that 12% of young boys from grades four through 11, compared to 5% of young girls, perpetrated online threats. Also, the Working to Halt Online Abuse (2000-2013) estimated that, between the years 2000 and 2013, 40% to 60% of the cyber perpetrators were male compared to female perpetrators and unknown perpetrators, and men were the majority of the perpetrators in cases of revenge porn (West Coast LEAF, 2014). These figures corroborate Canadian police recorded data on cyber victimization with males accounting for 94% of perpetrators for sexual cyber victimization, 69% of intimidation violations, 73% of online fraud and online trafficking of stolen property, and 75% of other Criminal Code violations, which include "offences such as corrupting morals, indecent acts, offences against the person and reputation, fail to comply with order, and breach of probation" (Mazowita & Vezina, 2014, p. 21).

Chapter Conclusion

Online offences have been acknowledged and explored since the UN Congress on the Prevention of Crimes and Treatment of Offenders in 2000, which initially included theft of files and identity, terrorism, piracy, and child pornography. Following the rapid development in technology and electronic communications, initial understandings of what constitutes cyber victimization have been expanded. These new methods of

communication and expansion of social networks lead to a new space for perpetrating harassing and threatening behaviour: cyber space (Citron, 2009b). There is a lack of a universal definition on what constitutes as cyber victimization, which can influence the estimates of the prevalence of this form of victimization and comparability of research studies. However, research to date on the prevalence and correlates on cyber victimization indicate that women and young girls experience more severe and higher frequencies of this form of victimization (Pew Research Center, 2014; United Nations Broadband Commission for Digital Development Working Group in Broadband and Gender, 2015), as do visible minorities, homosexuals, and those in a relationship (Reyns et al., 2012). One plausible explanation as to why women experience more severe and sexualized attacks online compared to men is because cyber space simply offers a new space and new opportunities to carry out gendered based violence (West Coast LEAF, 2014). Continuous improvement and enhancement of measures for examining the prevalence, correlates and harms associated with forms of cyber victimization are needed in order to uncover the extent and gendered nature of this problem and to assist in improving responses to those who are targeted. This research project frames the gendered nature of cyber victimization within the theory of Social Control, the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Framework

In this chapter, the theory of Social Control will be discussed to frame the gendered nature of sexual violence against women in both physical and cyber spaces. Social control refers to the social customs and institutions in a particular society that attempt to ensure conformity to dominant cultural norms by deterring and punishing behaviours that contravene these norms, which include behaviours that socially, criminally, or sexually result in harms to the social order (Chriss, 2013; Janowitz, 1975). Rather than explaining why and how deviant behaviour occurs, social control theory explains why certain behaviours are repressed and others are not by informal and formal mechanisms of control (Chriss, 2013). Informal and formal controls do not operate harmoniously and often embody competing values, especially with respect to forms of violence against women. Although formal controls such as laws and policies largely condemn acts of violence, informal controls in the form of attitudes and values both support and condone violence and sometimes hold the targets rather than the perpetrators responsible.

The theory of social control, initially not explicitly labeled as social control, was first discussed by Gabriel Tarde, who was interested in how societies achieve widespread social conformity (Janowitz, 1975). The term ‘social control’ was first used by E.A. Ross to describe the societal achievement of harmony and conformity among various individuals who held competing interests (Janowitz, 1975). Ross (1901) noted that prior to modern society, small communities and tribes held similar interests in which there was no need for formal control over those who deviated and disrupted the social harmony since self-serving interests resulted in the informal social control mechanism of

banishment from the tribe/community with no forms of support from fellow community members. Over time, shifts away from small tribes and communities resulted in a variety of more complex societies containing diverse members with competing interests (Chriss, 2013). This shift was largely attributed to: economic development and expansion; various immigration waves in Western culture; population growth; and epistemological developments, such as the Enlightenment era with the shift from religiosity as the prime source of knowledge and understanding of events to the natural and social sciences. Emile Durkheim discusses this transition as the change from mechanical society, those smaller communities with homogenous beliefs, to organic industrialized societies with competing interests (Chriss, 2013). For both Ross (1901) and Durkheim (Chriss, 2013), the heterogeneity associated with population and economic growth and societal development resulted in the need for methods to control the behaviour of those who acted on interests that posed a threat to cultural norms and social order.

Early second wave feminists drew on social control to explain the function of gendered violence, particularly sexualized violence against women (see Brownmiller, 1975; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Smart & Smart, 1978). Susan Brownmiller (1975) argued "From prehistoric times to the present, I believe, that rape has played a critical function. It is nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep all women in a state of fear" (p. 15). The argument is that women live in a state of fear of attacks by men and will police themselves by altering their behaviour or adhering to specific gendered norms in order to prevent a possible/future attack (Brownmiller, 1975; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Green, Hebron, & Woodward, 1987; Smart & Smart, 1978). The social control explanation of male violence against women has been limited and does not

go into depth on the processes and mechanisms by which women are controlled. This discussion is re-emerging in response to cyber harassment and cyber misogyny. In this chapter, the theory of social control will be discussed with respect to key terms and elements in the theory and how social control functions in both physical and cyber spaces.

Process of informal social control: gendered socialization and cultural norms

It is a common practice for individuals to passively accept everyday societal beliefs and practices as 'normal' (Ryle, 2012) as the basis of *cultural norms*, which are the various basic everyday social rules for acceptable behaviour in society (Chriss, 2013). However, cultural norms entail biases and are gendered with certain applicable norms based on the sex category of the person (Ryle, 2012) For instance, the sex categories of female and male each have their own gendered norms derived from the social constructions of femininity and masculinity, respectively. From this point forward cultural norms will be referred to as *gendered cultural norm* in order to fully understand and discuss how gender-based violence is fostered and tolerated in society and how to address the issue from a social, rather than individual, standpoint (Gardiner, 2005).

The maintenance of gendered cultural norms is predicated on the socialization process, which involves instilling the various gendered cultural norms for acceptable behaviour while condoning deviant behaviour (Ryle, 2012). There are a number of important agents of socialization who assist in shaping, modifying, and controlling an individual's behaviour (Ryle, 2012). Parents, aside from providing the basic necessities for a child, are the first and most important people a child interacts with as they provide the foundations for appropriate gender conduct (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). It is at this

point “boys first come to understand their privileged status and the ways in which male privilege equates to power” (Adams & Coltrane, 2005, p. 233). Young boys begin to understand their masculinity by engaging in forms of aggression and exerting dominance over other boys and girls, which more often than not allows for the dismissal of aggressive behaviour as ‘boys will be boys’ (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). The ‘boys will be boys’ understanding of aggressive male behaviour extends into later life when males sexually assault women because aggression and dominance are not perceived as negative traits and some men believe they will not be subjected to punishment (Kimmel, 2000, p. 257). In contrast, young girls are socialized to focus on ‘playing nice’, focus on their appearance (Kimmel, 2000), and accept the gendered restrictions placed on their freedom are to ensure their safety (Madriz, 1997).

The socialization process does not end after childhood; but rather, socialization is a continuous process throughout the various social interactions and situations individuals encounter throughout their lifetime (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). ‘Gender’ construction and participation is a continuous process by which individuals alter their ‘gender’ behaviour based on the judgments and reactions of others; therefore, we ‘do’ gender in social situations and hold each other accountable for violations of gender norms and expectations (West & Zimmerman, 1987; Kimmel, 2000). Accountability to conformity comes in the form of shaming, ridiculing, insulting, and in some instances resorting to violence or threats of violence (Chriss, 2013). The pressures are gendered and males and females are policed on different, yet specific, gendered behaviour. Both ‘doing gender’ and accountability to conform to specific gendered norms are found in physical space and cyber space participation and interactions.

Masculinity in physical space

The gendered cultural norms of 'masculine' and 'feminine' are part of a hierarchical dichotomy and the qualities of one (masculine) are perceived in a more favourable manner and awarded higher status than the other (feminine) (Kimmel, 2000). At the most basic level, masculine identities are constructed in opposition to feminine qualities (Gardiner, 2005; Adams & Coltrane, 2005), which include being independent, assertive, and dominant (Malamuth, 1996). However, restricting masculine and feminine behaviours to a predetermined list, as stated by the commonly critiqued sex role theories (Kimmel, 2000), hinders our understanding of the element of power within the concept of gender (Connell, 1996), as well as its diverse nature depending on class, race, and ethnicity (Messerschmidt, 1993).

Young children are under the constant surveillance of others and are closely subjected to mechanisms of informal control (Adams & Coltrane, 2005). For boys, their first encounter with gendered surveillance is by their father, who is the parent more likely to enforce appropriate male gendered conduct in order to ensure the young boy is not behaving like a 'wuss' or 'a girl', such as when boys are pressured to repress their emotion with the exception of anger since it is the only acceptable emotion. The second important agent of socialization is peer groups which, during adolescence, exert more influence since it is at this age that young people begin to separate from and gain independence from parents (Ryle, 2012). Peers are important when examining the acceptance of male violence against women, especially in terms of gendered expectations, since these social situations are where young boys first experience challenges to their masculinity outside of the home with regards to physical body

shape/build and discussions about sex, since many want to 'fit in', and they are monitored on how they confront these various challenges (Messerschmidt, 2005).

The varying challenges to the masculinity of young males can foster forms of aggression towards male peers (Messerschmidt, 2005) and violence perpetrated against women (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993; Johnson & Dawson, 2011; Parrot & Zeichner, 2003). First, those who appear physically weak will be placed into categories that identify them as 'less than a man', which can result in physical assaults and other forms of bullying perpetrated against them (Messerschmidt, 2005) or engaging in extreme forms of violence and aggression against others in order to reaffirm masculinity, known as hypermasculinity (Parrott & Zeichner, 2003; DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993). Second, masculinity can be challenged on the basis of sexuality and sexual behaviour when male peers criticize fellow peers with insults, such as 'fag', for their inability to dominate females sexually (Messerschmidt, 2005; Poteat, Kimmel, & Wilchins, 2011). This can be challenging for some males when "the male domination that society has taught him is his natural right is threatened or is perceived to be challenged, psychological stress is most likely to be experienced" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 49). The element of informal social control present in challenges to masculinity is the fear of losing the masculine status that is the result of ridicule by fellow male peers. For DeKeseredy and Schwartz (2013) it is not necessarily about "demonstrating masculinity as it is being seen by peers as less than masculine. Hence, control and abuse prevents loss of status" (p. 85). These acts of violent and harassing domination and control over women are often met with group approval and a stabilized masculine status. In some instances, males are unable to regain domination and control and fellow peers will offer further suggestions to

regain the entitled domination that involves engaging in forms of physical, sexual and psychological abuse; this is also known as male-peer support. It is important to note that in some instances males will instead actively seek out dating advice outside of their homosocial groups, such as older peers, family or female friends and it is "common for men to obtain excellent advice from their friends, to find that others share the same fears, and to find that they are able to relax or calm themselves down" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 49). Male-peer support also takes into account other factors that can influence whether or not a male perpetrates physical and/or sexual aggression, such as "macrolevel forces, the role of alcohol abuse, membership in formal social groups such as fraternities, and the absence of deterrent factors of many campuses" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1993, p. 394).

Masculine ideals commonly endorsed and sanctioned in all-male environments such as fraternities and group sporting teams, involve actual or exaggerated accounts of sexual activities with a number of women, sexist and homophobic attitudes, and traditional gendered perceptions of women (Flood & Pease, 2006). These male groups will inform their fellow male peers "that engaging in woman abuse is acceptable or preferred behaviour under certain conditions" and that women are 'acceptable' targets of abuse (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 49). Some of the women who are considered 'acceptable' to attack are those who are perceived to be financial exploiters (e.g., women who expect dinners or drinks to be paid for or expect gifts), women who frequently party, and women who are sexually active but do not want to engage in intercourse at that specific time (e.g., a 'slut' behaving like a 'tease'). Schwartz, DeKeseredy and Talt (2001) examined the association between male peer support and sexual violence towards

women in post-secondary institutions and found that 17% of men who perpetrated rape received suggestions from two or more peers for handling their female partner in a violent manner. In addition, males with peers who support forms of violence against women were 2.4 times more likely to perpetrate forms of sexual violence. For some of these men to maintain the idea that they are not in the wrong, male peers will offer a variety of " "vocabulary of adjustment"" in order to rationalize the events of abuse (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 56).

The cultural support some males receive and the lack of informal social controls against perpetrating aggression and violence against women allows for the androcentric culture to remain as the 'norm' and leaves male privilege intact (Malamuth, 1996). Males are expected, in some situations, to behave in an aggressive and dominant manner in order to reaffirm 'maleness'; otherwise they are at risk of being labeled in 'feminine' terms (Adams & Coltrane, 2005) or are at risk of being subjected to physical assaults, taunting, and other forms of bullying (Messerschmidt, 2005). This entitlement and continuous need to reaffirm masculinity foster aggression and violence against women.

Femininity in physical space

There are a number of social factors at work that continuously influence, shape, monitor, and control a woman's behaviour (Deming et al., 2013). One factor of particular interest is rape myths, which displaces the blame from the perpetrator onto the victim for failing to prevent an attack (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Rape myths was first defined by Burt (1980) as "a prejudicial, stereotyped or false belief about rape, rape victims, and rapists" (p. 217). However, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) were critical of the initial conceptualization of rape myths since 'myths' imply that there is a "cultural function"

and Burt's original definition did not convey this. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1994) reconceptualized rape myths as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (p. 134). These myths help to perpetuate stereotypes about women, men and sexuality. There are three prominent myths about sexual violence: first, women lie about sexual assault; second, only certain types of women are sexually assaulted, which include sexually promiscuous women and women from marginalized or minority groups (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994); and finally, the behaviour of the perpetrator should be excused by displacing blame for the incident on the victim for failing to protect herself or for failing to properly communicate intentions (Deming et al., 2013). Rape myths also identify 'legitimate' victimizations of sexual violence, also known as 'real rape', which include: an unknown perpetrator; visible proof of a struggle resulting in visible injuries; force with a weapon; respectable women who can demonstrate a history of no sexual promiscuity and no alcohol consumption; and an immediate report of the incident (Jordan, 2004; Lievore, 2005; Campbell & Johnson, 1997; Field, 1978; Schuller & Stewart, 2000). Rape myths play an important role in 'rape culture', which fosters and rationalizes forms of male violence against certain women as 'normal' and expected (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 1994), and fosters a controlling function by claiming certain women are responsible for male sexual aggression and can expect to be victimized if they fail to comply with certain gendered rules. The criteria outlined in these myths have shifted over the years from women deserving rape (Smart, 1989) to controlling the behaviour of women by requiring them to engage in risk analysis and avoid risky situations (Johnson & Dawson, 2011).

Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) assert that the function of rape myths will differ depending on gender: for males, it "is to justify male violence, whereas for women it is to deny personal vulnerability" (p. 709). Male peer support is available to provide justification for sexual aggression and offers males the advice, support, and vocabulary needed to rationalize their abusive behaviour and confirm that women are 'legitimate' targets (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013). This form of male support is not limited to young persons and dating situations; but rather, it is also commonly found in wife abuse situations when the women deserve the attack(s) since husbands "should not put up with women's challenges to their authority" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013, p. 50).

Previous rape myths that primarily focused on certain women deserving to be attacked have arguably shifted in response to the involvement of neoliberalism with newer myths functioning as a neoliberal perspective on preventing sexual violence, which has misconstrued discourses on the realities of victims (Bumiller, 2008). The involvement of the neoliberal state assisted in the 'sexual panic' discourses on sexual violence that involved dispersing myths that sexual violence was perpetrated by strangers, typically males who women 'should be afraid of' (e.g., males of colour, immigrants, etc…) and that attacks were vicious. The stories on sexual violence invoke fearful responses since there is a disturbance on what constitutes a normal sexual relationship and "there is often an implicit indication that victims violated sexual norms" (Bumiller, 2008, p. 20). Gavey (2005) noted the work of, and is in agreement with, Janet Holland and colleagues and argues that, with respect to sexual norms, heterosexuality is not a dichotomized concept with masculine and feminine understandings of sexual relations; but rather, heterosexual norms are predominately masculine. Social supports for

sexualized violence can be seen with the normalization of men to have high sexual drives and for women to be viewed as asexual beings who should only engage in sexual activity to satisfy males and holds women responsible for engaging or denying sexual activity.

The 'sexual panics' have resulted in an emphasis on individual risk management (Muehlenhard, Danoff-Burg, & Powch, 1996) by making women responsible for managing their risk and the actions of the attacker (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Henry and Powell (2014) argued that this form of self-policing runs the

> risk of becoming a new form of panopticism, an interiorized and individualized system of surveillance by which every woman becomes her own overseer. It is as if, having noted the failure of the panopticon project to reform criminals individually, we now applied it to their victims by gradually asking women to police their own behavioural and mental maps (p. 94).

These self-policing rape myths work as a form of informal social control over the conduct of women because it serves as an indicator as to which women will be attacked if they deviate from gendered norms (Perilloux, Duntley & Buss, 2012; Pryor & Hughes, 2013; Fisher & Sloan, 2003). This protects the androcentric culture and leaves male privilege and entitlement intact in two ways: (1) by either dismissing violent behaviour towards women as "boys will be boys" (Adams & Coltrane, 2005) or rationalizing the aggressive behaviour towards women as justifiable responses to threats to male entitlement (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2013); and (2) the option of 'choice' for some women is non-existent and some women will 'consent' in order to avoid being labeled in negative terms and to avoid potential violence (Gavey, 2005, p. 123).

The acceptance of rape myths, among both men and women, is associated with attribution of blame and responsibility towards the victim (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994; Deming et al., 2013; Forbes, Adams-Curtis, & White, 2004) although, higher levels of

rape myth acceptance is commonly found among males (Forbes et al., 2004; Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Women who disagree with rape myths view sexual assault as a threat to any woman whereas those who have high acceptance of rape myths view sexual violence as a threat to only certain women, such as sexually promiscuous and irresponsible women (Bohner et al., 2009). Vignette research has indicated that women who have higher acceptance of rape myths displace blame from certain perpetrators onto the victims, primarily in situations that could be misconstrued as miscommunication as well as risky or dangerous situations since "women are responsible for navigating safe environments and need to conduct themselves accordingly" (Deming et al., 2013, p. 9).

Acceptance of rape myths can create barriers for victims of violence by influencing the responses they receive from others, whether it be lack of belief, lack of empathy and compassion, or lack of understanding of the severity of the situation (Bohner et al., 2009). Rape myths serve to control how women come to identify their experience(s) by the androcentric definition of harm taking precedence over the experiences and knowledges of the women involved (Hamby & Koss, 2003; Chasteen, 2001). It is not uncommon for survivors of sexual violence to attempt to interpret their experience(s) through rape myths, such as accepting blame which can result in many women not reporting incidents out of fear of being disbelieved (Du Mont, Miller, & Myher, 2003; Wolitzky-Taylor et al., 2011a; Wolitzky-Taylor et al., 2011b; Deming et al., 2013). This controls the behaviour of women in two ways: first, women are held responsible for attacks perpetrated against them if they fail to adhere to very specific gendered cultural norms; and second, women police themselves to prevent an attack and

accept the dominant male definition of harm, which can result in women being less likely to seek help or report to police (Johnson & Dawson, 2011).

The element of fear has been discussed in the literature with regards to controlling women's behaviour. Sheffield (2007) and Brownmiller (1975) argue that male violence is perpetrated against women as a patriarchal tool to maintain control and dominance over women; however, Sheffield discusses this as a form of sexual terrorism, which the actual or implied forms of violence serve the purpose to remind women that they could be targets of a sexualized attack at any given time. In order to demonstrate the gendered nature of sexual terrorism, Sheffield (2007) asked male and female students about their fears of sexualized attacks during time spent outside. Female students recounted fears of forms of sexual violence when participating in activities alone outside, such as jogging, shopping, driving at night, or going to a film. In contrast, male students described their fears differently, experiencing some levels of fear of violence but not fears of forms of sexual violence, as did the women, and their behaviour and daily activities were not controlled by these fears (Sheffield, 2007, p. 112). The element of fear is sufficient enough to informally control the behaviour of women in two ways. First, women who are fearful of sexual assault are more likely to engage in precautionary avoidance behaviours, such as refraining from participating in social and economic activities (Pryor & Hughes, 2013; Perilloux et al., 2012; Fisher & Sloan, 2003), avoiding certain areas during the evening (Fisher & Sloan, 2003), and refraining from socializing at certain locations (Perilloux et al., 2012). This controls a woman's sense of freedom in physical space by limiting her to spaces deemed 'safe'. Second, women may modify their wardrobe to intentionally appear 'less' attractive (McKibbin et al., 2011). This form of informal social

control is predicated on the fact that if a woman appears to be too attractive or shows too much femininity she is a legitimate target since women are "responsible for the sexual behavior of men" (Sheffield, 2007, p. 122) and thus are responsible for their victimizing experiences.

The controlling effects of rape myths on women are present in the daily functioning of women in the forms of workplace and street-level sexual harassment, experiences that are often trivialized as 'normal' aspects of female life (Sheffield, 2007). With regards to workplace harassment, it can occur at various levels of employment and vary on a continuum of aggression (Messerschmidt, 1993). For instance, women who work in traditionally male spaces, such as factories (Messerschmidt, 1993) or are in a position of power (McLaughlin, Uggen, & Blackstone, 2012), are perceived as direct economic competition and a challenge to what is considered 'masculine' and are subjected to forms of sexual harassment as a reminder that they are not welcome in a 'man's world'. In addition, men in higher positions are more likely to use economic means as leverage in order to force sexual favours, such as threatening employment termination or denial of future increases in pay (Messerschmidt, 1993). Women experience the forces of social control when they refrain from coming forward or their employment is terminated (Gutek & Koss, 1993). Women who defy pressure to remain silent and submissive and speak out against the harassers can be questioned by peers and co-workers on whether they are the cause of the sexual harassment and have failed to prevent the attack by appearing too attractive, behaving inappropriately (Gutek & Koss, 1993), taking a 'joke' too seriously (Quinn, 2002), exaggerating the incident, or making

false accusations (Gutek & Koss, 1993). Instead of questioning the behaviour of the harasser, women are often held accountable for their role in the incident.

Aside from fellow colleagues ignoring or dismissing incidents, there are cases that management mishandles situations, such as with the case surrounding Jian Ghomeshi, a radio host for CBC (CBC News, 2015b). Prior to mass media attention, Ghomeshi published a Facebook post about previous consensual Bondage, Discipline and Sadomasochism (BDSM) encounters with a woman, who he referred to as a bitter ex-girlfriend, who accused him of sexual assault (Kingston, 2014). After the initial Facebook post, many sympathized with his situation (Kingston, 2014), which can be common with celebrities when the scenario is presented with a 'false'/ discreditable victim or someone attempting to seek financial gain (Chamberlain, Miller & Jehle, 2006; Frankiuk, Seefelt, Cepress & Vandello, 2008); however, the amount of support quickly declined after more women, and one man, came forward with their sexually violating experiences with Ghomeshi. An inquiry at the CBC determined that complaints against Ghomeshi were not isolated and management and union representatives poorly handled claims made by victims dating back to 2010. This serves as a form of social control over women when victims' claims are ignored and other women are deterred from coming forward. The deterrent factor was reinforced with Judge Horkins' verdict in criminal court and his condemnation of the victim's post-assault behaviour that deviated from socially appropriate victim scripts (CBC News, 2016). Horkins commented on the importance of not relying on stereotypical scripts of appropriate victim conduct then proceeded to base his decision on the prevalent rape myth that women are prone to lie about sexual assault, stating that the "evidence of each complainant suffered not just from inconsistencies and

questionable behaviour, but was tainted by outright deception" (CBC News, 2016). The behaviours that casted 'reasonable doubt' in the Ghomeshi case are not abnormal/atypical of victims' reactions, for many victims deviate from stereotypical understandings of how female victims of sexual assault should behave with regards to their behaviour post attack and when they report the incident to police (Lonsways, Archambault & Lisak, 2009). For example, it is not uncommon for some victims of sexual assault to withhold information, exaggerate parts of their experience(s), or recant their statement to police. The criminal justice system is not trauma informed, meaning that there is no room for understanding the highly complex nature of the effects of trauma on a person's coping and behaviour (Randall & Haskell, 2013). Traumatic events alter our perceptions of the world with previous understandings including trust, consistency, and fairness to distrust and disorientation. Those who have experienced trauma may find it difficult to emotionally connect with others and trust others, carry the burden of responsibility for what happened, and may feel hopeless. Victims of violence are often unable to "explain their own psychological responses and coping" and many may not identify any of their behaviour, which may appear as inconsistent with victim scripts for appropriate conduct, as their way of coping (Randall & Haskell, 2013, p. 523). With the lack of a trauma informed criminal justice system, the behaviour and responses of female victims of violence post-attack are often misconstrued as "counterintuitive and this affects their credibility in legal proceedings", despite the fact that "the way a victim reacts or tells her story in a service context or legal proceeding is actually very often a typical, predictable, and normal way of responding to life threatening events and coping with and remember traumatic experiences" (Randall & Haskell, 2013, p. 523).

Judge Horkins also reinforced the rape myth that women lie about rape with the following statement: “the twists and turns of the complainants' evidence in this trial, illustrate the need to be vigilant in avoiding the equally dangerous false assumption that sexual assault complainants are always truthful.” (CBC News, 2016). The rape myth that women lie about sexual assault has been empirically rejected. Lisak, Gardinier, Nicksa and Cote (2010) examined sexual assault cases from a university police department between 1998-2007 and found that 6% were coded as ‘false’. Lonsway et al. (2009) note that studies with valid and reliable methodologies have found that there are between 2% and 8% of false allegations. The ‘failure’ of these women to act in accordance with appropriate victim scripts, as outlined in rape myths, reminded other women that failure to act in accordance with ‘legitimate’ victim behaviour diminishes their credibility.

A major public debate ensued over why women do not report sexual violence to the police and reasons for remaining anonymous when journalists Sue Montgomery and Antonia Zerbisias created the Twitter hashtag #BeenRapedNeverReported and concluded “how clueless we are about sexual assault” (Montgomery, 2014). #BeenRapedNeverReported, which was used 20,000 times within the first 24 hours, was created to offer women, and men, a new space to tell their story on Twitter in 140 characters in order to break their silence and to see that they are not alone (CBC News, 2014). Aside from the reasons of shame and embarrassment that deter reporting, some women have stated that there is the fear of being accused of fabricating the claims and the fear of being charged. Lievore’s (2005) study on responses to sexual assault survivors found that in some instances when police suspect women are fabricating sexual assault claims they are threatened with charges of perjury. One woman stated that the police

were helpful until they discovered her previous sexual assault history and they told her she would have to withdraw the allegations or risk facing charges for falsifying a report. Similar findings were uncovered in Johnson's (2015) study on the perceptions of victims of violence on how law enforcement in Ottawa could improve their responses. In Johnson's (2015) study, one woman stated that an officer said she would face consequences if the allegations were false: "He told me there would be serious consequences if I were lying. He accused me of many things, such as lying to him and not fighting or yelling enough" (p.6). Another woman in the same study had a similar experience: "I felt like I was a suspect being interviewed. I was told I would be charged if I was found to be lying" (Johnson, 2015, p.6). The responses some of the women received from law enforcement indicate that there is an influence of rape myths, meaning that only 'legitimate victims' are taken seriously. For example, some of the women stated that officers told them they should have fought harder, screamed, learn how to say 'no' and to be clearer on sexual intentions. Johnson (2015) summarized it as "Many felt police held them responsible and some threatened repercussions if the woman was found to be fabricating the attack" (p.6). The hashtag #BeenRapedNeverReported demonstrated what was already known in research on sexual violence: it is one of the most underreported crimes due to fears and social biases that work to hold victims and not perpetrators accountable (Johnson & Dawson, 2011), and broke the silence on what many women privately experience and privately suffer. Montgomery (2014) "hoped it would finally convince the naysayers and rape deniers that the crime – and the silence surrounding it—is pervasive" (para.10).

With regards to sexual street harassment/catcalling, women may receive sexually suggestive remarks and comments about their appearance, threats of sexual violation, and questions about why they are alone or without a male companion (Fahs, 2011). Many women fear the situation(s) escalating, physically or sexually, and this unpredictability can be distressing and controlling since many women avoid participating in public spaces. *HollaBack Ottawa*, a social movement to address and eliminate street harassment of women, noted that:

> 80% of the 811 women… surveyed who said they constantly have to look over their shoulder. The 50% who have to cross the street and find alternate paths to their ultimate destinations. The 45% who feel as if they can't go in public alone and the 26% who feel as if they have to lie about a significant other to get perpetrators to leave them alone. The 19% who had to move and the 9% who needed to completely change jobs just to avoid street harassment (Hollaback Ottawa, 2014, Myth #3 It's only a harmless compliment/flirting, para. 3).

This form of sexualized violence against women controls the behaviour of women by requiring them to depend on men for protection, refrain from leaving home, and engage in risk analysis before going out by evaluating which places are deemed 'safe' (Fahs, 2011; Fisher & Sloan, 2003).

This continuous and vicious cycle of blame and shame forces women to remain silent, conform to the gendered cultural norms of acceptable feminine behaviour (Johnson & Dawson, 2011) and to accept androcentric definitions of harm (Hamby & Koss, 2003; Chasteen, 2001). Androcentricism remains unchallenged and male entitlement over women's sexuality and liberty continues. The expected gendered behaviour of women, rape myths, and androcentric definitions of harm also serve to control women in cyber space. This technological space offers a new area to perpetrate similar behaviour (Citron, 2009b) and to continue to exert forms of control over women.

Masculinity in cyber space

Similar to physical space, men in cyber space are under surveillance in order to ensure they are presenting an appropriate 'masculine' gender identity (Ringrose & Harvey, 2015; Bailey, 2015); however, unlike physical space, cyber space offers new opportunities for known and unknown people to subject others to methods of informal control in the form of harassment and threats. When it comes to demonstrating forms of aggressive behaviour online, the gendered structures and expectations reflect those in physical space. With regards to online conduct and the presentation of self, males do not have a stringent list of cyber social expectations compared to women; nevertheless, there are some social ground rules for presenting the male digital self. One male participant in Ringrose and Harvey's study (2015), involving in-depth interviews and regular Facebook account observations of 22 students between the ages of 13 and 15, indicated that he could present his masculinity by posting 'selfies' with his shirt off in order for others to see his muscles (p. 211), and not face social repercussions since it is not viewed as 'sexual' (Steeves, 2015). However, males who post too many 'selfies' on social networking sites will be targeted by others, peers and strangers, for engaging in feminine behaviour since a "debilitating insult to boys is to be called a "girl" or "gay"" (Bailey, 2015, p. 44).

Another method males gauge masculinity, as well as popularity, among other males is with 'sexts' from other girls (Ringrose & Harvey, 2015). Males who rank high in masculinity and popularity will have a high number of 'sexts' from females and males will often show their male peers these images. As one male phrased it, "Basically with the boys it is a competition, who can get the most revealing picture or the biggest breast

girl" (Ringrose & Harvey, 2015, p. 206). Some males stated that they have a code of honour and respect for the opposite sex by not showing sexts that reveal the face of the female and they will not show images of their girlfriend; however, it is expected that males will demonstrate aggressive behaviour, masked as loving and protecting, if their partner sexualizes her body in cyber space. The sharing of sexts and other images among peers in physical space can extend into 'peers' (vastly expanded in number) in cyber space and essentially offer a new space for male peer support (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011). This is found in the increasing number of websites and social media groups that are 'pro-rape' and 'pro-abuse', which many of the members probably have never actually met in person, and sometimes involve the sharing of pornography. It is argued that the sharing of images, pornography, and values "reinforces attitudes that reproduce and reconstitute ideologies of male dominance by approvingly presenting women as objects to be conquered and consumed" (DeKeseredy & Olsson, 2011, p. 40).

Similar to physical space, male aggression is deemed acceptable and is rationalized as the norm for online conduct (Herring, 1996). Furthermore, males are expected to refrain from partaking in any cyber conduct that could be considered 'feminine' (Bailey, 2015). While males may be subjected to debilitating insults by being referred to as 'feminine', women in cyber space face more severe consequences for gender deviations (Steeves, 2015).

Femininity in cyber space

Informal social control over women and enforcement of gendered norms can be found in cyber space in the forms of expectations on how women should present their digital self (Steeves & Bailey, 2014; Steeves, 2015; Bailey, 2015), where they can

participate, and how their digital identities are able to participate (Citron, 2009b; Hess, 2014; Binns, 2012). The various forms of cyber victimization women are subjected to (see Table 1) are enough to make women feel uncomfortable (Barak, 2005), fear for their safety (Hess, 2014; Philips & Morrissey, 2004), and deny them the right to freely participate in public online spaces (Citron, 2009a). The informal social control in cyber space is predicated on women being reminded that open online participation can be met with forms of harassment and that the most effective way to reduce the online abuse is to refrain from fully participating.

Young persons, especially women, are pressured into having at least one social media account; otherwise they run the risk of becoming socially irrelevant (Shade, 2008). Women are encouraged by peers, family, and social media to increase their privacy settings by limiting methods of contact and accessibility to social networking profiles, such as Facebook (Spangler, 2014; Steeves & Bailey, 2014; Bailey, Steeves, Burkell, & Regan, 2013); at the same time these young women base their online success, and judge the success of others, on the number of social media 'friends' they have (Bailey, 2015). In addition, women are also encouraged to hide their female identity to prevent cyber victimization by selecting either gender-neutral or masculine names (Citron, 2009b; Working to Halt Online Abuse, n.d; Mishra & Mishra, 2013) since self-identified women online are 25 times more likely to receive sexual threats and negative comments compared to self-identified men or users who select gender-neutral names (Citron, 2009a). A study carried out by Pew Research Center found that 17% of adult online users have engaged in some of the previously mentioned precautionary measures with their privacy settings in order to avoid harassment (Rainie, Kiesler, Kang & Madden, 2013).

Like gendered expectations in real space, women are expected to use ‘common sense’ with regards to how they present themselves on social networking websites (Steeves & Bailey, 2014) by observing ‘netiquette’ (Herring, 1996; Binns, 2012). These norms, similar to participation and interactions in physical space, are deeply rooted in the gendered cultural norms and expected behaviour of women with male oriented attitudes and values considered the standard norm in online communication. Young women are continuously navigating a razor thin line between appearing sexy, but not overly sexy, and not appearing ‘slutty’ on social media (Steeves & Bailey, 2014), which often results in young girls feeling like they are judged and potentially doing ‘something wrong’ with every decision they make in cyber space (Bailey, 2015). It has been suggested that cyber space, compared to face-to-face interactions in physical space, liberates men and women from performing traditional gender roles; however, Lisa Atkins, cited in Henry and Powell (2015b), argued “traditions are repackaged as “central to a new constitution and configuration of gender”” (p. 761). As Steeves (2015) notes, “Rather than opening up space for new performances of femininity, social media came with a clear and vigorously enforced set of social rules about acceptable ways of being a girl” (p. 158). Young girls feel pressure to adhere to the vanity norms expected of women based on what is presented in popular media and are continuously comparing themselves to female peers on social media and competing for attention by posting more ‘selfies’ (Bailey, 2015) which many women are quick to defend as not ‘bad’ or ‘trashy’ (Steeves, 2015). The general consensus among some young women as to what constitutes a ‘bad’ or ‘trashy’ photograph is any photograph that depicts, even vaguely, sexuality, whether it is showing breast cleavage, sexually suggestive positions, wearing revealing clothing, or attempting

to make breasts or buttocks appear sexual. The young women in Steeves' (2015) study, part of the eGirls project which conducted interviews and focus groups by recruiting young women between the ages of 15 and 22, indicated that they refrain from posting such photographs in order to avoid social media peers and strangers from misinterpreting the content as sexual. Furthermore, young girls are aware that there is a gendered double standard for photographs and males are able to post photos without the same social repercussions.

Aside from the female physical presentation of self in cyber space, there are online spaces and online behaviours that are considered 'inappropriate' for women to freely participate in without Internet 'trolls', who primarily target women, subjecting them to 'justified attacks' and behaviour 'correction' (Hess, 2014; Filipovic, 2007). These spaces and behaviours can include discussions of topics previously reserved for men (Hess, 2014; Bartow, 2009), participation in traditionally male dominated spaces, or speaking out against androcentricism, misogyny, and male perpetrated violence (Sarkeesian, 2012a; Sarkeesian, 2012b; Sarkeesian, 2012c; Filipovic, 2007, Thomas, 2014). There are instances where women will be targeted even if the space/discussion is not typically a 'male area' as an intimidation tactic to control the behaviour of some women by forcing them offline (Sussman & Tyson, 2000). The most effective method of control over women is the use of sexually and physically violent threats since this can force some women to alter their behaviour out of fear for their personal safety. Women participating in cyber space are encouraged to refrain from self-defence when being attacked, an admonishment of 'don't feed the trolls' (Binns, 2012), despite the vulgar, harassing, and threatening comments they receive. Similar to physical space,

androcentricism also defines 'harm' for women in cyber space and many of the harms women experience as a result of online perpetrating behaviours are dismissed (West Coast LEAF, 2014).

Amanda Hess (2014) spoke about sex, a topic that was previously reserved for men, and the control that was exerted over Hess was in the form of threatening comments, such as "Amanda, I'll fucking rape you. How does that feel?" (Hess, 2014), and:

> I am 36 years old, I did 12 years for 'manslaughter', I killed a woman like you, who decided to make fun of guys cocks…Happy to say we live in the same state. Im looking you up, and when I find you, im going to rape you and remove your head…You are going to die and I am the one who is going to kill you. I promise you this (Hess, 2014).

Similar exertions of control over women can also be found in the traditional male area of video gaming. Brianna Wu, who is a game developer known for creating Revolution 60 (Reilly, 2014) and the primary developer at the Giant Spacekat company (Hart, 2014), was subjected to numerous sexual and life threatening comments by the anonymous Twitter account "Death to Brianna" (Hart, 2014) with the stated objective of silencing Wu for supporting women in the gaming industry (Reilly, 2014). Brianna was the target of hate-filled posts such as: "Your mutilated corpse will be on the front page of Jezebel tomorrow and there isn't jack shit you can do about it"; " I'm going to rape your filthy ass until you bleed, then choke you to death with your husband's tiny Asian penis"; and "If you have kids, they're going to die too. I don't give a fuck. They'll grow up to be feminists anyway." (Hart, 2014).

In some instances, women feel that their safety from the harms of cyber victimization and online misogyny are more important than their right to freely

participate in cyber space (Bartow, 2009). Kathy Sierra, a woman in the traditionally male dominated area of technology, was subjected to violent and misogynistic comments, such as: ""fuck off you boring slut…I hope someone slits your throat and cums down your gob"" (Bartow, 2009, p. 384), and "Better watch your back on the streets whore…Be a pity if you turned up in the gutter where you belong, with a machete shoved in that self righteous little cunt of yours" (Filipovic, 2007, p. 301). The violent threats were enough for Sierra to fear for her safety, which resulted in her discontinuing her blog and refraining from appearing at public speaking events (Bartow, 2009). The previous examples are not rare and isolated incidents. A study carried out by Mitchell and colleagues (2008), a national telephone survey of young persons between the ages of 10 to 17 who use the Internet, found that young females were 2.41 times more likely than young males to partake in online blogging, and those who blog are 2.5 times more likely to experience online abuse compared to those who do not blog. This highlights the fact that women who make themselves visible in cyber space are more likely to be attacked when they do not adhere to the gendered cultural norms to remain silent and refrain from engaging in male dominated spaces.

Two recent examples of women who were targeted in cyber space for speaking out to challenge androcentrism, misogyny, and gendered violence are Emma Watson and Anita Sarkeesian. Emma Watson, best known for her role in the popular film series *Harry Potter*, stepped out of her primary role as an actress and spoke out against gender inequality by advocating for the *HeForShe* campaign as the United Nations Women Goodwill Ambassador (Thomas, 2014). Watson spoke passionately about the negative effects of gender inequality, for both men and women, and formally invited all men to

participate in ending inequality. Watson discussed how masculine ideals and objectives are harmful for men by noting the difficulty some men experience with expressing their feelings as a result of being forced to repress them. However, not all men were welcoming of the young actress speaking out against gender inequality and threatened Watson over the website, 4chan, threatening to release a nude photograph of her, which was a hoax. The message that was sent to Watson directly, and other women indirectly, was that speaking out against gender inequality will result in social punishment, threats, and attempts to force women into silence (Menzies, 2008).

Anita Sarkeesian, who is known for speaking out against the portrayal of women as sexual objects in video games (Sarkeesian, 2012a), has been the recipient of brutal cyber victimizations in attempt to censor and socially control her behaviour as a result of her openly critical approach to the male-dominated subculture of video games (Sarkeesian, 2012b), which include: numerous sexual and physical threats online, pornographic digital alterations of photographs of her, attempts to have her content removed, and the creation of an online game with the goal of virtually simulating a brutal assault against her to the point where her face is bloody and bruised (Sarkeesian, 2012c). Some of the comments Sarkeesian received indicate that there is resentment towards feminists and towards what 'feminism' encompasses, which further refuels and supports the misogynist culture (Menzies, 2008) that women are man-hating, irrational, emotional and vindictive (Ryle, 2012), such as:

> Feminism definition of equality is warped. Equality now means "we get to do everything men do except difficult things, we're supported by everyone while doing so and if someone criticizes us, blame patriarchy. Also extra bonus points for everything". Let's see…FALSE rape culture, belittling of men, destruction of modern marriage, hypergamy, men shaming, treating men as cattle with no rights,

> female quota in every job, misandry, sexism that goes unnoticed, no rights for divorced fathers, and on…(Sarkeesian, 2012a).

Rather than respectful discussions, online users are attempting to control Sarkeesian, and other women, though threats, humiliation and shame. This control tactic serves to protect the androcentric culture by misrepresenting feminism as an ideology that is responsible for the perceived social 'injustices' men experience and the destruction of 'traditional' family values (Menzies, 2008).

Resistance to initial attempts to control and silence women can result in an increase in frequency and severity of forms of cyber victimizations (Filipovic, 2007; Binns, 2012). This was Sarkeesian's experience as she continued to resist the silencing and experienced an increase in severity and frequency of harassment and threats, which resulted in her being forced out of her home following serious threats that made her fear for her safety (McDonald, 2014). The intensity of the online abuse increased months later when the Utah State University, host of a public speaking event, received a threatening email in which the perpetrator threatened to carry out a shooting massacre similar to the Montreal Massacre if Sarkeesian did not cancel her speaking event:

> Anita Sarkeesian is everything wrong with the feminist woman, and she is going to die screaming like the craven little whore that she is if you let her come to USU. I will write my manifesto in her spilled blood, and you will bear witness to what feminist lies and poison have done to the men of America (Hern, 2014).

The perpetrator idolized Marc Lepine, who killed 14 women at the 1989 Montreal Massacre, because he stood up for men against feminists (Hern, 2014). Sarkeesian felt that canceling her event was the best option due to gun laws in Utah that allow people to carry guns in public spaces as long as they have a permit. In addition, Sarkeesian stated on her Twitter account that the school did not take the threat seriously, "USU acted

irresponsibly. They did not even inform me of the threat. I learned about it via news stories on Twitter after I landed in Utah" (Feminist Frequency, 2014c). Sarkeesian also noted that the school and police dismissed the threats because online threats are 'normal' cyber behaviours and she was not harmed in physical space (Feminist Frequency, 2014b).

Other online perpetration that is 'rationalized' is associated with the non-consensual taking and distributing of photographs, which often minimizes or dismisses harms experienced (West Coast LEAF, 2014). In some instances, photographs of women are taken without consent, as in the case of Amanda Todd (West Cost LEAF, 2014), hacked, as in the case of Jennifer Lawrence (Vanity Fair, 2014), or distributed without the knowledge or consent of the user, as with the case of many women (Filipovic, 2007; West Coast LEAF, 2014). Harms are dismissed because the androcentric netiquette indicates that women are to blame for their role in cyber victimization. For example, young girls are informed that an indication of self-respect is refraining from sending 'sexts', as they are at risk of having the photographs shared (Karaian, 2014). Karaian (2014) notes that campaigns for self-respect "contributes to the maintenance of sexual norms within girls, not boys, who say 'yes' to sexual expression [where they] may be subject[ed] to shame and blame by both society and the criminal justice system should they ever be sexually victimized" (p. 288).

Another example of the dismissal of harm can be found in the Dalhousie University incident involving upper-year male dentistry students who created a Facebook page with misogynistic and sexually violent material, including a poll on the females they would like to 'hate fuck' and suggestive pictures of women being chloroformed (Dalhousie University, 2015). Harms experienced by the women involved were

minimized when sympathy was redirected to the men when the initial decision of suspension was delayed due to concerns about the males engaging in self-harm, which resulted in the university offering a restorative justice process rather than more formal sanctions (Dalhousie University, 2015). The redirection of sympathy is not uncommon and in many instances there are sympathetic claims made about the perpetrators and their futures. This response is a mechanism of social control over women when the impacts they experienced were ignored and they were told that restorative justice was the best option, for some felt that they were unable to pursue more formal legal action: "'The university is pressuring us into this process, silencing our views, isolating us from our peers, and discouraging us from choosing to proceed formally'" (CBC News, 2015a). This served as a social control function over these women when they did not want to disclose their identities due to the fear of academic and social repercussions, in addition to fearing that formal action will negatively affect their future careers (Dalhousie University, 2015).

The harms that arise out of these incidents are often reconceptualized as a form of flattery (Filipovic, 2007) or a sexual scandal as a result of careless behaviour (West Coast LEAF, 2014), despite the fact that it can result in women fearing for their physical and psychological wellbeing (Filipovic, 2007) and can increase the risk of suicide (West Coast LEAF, 2014). In many of these victimizing instances, harm is also reconceptualized for women as harmless teasing (Franks, 2012), despite the fact that there is a clear distinction between teasing and abuse, for the latter involves intent to cause harm or distress in addition to a power divide between the victim and perpetrator (Shariff & Gouin, 2006). Rather than subjecting the cyber perpetrators to methods of

social control, such as shame and criticism, control is exerted directly over women and indirectly as a warning to other women.

It is apparent that there is a need for control over the violent and threatening behaviour perpetrated against women in both physical and cyber spaces because many women feel, out of fear, that they are not welcome in public physical (Hollaback Ottawa, 2014; Fahs, 2011) and cyber spaces (Hess, 2014; Filipovic, 2007). However, it has been argued that the forms of formal control that are intended to punish perpetrators, more often than not, possess and practice androcentric values that serve to protect the androcentric culture and indirectly punish the victims (Jordan, 2004; Lievore, 2005; Johnson & Dawson, 2011; Schuller & Stewart, 2000).

Law as Formal Social Control

Societies exert formal social control over the conduct of members through legislation and policies and ascribing authority to those in a disciplinary position to enforce laws, policies, and sanctions that are reflective of the social norms in a particular period of time (Chriss, 2013). Law defines those who perpetrate violence and harm others as deviant and deserving of formal social control in order to maintain social order and harmony; however, the application of formal social control in these situations is weakened by the influence of an androcentric culture, gendered cultural norms, and ambiguous informal social controls (Franks, 2012). As a result, formal social controls are often controls in name only.

Law is a powerful defining mechanism in society because it is able "to enact a range of measures and to define rights and wrongs" (Smart, 1990, p. 195). Like most other nations, the Canadian government has enacted legislation to criminalize sexual

assault and workplaces have policies that promise to take seriously sexual harassment; however, sexual harassment in public spaces is unregulated. The administration of law is trusted to those in positions of power who are able to disqualify certain knowledges and have the ability to determine how formal social control will be carried out and to whom (Smart, 1989). In many instances of sexual assault, law does not serve as formal control over perpetrators; but rather, the process result in control exerted indirectly over women. First, law is in a position to reproduce hegemonic conceptualizations of masculinity and femininity in which the former is associated with truth and objectivity and given more prestige and credibility, while the latter is associated with being untruthful, emotional and lacking in credibility. In the case of sexual violence, what has been previously understood about sexuality is influenced by the 'phallocentric culture', which "implies a culture which is structured to meet the needs of the masculine imperative" (Smart, 1989, p. 26). The experiences, voices and knowledges of female survivors of violence have been subjugated in relation to law and as a result law's development, interpretation and application is reflective of the male experience and view of the social world. Smart (1990) identifies this aspect of law as the "patriarchal state" which establishes male views of the social world as the objective standard for interpreting events and portraying this interpretation as gender-neutral (p. 195). Lastly, since the experiences, voices and knowledges of female survivors of violence have been marginalized, any definitions/ experiences that deviate from the pre-established male-norm of interpreting events will be viewed as inaccurate and biased since those in power have the ability to dismiss 'irrelevant' facts (Smart, 1990). The biases towards sexually assaulted women in law and legal process results in underreporting and under-prosecution of these crimes, which

contribute to distortion of public perceptions of the severity and nature of sexual violence (Johnson, 2012).

Law enforcement is the beginning stage of interpreting claims of sexual assault and ultimately decides whether to pursue the claim, to record it as a criminal offence, and whether to lay charges against the accused. In Statistics Canada's 2000 Uniform Crime Reporting (UCR) Survey, 16% of reported sexual assaults were coded as "unfounded", meaning that police investigated and determined a crime did not take place (Johnson, 2012, p. 627). Claims of sexual assault coded as 'unfounded' were common in cases that deviated from 'real rape' scenarios: those involving a known perpetrator, no sign of physical force by accused, inability to fully say 'no' to the perpetrator due to mental health issues; and situations where women were not visibly distraught (Johnson, 2012). These biases are arguably present during police training and the dismissal of women's claim can be conveniently justified on police training guidelines. For example, the *Handbook for Police and Crown Prosecutors on Criminal Harassment*, produced by the Canadian department of justice warns officers to be alert for what is known as *false victimization syndrome*:

> involving cases where a complainant may falsely allege a case of criminal harassment. The motives for these complaints to falsify an allegation of stalking include: the need for an alibi or excuse for personal behaviour; the desire for reconciliation or a closer attachment to someone by placing that person in the role of rescuer; the need for revenge against someone who has rejected them or threatens their security or to attract attention and sympathy (Department of Justice, 2012).

In addition, the same handbook advocates for self-responsibilization behaviours to avoid victimization:

> Advise them that they have a primary role to play in ensuring their own safety. Recognize that, although not fair, victims may be required to alter their lifestyle

> and usual routines, schedules, transportation routes and places regularly frequented. Emphasize the importance of self-care in order to avoid extreme stress and exhaustion, which may decrease their ability to stay alert or follow a safety plan (Department of Justice, 2012).

While the handbook does not explicitly state that these guidelines and rules apply solely to victimization claims made by women, it serves as a convenient justification for exerting formal control over women by reinforcing gendered cultural norms that portray women as irrational, emotional (Ryle, 2012), lacking in credible judgment (Wiederman, 2005), and responsible for inciting sexual attention and preventing attacks against them (Johnson & Dawson, 2011).

There is additional bias and injustice with regards to how crimes of sexual violence are coded by police. In an analysis of UCR data, Johnson (2012) noted that 98% of reported sexual assaults in 2007 were coded as level I, which is sexual assault without serious bodily harm, weapons, and/or threats, an increase from 88% in 1983 and provides evidence to suggest that many are misclassified. For example, out of a total of 17,374 reported level I sexual assaults recorded in the survey 386 incidents involved a weapon and 17% resulted in physical injury to the victim (Johnson, 2012, p. 620). Placing the sexual assaults involving weapons and causing bodily harm in level I, the least serious on the spectrum of sexual assault, contradicts legal definitions as outlined in the *Canadian Criminal Code* as injury and the presence of weapons qualify an offence to be coded as level II (Johnson, 2012, p. 620). Law as a mechanism of social control, in this respect, is biased: regardless of how psychologically traumatic and damaging the experience was and whether there were internal injuries or other threats, the perpetration carried out

against these women is incorrectly classified as 'less serious' and considered 'non-violent', which ultimately undermines the severity of their experience(s).

There are a number of biases towards women once their claims reach the courts. Former justice of Supreme Court of Canada's, Claire L'Heureux-Dubé's, listed the biases that have negatively influenced the Supreme Court's treatment and responses to victims of sexual violence:

- The rapist is a stranger
- Women are less reliable and credible as witnesses if they have had prior sexual relations
- Women are more likely to have consented to sexual advances if they have had prior sexual relations
- Women will always struggle to defend their honour
- Women are "more emotional" than men so unless they become "hysterical," nothing must have happened
- Women mean "yes" even when they say "no"
- Women who are raped deserve it because of their conduct, dress, and demeanour
- Women fantasize about rape and therefore fabricate reports of sexual activity even though nothing happened

(L'Heuruex-Dubé, 2001, pp. 89-90).

The biases of sexually assaulted women are also present in cases involving mock jurors when assessing the legitimacy of the victimization (Schuller & Wall, 1998; Schuller & Hastings, 2002). For example, with regards to the purchase and consumption of alcohol, Lynch, Wasarhaley, Goulding, and Simcic (2013) found that mock jurors had significantly lower perceptions of victim credibility if the victim purchased her own alcoholic beverages and Schuller and Hastings (2002) found that when the victim's previous sexual history with the perpetrator was presented to mock jurors the victim was perceived as less credible and more blameworthy. The amount of skepticism and shadows of doubt women experience as a result of gendered biases towards them serves as a mechanism of social control over the victims by requiring them to carefully weigh

their options of shame, disbelief, and/or blame when they make the decision to report or remain silent. There is no other type of victimization that is met with such scrutiny and skepticism as there is with sexual assault (Johnson, 2012). The likelihood of an initial report resulting in a conviction is small: out of an estimated 460,000 reported sexual assaults in the 2004 victimization cycle of the General Social Survey, approximately 15,200 were reported to police, 13,200 were recorded as a crime (deemed to be founded), 5,544 resulted in charges against a suspect, 2,824 were prosecuted, and only 1,519 were convicted for a conviction rate of less than 1% (Johnson, 2012, p. 631).

The application, or lack thereof, of law in cyber space victimizations, particularly among female victims, reflects many of the gender biases with regards to victim accountability and credibility commonly found in physical space. The West Coast LEAF (2014) demonstrated how cyber victimization could be handled by using various violations as outlined in the *Canadian Criminal Code*, such as criminal harassment, since it is considered criminal conduct if the victim feared for their safety. However, the issue is not only determining the legitimacy of a victim's claim, but also assessing the legitimacy of her fear for her safety and psychological well-being since the threats are not experienced in physical space. In the case of Amanda Todd, who committed suicide after a non-consensual image of her was widely distributed on social media and was subjected to harassment, RCMP officers were made aware of the situation on five different occasions over a two year span and suggested that Todd remove herself from all forms of social media: "If Amanda does not stay off the internet and/or take steps to protect herself online…there is only so much we as the police can do" (The West Coast LEAF, 2014, pp, 51-52). Rather than attention and control over the perpetrator for essentially

distributing child pornography, since Todd was under the age of 18, more attention and control was directed at Todd for engaging in sexual expression in cyber space and failure to refrain from further online participation. Telling a woman to simply shut down her social media accounts or turn off her computer "hinder[s] women's rights to full and equal participation in society as 'digital citizens'" (Henry & Powell, 2014, p. 93). This served as a form of control as a stigma reminder to Todd, and to other women, that any form of female sexuality and sexual expression in cyber space will be met with social consequences and minimal sympathy from law enforcement for 'misbehaving'.

Law as formal social control is a powerful defining mechanism to identify rights and wrongs for particular conduct considered socially disruptive and harmful (Smart, 1990, p.195); however, in doing so law reproduces dominant conceptualizations of masculinity as objective and truthful and femininity as biased and emotional (Smart, 1989). Masculinity/male is established as the objective lens for the interpretation of events, application of laws, and evaluations of the credibility of female survivors of violence. This serves as a social control function when these women are unable to articulate and have validated their understanding of harm by fully discussing their experiences and, the harms go unrecognized and unnamed.

Chapter Conclusion

Early second-wave feminist scholar Susan Brownmiller (1975) proposed that male sexual violence functions as a form of social control in which "all men keep all women in a state of fear" (p. 15); however, this theory has yet to be widely empirically tested and it has yet to be revised to incorporate other relatively new forms of sexual violence, such as cyber harassment. Methods of informal social control are effective

when women refrain from fully and freely participating in public and online spaces or modify their appearance and choices in order to avoid male-perpetrated attacks (Pryor & Hughes, 2013; Perilloux et al., 2012; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; McKibbin et al., 2011; Steeves, 2015) and when women are blamed for causing sexual attacks when they do not adhere to gendered norms (West Coast LEAF, 2014). Techniques of formal control in law, in place to control the behaviour of those who perpetrate violence, are weakened by gendered cultural norms within the legal system which define women's experience of cyber violence as minor thus serving a social control function (Franks, 2012).

This study addresses important gaps in the research literature by including both men and women by exploring the gendered nature of cyber and sexual victimizations and its effects. It addresses the often overlooked nature of social control, in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours and fear, among those who have been cyber victimized and it will be the first to empirically explore and expand on the theory of social control to include victimizing experiences in cyber space. While the primary focus of this study is cyber victimization, sexual assault in physical space has not diminished (Perreault, 2015) and thus it will be important to assess the independent effects of both cyber victimization and sexual assault on operationalizations of social control. The next chapter will discuss the methodology carried out by Statistics Canada for the victimization cycle of the General Social Survey as well as the statistical analyses used in this research project to examine whether cyber victimization serves as a social control function and whether the social control is gendered, and whether sexual assault has an independent effect on the social control of women.

Chapter 4: Methodology

This research project addresses the research questions: Does cyber victimization predict social control and is it gendered? Does sexual assault have an independent effect on the social control of women? To address these questions, a deductive post-hoc statistical design was conducted on Statistics Canada's 2009 General Social Survey on Victimization using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS version 23). The conceptualization of cyber victimization for this research will be from the 2009 victimization cycle of the GSS. Due to methodological concerns associated with the term 'cyber bully', this research will use the term cyber victimization rather than utilize the term provided in the survey. This chapter describes the survey methodology employed by Statistics Canada for the 2009 victimization cycle and discusses the epistemological and ontological positions guiding this research. The chapter also outlines the research questions and hypotheses, describes operationalizations for each of the concepts and variables developed for this study, outlines the statistical methods used to address the research questions, and discusses the methodological limitations.

Methodology of the 2009 victimization cycle of the General Social Survey

Statistics Canada conducts a general social survey on an annual basis and the topic of each annual cycle varies (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The victimization cycle is carried out every five years, with the 2009 cycle being the fifth, and consists of various modules that gather information on victimization experience(s) and other information pertaining to perceptions of crime and prevention behaviours (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A for the full list of sections and modules included in this survey). Furthermore, the 2009

GSS is the first cycle, and most recently available to outside researchers, to measure cyber victimization.

Statistics Canada employs a disproportionate stratified random sampling method in which the population is divided into strata and the samples selected from these groups are disproportionate to the population size (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA) and non-CMAs made up separate strata within each province with the exception of Prince Edward Island, which is a separate stratum, for a total of 27 strata (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 12). Weights are provided to statistically weight the sample back to the population in order to improve representativeness. This study did not use population weight provided by Statistics Canada since this would grossly exaggerate the coefficients as a result of the sample sizes being in the millions. In order to address this problem while also reducing sample bias, an adjusted sample size was calculated by using the following formula: person weight / (weighted sample / unweighted sample). This formula weights the sample and then converts it back to the sample size.

The GSS is a telephone survey and the sampling frame consists of a list of working telephones numbers, purchased from telephone companies, known as "The Elimination of Non-Working Banks" (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p.12). The participants were selected from the strata within the sampling frame by simple random sampling, which involves the selection of units/households based on Random Digit Dialing (RDD) using the area codes, 3-digit prefixes, and randomizing the last four digits to ensure non-listed numbers have a chance of selection (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 12). Interviewers were specially trained and data were collected between February and November 2009

utilizing computer assisted interviewing technique (CATI). The languages of choice offered to participants were limited to English and French.

Sample Selection

The 2009 victimization cycle included individuals ages 15 and over and excluded those residing in the three territories and/or residing in institutions; a separate survey was conducted for the territories (Statistics Canada, 2011a), which is not provided in the public use datafile and therefore excluded from this analysis. The estimated number of households to contact was 31,510 with a target sample size of 23,500; however, only 19,422 household responses were deemed useable (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The following tables demonstrate the age groups and sex of the obtained sample.

Age of the respondent

Age Group	Frequency
15 to 24	1,856
25 to 34	2,616
35 to 44	3,341
45 to 54	3,742
55 to 64	3,705
65 to 74	2,414
75 years and over	1,748
Total	19,422
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 67	

Sex of the respondent

Sex of Respondent	Frequency
Male	8,728
Female	10,694
Total	19,422
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 68	

The response rate for this survey was 61.6%, which is calculated by dividing the usable responses (19,422) from the estimated number of households (31,510) (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 20). The following table outlines the non-responses and responses from the survey.

Non-Responses and Responses

Source	Number	Percent
Unresolved households	1,759	5.6
Household non-response	5,981	19.0
Refusal by selected person	1,098	3.5
Other non-response by person	3,250	10.3
Response	19,422	61.6
Total Household	31,510	100
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 20		

Strengths and limitations of telephone interviews

Telephone interviewing is a preferable method for randomly surveying a large dispersed population within a relatively short period of time and can reduce a number of errors associated with other forms of data collection (Neuman, 2009). First, CATI, a computerized survey technique that gives interviewers a specific script to follow when interviewing respondents, permits interviewers to enter responses directly in the computer and built-in edits help ensure that complex skip patterns are followed accurately. Second, telephone interviews help reduce errors associated with social desirability that could result in inaccurate or biased responses as a result of facial and other bodily cues or personal characteristics of interviewers (Gray & Guppy, 2008). Third, telephone surveys address the need to ensure the safety of female respondents compared to face-to-face interviews by reducing the dangers associated with a violent partner being near/present, and by allowing women to quickly end an interview for their personal safety, and in some instances allowing them to call back to continue the interview (as done with the Canadian Violence Against Women survey) (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Finally, telephone interviews provide more safety for interviewers compared to face-to-face interviews (Johnson, Ollus, & Nevala, 2008, p.24).

Despite the strengths of telephone interviewing, there are some limitations associated with this particular data collection method. First, the interview itself is limited

with regards to the time possible for each interview, which can hinder the amount of content that can be covered (Neuman, 2009). The GSS covers eight crimes and other content, which limits the content for each individual victimization type to be explored in detail. Second, there is sample bias as individuals without landline telephones are excluded from participation, which is particularly relevant to a study of cyber victimization since growing numbers, especially among young people, do not have landlines. Finally, there is also sample bias associated with excluding individuals who are not fluent in English or French.

Epistemology and Ontology: Positivism and Realism

Epistemology refers to the development of knowledge, essentially how we know what we know and how knowledge is produced (Sprague, 2005), whereas ontology is concerned with realities of being and existence (Neuman, 2010). This research employs a quantitative method and is approached from the epistemological position of positivism and the ontological position of realism in which the researcher claims the ability to objectively study and discover a pre-existing categorical reality that exists outside of humans (Palys & Atchison, 2007; Neuman, 2010). Positivists attempt to objectively capture a factual reality in a quantitative and highly structured manner with concepts and measurement achieved through rigorous reliability and validity testing (Palys & Atchison, 2007). The primary critiques of positivism and a realist ontology surround the assumption of an ability to objectively uncover a 'truth' (Palys & Atchison, 2007). Realists have been criticized for viewing human beings as living in a pre-existing categorical world and factors influencing their subjectivities and perceptions are considered less important than uncovering aggregate associations.

Feminists have also been critical of the positivistic and realist traditions (Sprague, 2005; Neuman, 2010) and challenge the androcentric biases within the traditional positivistic paradigm by arguing that this framework has been situated in patriarchy where women's experiences are underrepresented, both as producers of knowledge and as knowledgeable subjects (Hesse-Biber & Leavy, 2007; Leckenby, 2007; Hesse-Biber & Piatelli, 2012; Jayaratne & Stewart, 1991). In addition, there can be a hierarchal dichotomy between the researcher(s) and the subject(s) reflecting the patriarchal view that the researched are merely objects for investigation rather than being valued as human beings that have the unique ability to contribute to the production of knowledge. Much of the knowledge on women has been constructed from either an androcentric or privileged point of view, meaning there has been a subjugation of the production of knowledge process and the realities and experiences of women have been ignored.

Feminists who are critical of quantitative methods argue that there is a loss of meaning in numbers; however, feminist empiricists who advocate for such methods acknowledge that while there is limited meaning in numbers the androcentricism is contingent on how the data are used and interpreted (Sprague, 2005). For example, statistics have been traditionally used to foster and reproduce sexists and racist beliefs; however, quantitative research that is feminist informed can raise awareness of social justice issues concerning women in two ways. First, the general public might find a more 'scientific' approach to be more persuasive and those who are critical of feminist research for perceived political bias may be more inclined to support quantitative findings. Second, statistical findings are relatively simple to communicate since it is easier to disseminate research findings with a single statistical estimate rather than a few lengthy

and in-depth interviews, even though these interviews are able to capture the context and meaning of human experiences whereas statistical data cannot. This positivistic research project is informed by feminist research on violence against women and social control and is designed to ignite further research and social recognition of cyber victimization of women.

Research Design

Research questions and hypotheses

Research Question	Research Hypotheses	Null Hypotheses
1. Does cyber victimization predict social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours?	Cyber victimization predicts higher levels of social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours.	Cyber victimization predicts lower levels of social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours or it does not predict social control.
2. Is social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours gendered?	Female victims of cyber victimization will be more likely than males to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours.	Male victims of cyber victimization will be more likely than females to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours or males will be equally likely as females to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours.
3. Does sexual assault have an independent effect on self-responsibilization of women?	Sexual assault will have an independent effect on self-responsibilization for women.	Sexual assault will not have independent effect on self-responsibilization for women.

Analytical Framework

Dependent variable

Feminist informed research and feminist scholars such as Susan Brownmiller (1975), Riger and Gordon (1981), and Sheffield (2007) have identified two common elements

that comprise the social control function of violence against women: 1) self-responsibilization behaviours for protection against potential attacks; and 2) fear. This study will operationalize the self-responsibilization component of social control by modeling the dependent measure after Nobels et al. (2012), with self-responsibilization being conceptualized as "behaviors used to protect themselves as a result of their stalking victimization" (p.998). The following items in the study by Nobels et al. (2012) demonstrate high internal consistency ($\alpha = 0.75$):

-Taking time off from work or school
- Changing or quitting a job or school
- Avoiding relatives, friends, or holiday celebrations
- Changing usual activities outside of work or school
- Staying with friends or relatives or having them stay with you
- Altering appearance to be unrecognizable
- Taking self-defense or martial arts classes
- Getting pepper spray
- Obtaining a gun
- Acquiring any other kind of weapon
- Changing social security number
- Changing email address
- Changing telephone number
- Installing caller identification or call blocking system
- Changing or installing new locks or a security system

This concept is not specifically included in the 2009 GSS and so a composite measure was created to capture elements of social control and the items were subjected to reliability analysis. The variables selected for this study (found in Table 4.1[1]) to measure the concept of self-responsibilization were taken from the *Protection from Crime* module with each of the variables containing the categorical responses of "Yes" (1), "No" (2), "Not stated", and "Don't know" with the last two responses set to missing. The fear component of the outcome measure was taken from the *Perceptions History and Risk* module and only one of the variables contributed to strengthen the alpha level: fear when

home alone. This variable has the categorical responses of "Very worried" (1), "Somewhat worried" (2), "Not at all worried" (3), "Never alone" (4), "Not stated"(8), and "Don't know" (9), with the last three responses set to missing.

Table 4.1: Univariate characteristics- variables in Self-Responsibilization measure

Variables and responses	Valid Frequency Sample	Valid %
Module: Protection From Crime (PFC)		
Have you ever done any of the following to protect yourself from crime? Have you ever changed your routine, activities, or avoided certain people or places?		
Yes	6,950	36
No	12,407	64
Total	19,357	100
Missing Not Stated	6	
Missing Don't Know	59	
Missing Total (.3%)	65	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever installed new locks or security bars?		
Yes	5,570	30
No	13,635	70
Total	19,385	100
Missing Not Stated	20	
Missing Don't Know	16	
Missing Total (.2%)	37	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever installed burglar alarms or motion detector lights?		
Yes	6,649	34
No	12,694	65
Total	19,343	100
Missing Not Stated	50	
Missing Don't Know	29	
Missing Total (.4%)	79	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever taken a self-defence course?		
Yes	2,405	12
No	16,984	87
Total	19,389	100
Missing Not Stated	16	
Missing Don't Know	18	
Missing Total (.2%)	33	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever obtained a dog?		
Yes	1,766	9
No	17,623	91
Total	19,388	100

Missing Not Stated	12	
Missing Don't Know	22	
Missing Total (.2%)	34	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever obtained a gun?		
Yes	202	1
No	19,172	99
Total	19,374	100
Missing Not Stated	32	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (.2%)	48	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever changed residence or moved?		
Yes	839	4
No	18,566	96
Total	19,405	100
Missing Not Stated	8	
Missing Don't Know	9	
Missing Total (.1%)	17	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely carry something to defend yourself or to alert other people?		
Yes	2,830	15
No	16,563	85
Total	19,392	100
Missing Not Stated	16	
Missing Don't Know	14	
Missing Total (.2%)	30	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely, when alone and returning to a parked car, check the back seat for intruders before getting into the car?		
Yes	7,718	40
No	11,558	60
Total	19,276	100
Missing Not Stated	41	
Missing Don't Know	105	
Missing Total (.8%)	146	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely plan your route with safety in mind?		
Yes	8,542	44
No	10,828	56
Total	19,371	100
Missing Not Stated	10	
Missing Don't Know	41	
Missing Total (.3%)	51	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely stay at home at night because you are afraid to go out alone?		

Yes	1,936	10
No	17,456	90
Total	19,392	100
Missing Not Stated	10	
Missing Don't Know	20	
Missing Total (.2%)	30	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely lock windows and doors at home?		
Yes	16,430	85
No	2,968	15
Total	19,397	100
Missing Not Stated	19	
Missing Don't Know	6	
Missing Total (.1%)	25	
Total	19,422	
Do you routinely, rather than walk, use a car, taxi or public transportation for your personal safety?		
Yes	6,232	32
No	13,107	68
Total	19,339	100
Missing Not Stated	20	
Missing Don't Know	63	
Missing Total (.4%)	83	
Total	19,422	
Do you do anything else to increase your personal safety, not already mentioned?		
Yes	2,642	14
No	16,730	86
Total	19,373	100
Missing Not Stated	12	
Missing Don't Know	37	
Missing Total (.3%)	49	
Total	19,422	
Module: Perceptions History and Risk (PHR)		
When alone in your home in the evening or at night, do you feel:		
Very worried	237	1
Somewhat worried	2,994	16
Not at all worried about your safety from crime	16,025	83
Total	19,256	100
Missing Never alone	150	
Missing Not Stated	1	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (.1%).	16	
Total	19,422	
[1] Estimates are rounded to avoid the fallacy of misplaced concreteness (Neuman, 2009, p. 222). Some estimates therefore will not add to 100%.		

Each of the variables from the *Protection from Crime* module were recoded to "Yes" (1) and "No" (0) and the fear related variable from the *Perceptions, History and Risk* module was recoded to "Very worried" (2), "Somewhat worried" (1) and "Not at all worried about your safety from crime" (0) in order to calculate a score on the measure with a possible range from 0 to 16. A reliability analysis indicated fair internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.676. Table 4.2 includes other descriptive statistics on the dependent measure. Out of the 18,807 valid responses, respondent scores on the self-responsibilization measure indicate a normal distribution with a skewness of 0.607 and kurtosis of -0.05, with a mean score of 4.83 and a standard deviation of 2.467.

Table 4.2: Univariate results- Self-Responsibilization measure

	Total Valid Responses	**Mean**	**Standard Deviation**	**Skew**	**Kurtosis**	**Range**	
						Possible	Actual
Dependent variable							
Self-Responsibilization	18,807	4.83	2.467	0.607	-0.05	0-16	1-16

Independent variables

Cyber space victimization

The nominal definition for cyber-bullying in the GSS "is the use of the Internet to antagonize or intimidate someone" (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p.206). Respondents were screened into the *Cyber Bullying* module if they have ever used the Internet. By using the adjusted sample size weight, a total of 16,472 respondents were screened into the *Cyber Bullying module,* 85% of the sample, and a total of 2,950 respondents not screened into the module, 15% of the sample. The items in the module (see Table 4.3) have the categorical responses of "Yes" (1), "No" (2), "Not asked" (7), "Not stated" (8), and "Don't know" (9) with the last three responses set to missing.

Table 4.3: Univariate characteristics- variables for Cyberbullying

Variables and responses	Valid Frequency Sample	Valid %
Have you ever received threatening or aggressive e-mails or instant messages?		
Yes	914	6
No	15,478	94
Total	16,392	100
Missing Not Asked	2,950	
Missing Not Stated	45	
Missing Don't Know	36	
Missing Total (15.6%)	3030	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever been the target of hateful comments spread through e-mail, instant messages or posting on Internet sites?		
Yes	699	4
No	15,686	96
Total	16,385	100
Missing Not Asked	2,950	
Missing Not Stated	47	
Missing Don't Know	41	
Missing Total (15.6%)	3037	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever had someone send out threatening emails using your identity?		
Yes	105	1
No	16,246	99
Total	16,351	100
Missing Not Asked	2,950	
Missing Not Stated	48	
Missing Don't Know	73	
Missing Total (16%)	3,071	
Total	19,422	
Have you ever been the target of any other kind of cyber bullying (which is the use of the Internet to antagonize or intimidate someone), not already mentioned?		
Yes	71	0.4
No	16,311	99.6
Total	16,382	100
Missing Not Asked	2,950	
Missing Not Stated	50	
Missing Don't Know	40	
Missing Total (15.6%)	3,040	
Total	19,422	
Estimates are rounded to avoid the fallacy of misplaced concreteness and some estimates will not add to 100%.		

All of the variables are used to calculate the derived variable for cyberbullying, which calculates how many respondents have experienced cyber victimization. The

variable (see Table 4.4) has the categorical responses of "Yes" (1), "No" (2), "Not asked" (7), "Not stated" (8), and "Don't know" (9), with the last three options set to missing. A reliability analysis indicated poor internal consistency with a Cronbach's alpha of 0.539, (George & Mallery, 2003, p. 223). The alpha level would increase slightly to 0.57 if the item "Have you ever been the target of any other kind of cyber bullying (which is the use of the Internet to antagonize or intimidate someone), not already mentioned?" was removed; however, removing this item would result in 71 respondents not being included in analysis and could possibly ignore harassing experiences outside of the items provided by Statistics Canada (e.g., incidents of 'revenge porn'). The items measuring forms of cyber victimization are likely to suggest to respondents that 'threats', 'aggressive messages', 'antagonizing' behaviour, and 'hateful comments' are personal threats (sexual, physical and emotional threats) and not property related or financial threats; however, it is possible that some respondents who have experienced online threats to personal or household property may interpret and answer these items in relation to reflect these experience(s).

Table 4.4: Univariate characteristics- for derived variable Cyberbullying

Variables and responses	Valid Frequency Sample	Valid %
Respondent has been the target of cyber bullying		
Yes	1,245	8
No	15,083	92
Total	16,328	100
Missing Not Asked	2,950	
Missing Not Stated	50	
Missing Don't Know	95	
Missing Total (16%)	3,094	
Total	19,422	
Estimates are rounded to avoid the fallacy of misplaced concreteness and some estimates will not add to 100%.		

This variable is considered a 'prevalence' estimate, meaning it calculates the number of respondents who have experienced cyber victimization and does not account for multiple

victimizations of the same nature. Given the complex nature of measuring violence against women, the prevalence rate can significantly underestimate and misrepresent the nature of the problem. An additional methodological concern that can misrepresent and underestimate the nature of cyber victimization is that the definition used in the GSS is less comprehensive and lacks the breadth of the victimizing behaviours some women experience (Fairbairn, 2015). For example, a hateful comment on social media could include an insult to a person's intelligence and it could also include misogynistic and sexually violent or threatening comments that can make women feel unsafe.

Physical space victimizations

Physical space victimizations were included as control variables in order to control for the effects of these experiences on self-responsibilization behaviours since there is research to suggest that women can experience victimizations in both spaces (West Coast LEAF, 2014; U.S Department of Education, 2013) and both physical and cyber space victimization, either independently (Perilloux et al., 2012; Fisher, Daigle & Cullen, 2008) or combined (West Coast LEAF, 2014; Franks, 2012; Nobels et al., 2012), can influence the uptake of precautionary or avoidance measures that comprise self-responsibilization behaviour. The 2009 GSS measures sexual assault in a number of different contexts, which can be found in various modules (see Table 4.1 in Appendix A). Two time frames used to estimate sexual violence are a lifetime estimate and during the previous 12 months (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The rationale for using a restricted time frame is to assist in memory recall in order to reduce over and underestimations of victimizations (Kilpatrick, 2004); however, it has also been argued that longer reference periods are imperative when examining the extent and magnitude of a social problem

since the impacts of violence can be experienced over a long period of time (Kilpatrick et al., 1992; United Nations, 2006; Johnson & Dawson, 2011). For example, a reference period limited to 12 months excludes the very traumatic experiences of women outside of that timeframe and these experiences and their impacts remain unacknowledged and could be influencing other behaviours. In order to more accurately represent the impacts and determine whether self-responsibilization behaviours are an outcome of sexual assault or cyber victimization, this research will use the lifetime estimates. For this research, prevalence estimates will be used over incidence estimates, referring to the number of respondents who have experienced a victimization while not accounting for multiple victimizations of the same nature (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Prevalence estimates arguably underestimate, and ultimately misrepresent, the extent and nature of forms of violence against women; however, this research project requires the same unit of count for both physical space and cyber space victimizations and thus uses prevalence estimates.

The structure of the modules in the survey (see Appendix A) are set up in such a way that respondents are asked questions pertaining to victimization in the last 12 months (incident). Since questions about spousal violence are given their own module and are measured differently, forms of intimate partner violence, by either current or previous partner, are not included in the prevalence estimates. Respondents were screened into questions about their experience of sexual assault only if they answered 'yes' to the following:

- Aside from what you have already mentioned, has anything else happened to you in your lifetime that could be considered a crime? Please remember that crime includes vandalism, theft, fraud, break and enter, assault and sexual assault. Please include acts committed by both family and non-family members.

The variable for sexual assault is nominally conceptualized as, "unwanted sexual touching, fondling, rape, and attempted rape" (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 177). The variable (see Table 4.5) has the categorical responses of "Yes" (1), "No" (2), "Not asked" (7), "Not stated" (8), and "Don't know" (9), with the last three responses being set to missing.

The other physical space victimizations (see Table 4.5)– robbery, assault and stalking— included in the analysis also required respondents to answer "Yes" to the previously mentioned question. Each of the variables are also at the nominal level of measurement with the categorical responses of "Yes" (1), "No" (2), "Not asked" (7), "Not stated " (8), and "Don't know" (9), with the last three responses being set to missing.

Table 4.5: Univariate results- variables for physical space victimization

Variables and responses	Valid Frequency Sample	Valid %
What happened? Sexual assault (unwanted sexual touching, fondling, rape, and attempted rape).		
Yes	994	11
No	7,853	89
Total	8,846	100
Missing Not Asked	10,500	
Missing Not Stated	61	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (54.5%)	10,576	
Total	19,422	
What happened? Robbery/attempted robbery (theft with a face-to-face threat, an assault or a weapon/ If not threat, assault or weapon, classify elsewhere).		
Yes	777	9
No	8,070	91
Total	8,846	100
Missing Not Asked	10,500	
Missing Not Stated	61	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (54.5%)	10,576	
Total	19,422	
What happened? Assault (face-to-face threat or assault with or without a weapon but		

neither theft nor attempted theft of property).		
Yes	2,090	24
No	6,756	76
Total	8,846	100
Missing Not Asked	10,500	
Missing Not Stated	61	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (54.5%)	10,576	
Total	19,422	
What happened? Stalking (Being the subject of persistent and unwanted attention that caused you to fear for your safety or the safety of someone known to you).		
Yes	356	4
No	8,490	96
Total	8,846	100
Missing Not Asked	10500	
Missing Not Stated	61	
Missing Don't Know	15	
Missing Total (54.5%)	10,576	
Total	19422	
Estimates are rounded to avoid the fallacy of misplaced concreteness and some estimates will not add to 100%.		

Sociodemographic characteristics

The victimization cycle of the GSS also collects information pertaining to the sociodemographic characteristics of respondents. The research literature demonstrates that there are certain sociodemographic characteristics that are associated with the risk of violence (Johnson & Dawson, 2011) and may be linked to the likelihood of experiencing an increase in self-responsibilization (Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Perilloux et al., 2012). The relevant sociodemographic variables available on the GSS are age, sex, marital status, visible aboriginal status, visible minority status, and main activity (see Table 4.6 for frequencies).

- Age: This variable is at the ordinal level of measurement with the following response categories: (1) 15 to 24; (2) 25 to 34; (3) 35 to 44; (5) 55 to 64; (6) 65 to 74; and, (7) 75 years and over.

- Sex of Respondent: This nominal-level variable provides respondents with the following options: (1) Male; and, (2) Female.
- Marital Status: This variable is at the nominal level of measurement with the following response categories: (1) Married; (2) Living common-law; (3) Widowed; (4) Separated; (5) Divorced; (6) Single (never married); (8) Not stated; and, (9) Don't know. Responses of "Not stated" and "Don't know" are set to missing.
- Aboriginal Status: This nominal-level variable defines Aboriginal persons as "First Nations' [North American Indian], Métis or Inuk [Inuit]) (Statistics Canada, 2011b, p. 306) and provides respondents with the following categories: (1) Yes; (2) No; (7) Not asked; (8) Not stated; and, (9) Don't know. Responses of "Not asked", "Not stated" and "Don't know" are set to missing.
- Visible Minority: With this nominal level variable, respondents are asked to indicate which racial/cultural group they identify with. The visible minority options available include: White, Chinese, South Asian, Black, Filipino, Latin American, Southeast Asian, Arab, West Asian, Korean, Japanese, or another group; however, these categories are suppressed from the public use file and re-categorized with the following categories: (1) Visible minority; (2) Non-visible minority (white or Aboriginal); (7) Not asked; (8) Not stated; and, (9) Don't know. Responses of "Not asked", "Not stated" and "Don't know" are set to missing.
- Main activity of Respondent: The variable is at the nominal level of measurement and asks respondents to indicate their primary activity within the last year, with the options of: (1) Working at a paid job or business; (2) Looking for paid work; (3) Going to school; (4) Caring for children; (5) Household work; (6) Retired; (7)

Maternity/paternity leave; (8) Long term illness; (9) Volunteering or caregiving other than for children, (10) Other; (98) "Not stated"; and, (99) "Don't know". Responses of "Not stated" and "Don't know" are set to missing.

Table 4.6: Univariate results- variables for sociodemographic characteristics

Variables and responses	Valid Frequency Sample	Valid %
Age group of the respondent (groups of 10)		
15 to 24	3,146	16
25 to 34	3,247	17
35 to 44	3,365	17
45 to 54	3,726	19
55 to 64	2,848	15
65 to 74	1,711	9
75 years and over	1,378	7
Total	19,422	100
Sex of Respondent		
Male	9,584	49
Female	9,838	51
Total	19,422	100
Marital Status		
Married	9,925	51
Living common-law	2,247	12
Widowed	956	5
Separated	445	2
Divorced	852	4
Single (never married)	4,967	26
Total	19,391	100
Missing Not Stated	28	
Missing Don't know	3	
Total Missing (.2%)	31	
Total	19,422	
Aboriginal Person		
Yes	616	3
No	18,660	97
Total	19,276	100
Missing Not Stated	115	
Missing Don't know	31	
Total Missing (.8%)	146	
Total	19,422	
Visible Minority Status		
Visible minority	2,574	13
Non-visible minority	16,642	87
Total	19,217	100
Missing Not Stated	177	
Missing Don't know	29	

Total Missing (1.1%)	205	
Total	19,422	
Main Activity of Respondent in the last 12 months (original)		
Working at a paid job or business	11,198	58
Looking for paid work	395	2
Going to school	2,317	12
Caring for children	841	4
Household work	598	3
Retired	3,330	17
Maternity/paternity leave	70	0.4
Long term illness	286	2
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	150	1
Other	81	0.4
Total	19,267	100
Missing Not Stated	137	
Missing Don't know	18	
Total Missing (.8%)	155	
Total	19,422	
Estimates are rounded to avoid the fallacy of misplaced concreteness and some estimates will not add to 100%.		

Statistical Analyses

SPSS was used in order to empirically explore whether cyber victimization predicts social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours among respondents and whether this is gendered. Prior to more complex statistical analyses, univariate analysis was conducted to determine which variables would comprise the composite dependent variable, Self-Responsibilization (see Table 4.2). In the next chapter, bivariate hypotheses testing are conducted to determine salient predictor (independent) variables of Self-Responsibilization. In addition, post-hoc analyses were conducted on certain variables in order to modify/recode these multiple categorical variables for regression analyses.

The predictor variables were recoded in accordance with the numerical values of "1" and "0" for multiple regression analysis. In addition, nominal and ordinal variables with multiple response categories were recoded in order to have each category as a dummy variable with the assigned values of "1" and "0" with the number of categories

created into dummy variables determined by the total number of categories subtracted by one, which leaves one category as the reference category (Field, 2009). The independent variables were entered into three conceptual blocks, rather than entering all of the variables into a single block, to assess any change in the predictive power of cyber victimization while examining the effects of other concepts. Three separate regression models were run to assess the differences for sex with regards to self-responsibilization: the first model controls for gender; the second model is male-specific; and the third model is female-specific. In order to compare across models, the predictor variables in the first model (controlling for gender) were included in each of the isolated-gender models.

Limitations: Reliability and Validity

Within survey research, there is a concern with threats to internal validity. In this particular survey, sample bias was present in the form of non-response, which refers to a respondent only answering part or some of the items. This can result in missing data, which is problematic for studies and can quite possibly bias results (Field, 2009). In order to address this issue, an examination of the missing data can be explored in SPSS by determining whether the data are missing completely at random or if there is a pattern. Other factors that can result in sample bias include participants not participating, which can be attributed to the inability to contact a respondent, either because of participant refusal or lack of landline telephone, or a language barrier (Statistics Canada, 2011a). Statistics Canada attempted to control for sample bias by adjusting the weights of those who participated to compensate for those who did not (Statistics Canada, 2011a, p. 25); however, this can exacerbate the issue by assigning more weight to unusual cases.

There is also a concern with aggregating data when it results in limited information within the variable categories, such as when information is collapsed into two categories rather than having a more exhaustive list or creating derived variables that comprise a number of other variables (Neuman, 2009), which can be found in a number of the sociodemographic variables. In addition, there is also a concern when particular variables are suppressed from the public use file, such as sexual orientation. Rather than allowing the researcher to decide which information to collapse/recode or eliminate from analysis, the use of secondary data removes this choice and decision and hinders further exploration.

Cyber victimization as a mechanism of social control has not been empirically tested and this research will contribute to this discussion and possibly lead to further methodological debate within the research community. There is a possibility for measurement error within this study surrounding the construct validity of the dependent variable, self-responsibilization, since the concept of social control is relatively theoretical and has yet to be subjected to rigorous statistical testing and methodological debate. In addition, there is also a concern about the construct validity of cyber victimization because the concept is still relatively new and has yet to be subjected to intensive debate and testing. Given the empirical studies that have encompassed a wide range of definitions for measuring forms of cyber victimization (Barak, 2005; Halder & Jaishankar, 2011) the conceptualization and operationalization of cyber victimization in the GSS are broad, meaning that participants are not limited to the type of experiences that can be reported, which improves the validity. However, others have argued that broad definitions are not useful for measuring a concept since it is unclear as to what

constitutes ‘harm’ (Chrisholm, 2006; Michaelides & Hosszu, 2013). The reliability analysis of the variables used to create the derived variable for cyber victimization warrants concern due to poor internal consistency, implying that these broad items do not adequately capture forms of cyber victimization. The measurement of cyber victimization was enhanced in the 2014 victimization cycle with the addition of items on the distribution of photographs that can result in a respondent feeling embarrassed or feeling threatened, cyber stalking, and stolen identity with the purposes of posting material that resulted in the respondent to feel threatened or embarrassed (Statistics Canada, 2014); this cycle was not available for analysis at the time of writing.

There are other limitations associated with measuring certain concepts in this study, particularly concepts measuring victimizing experiences. A major limitation surrounds the nature of underreporting. There are a number of factors that can lead to underreporting in general victimization surveys. First, the presentation of the survey can affect the estimates produced. For example, the 2009 GSS is presented as a survey on crime, perceptions, and victimization (Statistics Canada, 2011), which can influence the estimates in comparison to surveys that are presented as focusing on violence against women, such as the Canadian Violence Against Women survey (Johnson & Sacco, 1995). Equally notable, the 2009 GSS only has two questions to measure sexual assault, which is fewer compared to other national surveys in the United States (e.g., NISVS and NVAWS) that use multiple and specific items that are feminist informed and focused on violence against women. The use of a general crime survey rather than a dedicated survey shifts the context of the issue from a focus of violence against women to gender-neutral understandings of violence and impacts of violence (Johnson & Dawson, 2011).

Furthermore, a general victimization survey focuses on crimes experienced and some women may not identify what has happened to them as a crime, such as with experiences of sexual assault with a known perpetrator (Johnson & Sacco, 1995). Experiences that are not legally criminal, such as forms of street harassment, will go underreported and there will be an inaccurate examination of women's experiences and fears. Second, issues with memory recall can influence the estimates. The questions in the 2009 GSS focusing on lifetime victimizations in physical space ask respondents to report any victimizing experiences that occurred since the age of 15 and this long reference period could result in the reliability of memory recall being compromised. However, it is important to have longer reference periods in order to capture the experiences of violence against women and the long-term impacts (Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Last, some women may not disclose their victimizing experience(s) if they do not have privacy, such as when a partner or family member is present while the respondent is on the telephone (Johnson & Dawson, 2011).

Another limitation with this research is the measurement of victimization, which can be compromised if the concept places multiple experiences/victimization types into a single question (Fairbairn, 2015). This can result in multiple victimization experiences being misrepresented and it also equates all experiences. For example, rape and fondling are fitted into a single question, which equates the two experiences despite the fact that each experience can have very different impacts. Likewise, name-calling behaviours online are equated the same as online threats despite the fact that the latter can produce fears for personal safety while the former may affects a person's self-esteem.

Chapter Conclusion

This research used the 2009 GSS victimization cycle to empirically explore the gendered nature of cyber victimization as a mechanism of social control. Social control has yet to be empirically tested since the early 1980s (see Riger & Gordon, 1981) and there have been some studies that have used similar measurements for fear and/or precautionary behaviours; however, these studies do not specifically use the concept of social control to examine impacts of gender-based violence and how forms of actual or threatened violence can control the behaviour of women. Since this study used secondary data, a proxy measure was created for operationalizing social control from the form of self-responsibilization behaviours, which includes self-protective measures and avoidance behaviours and fear, and was modeled after Nobels et al (2012). The derived variable for cyber victimization, labeled as cyberbullying in the GSS, was operationalized in the 2009 GSS as experiencing threatening or aggressive messages, subjected to hateful comments, someone else using your identity to harass others, or experiencing any other type of online harassment (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The importance of testing social control as a consequence of cyber victimization is because much of social life and interactions have moved online. Aside from using the Internet for social networking and entertainment purposes, gendered threats and harassment have moved online. The next chapter discusses the statistical analyses performed to address the research questions and discusses the results.

Chapter 5: Analysis and Results

This chapter explores the following three research questions:

1. Does cyber victimization predict social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours?
2. Is social control, in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours, gendered?
3. Does sexual assault have an independent effect on self-responsibilization for women?

The directional hypotheses associated with these research questions are as follows:

1. Cyber victimization predicts significantly higher levels of social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours.
- Null Hypothesis: Cyber victimization predicts lower levels of social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours or cyber victimization does not predict social control.
2. Female victims of cyber victimization will be more likely than males to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours.
- Null Hypothesis: Male victims of cyber victimization will be more likely than females to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours or males will be equally likely as female to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours.
3. Sexual assault will have an independent effect on self-responsibilization of women.
- Null hypothesis: Sexual assault will not have an independent effect on self-responsibilization for women.

Univariate characteristics of each of the variables that comprise the dependent measure, self-responsibilization, and each of the predictor variables were presented in the previous chapter. This chapter provides results from the bivariate hypotheses testing, chi-square tests, independent samples t-test and one-way and post-hoc ANOVAs, and the results from the multivariate hypotheses testing with three separate multiple linear regression models. This chapter also discusses model assumptions and outliers and provides an examination into missing cases.

Hypothesis testing

This section provides the results of the bivariate hypotheses testing from chi-square test, independent samples t-tests and one-way and post-hoc ANOVAs, as well as the discussions of the results from the multiple regression models. Tables 5.1, 5.1.1, 5.1.2 5.2, and 5.2.1 in Appendix B summarize the results of the bivariate hypotheses testing of the predictor variables and the self-responsibilization measure. While the total number of variables subjected to bivariate hypotheses testing was 11, the final regression model included 12 independent variables since some variables had multiple categorical responses that were dichotomized for dummy variables.

Bivariate hypotheses testing

The four statistical bivariate tests that were conducted in SPSS were chi-square test, independent samples t-tests, one-way ANOVAs, and post-hoc ANOVAs.

Predicting sex difference

Chi-square test

This study first examined whether there are differences between males and females with regards experiencing cyber victimization. A cross tabulation revealed that 611 (7.4%) males and 634 (7.8%) females have experienced cyber victimization (see Table 5.1 in Appendix B), a non-significant association X^2 (1, N=16328), = 0.721, $p >$ 0.05.

Independent samples t-test

Independent samples t-tests were conducted separately for males and females to determine whether there is a difference between the sexes with regards to adopting self-responsibilization behaviours, overall and controlling for cyber victimization (see Table

5.1.1 in Appendix B). The hypothesis in this section is directional. For directional hypothesizes, one-tailed tests are used with the expectation that the effect goes in a specific direction (Field, 2009). When looking at a normal distribution for a one-tailed test, the significance threshold of 0.05 only covers a specified tail of the distribution. If the direction of the effect is correctly predicted the one-tailed test can reduce Type II errors, which is the failure to capture an effect when there is an effect (Field, 2009). SPSS does not provide one-tailed test information in the independent samples t-test; however, it is easily calculated by dividing the two-tailed p-value by two. The only two variables that are subjected to one-tailed tests are cyber victimization and sex of respondent since these are the variables in the directional hypotheses and all other variables are control variables.

Each of the independent samples t-tests did not meet the criteria for the Levene's test, meaning the variances between groups significantly differed and the results were therefore obtained from the Equal Variances not Assumed rows. Overall, females had higher scores on the self-responsibilization measure (M= 5.54, SD= 2.54) than males (M= 4.11, SD= 2.16) (t= - 41.647, df= 18367.553, p<0.005), thus the research hypothesis was supported and there was a gendered difference in self-responsibilization. Examining males and females separately to determine whether there is a difference between the sexes on the self-responsibilization measure among those who have experienced cyber victimization, the findings indicate that females who experienced cyber victimization had higher scores on the self-responsibilization measure (M= 5.32, SD= 2.63) compared to males who experienced cyber victimization (M= 3.78, SD= 2.22). Additionally, males and females who have experienced cyber victimization had higher scores on the self-

responsibilization measure compared to males (*M*= 2.97, *SD*= 2.02) (t=8.582, df=680.187, *p*<0.005) and females (*M*= 4.34, *SD*= 2.34) (t=9.064, df=708.519, *p*<0.005) who have not. In sum, despite non-significant difference in rates of cyber victimization, female victims score higher on self-responsibilization compared to male victims.

Predicting self-responsibilization

Independent samples t-test

The first hypothesis is directional and the third is non-directional. In contrast to directional, non-directional hypotheses do not anticipate the effect to go in a specific direction, just that there will be an association, and use two-tailed tests (Field, 2009). When looking at a normal distribution for a two-tailed test, the significance threshold of 0.05 is divided into two in order for half to be placed at either end of the distribution (tail) meaning that it can account for positive or negative effects.

The dichotomous predictor variables included in the independent sample t-tests were cyber victimization, Aboriginal persons status, visible minority status, sexual assault, robbery/attempted robbery, assault and stalking (see Table 5.1.2 in Appendix B). Each of the variables for independent samples t-tests, with the exception of Aboriginal person status, did not meet the criteria for the Levene's test, meaning the variances between groups significantly differed and the results were therefore obtained from the Equal Variances not Assumed rows. The findings from the independent samples t-tests for cyber victimization indicate that those who experienced this type of victimization had higher scores on the self-responsibilization measure (*M*= 5.78, *SD*= 2.76) than those who have not (*M*= 4.82, *SD*= 2.46) (t=11.809, df=1385.151, *p*<0.005). The sociodemographic characteristics of respondents indicated that Aboriginal persons had higher scores on the

self-responsibilization measure (*M*= 5.25, *SD*= 2.54) compared to those who do not identify as Aboriginal (*M*= 4.8, *SD*=2.46) (t= 4.021, df= 615.12, *p*<0.005); and those who identify as a visible minority had higher scores (*M*=4.99, *SD*=2.38) compared to those who do not identify as a visible minority (*M*=4.8 *SD*=2.47) (t=3.786, df= 3361.58, *p*<0.005). The findings from the independent samples t-tests for physical space victimization types (sexual assault, robbery/attempted robbery, assault, and stalking) experienced by respondents indicated that respondents who experienced a type of victimization scored higher on the self-responsibilization measure compared to those who did not experience a specific victimization type[1]. All of the associations were statistically significant at the *p*< .05 threshold (see Table 5.1.2 in Appendix B) and were therefore included in the regression models.

One-way ANOVA

Variables with more than two response categories were included in bivariate hypothesis testing using one-way ANOVAs (see Table 5.2 in Appendix B), including age, marital status, and main activity of respondent. In addition, post-hoc ANOVA tests were carried out to determine the differences between groups in order to make decisions about grouping categories together for dummy variable coding. Each of the ANOVAs violated the assumptions of homogeneity of variance; therefore, the *Welch's* F test is reported and the Games-Howell post-hoc test is used. The results from the post-hoc ANOVAs were considered in addition to sample counts and what conceptually makes

[1] An examination for sexual assault in the previous 12 months was conducted and met the criteria for the Levene's test. Respondents who have experienced sexual assault in the previous 12 months had higher scores on self-responsibilization (M= 6.62, SD= 2.72) compared to those who have not (M= 5.82, SD= 2.79) (t= 4.436, df= 2447, *p* <0.005).

sense with regards to grouping categories for dummy variables (see Table 5.2.1 in Appendix B for multiple comparisons in the post-hoc ANOVAs).

Age of respondent

The Levene's test is significant ($F=18.088$ (6, 18800), $p < 0.05$) which means that the variances between groups are significantly different and the homogeneity of variance assumption has been violated. The one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of age group on self-responsibilization ($F= 16.18$ (6, 7044.929), $p < 0.05$).

The post-hoc test revealed that there is a statistically significant difference in self-responsibilization between the age categories of 15-24 and 75 years and over and the category of 25-34 differed from all groups aged 35 and older with the exception of 65-74. Groups 35-44, 45-44 and 55-64 were significantly different from groups 25-34 and 75 years and over. The age category of 65-74 years was different only to the group 75 years and over and the oldest age category was significantly different to all other age groups. Based on these results and research literature indicating higher risk of victimization for younger age groups as well as lifestyle differences, the following categories were created in order to reduce the number of dummy variables being entered into the regression model: (0) 15-34 and (1) 35 years and older.

Marital Status

The Levene's test is significant ($F= 11.466$ (5, 18722), $p < 0.05$) and the one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of marital status on self-responsibilization by respondents ($F = 11.918$ (5, 2371.676), $p < 0.05$). The test revealed that single respondents differed to those living common-law, married and those who were divorced. Married respondents differed to those who are common-law and those who are divorced

while common-law respondents differed to those who are separated, divorced and single. Separated respondents were different to common-law only while divorced were different to married, common-law, widowed and single. Widowed respondents differed only to respondents who are divorced.

The following categories were combined to reduce the number of dummy variables being entered into the regression model based on conceptual similarities and sample counts: (1) Married or living common-law and (0) Other (widowed, separated, divorced, and single).

Main Activity

The Levene's test is significant ($F= 10.955$ (9, 18657), $p < 0.05$) and the one-way ANOVA revealed a significant effect of main activity on social control ($F= 12.245$ (9, 740.124), $p < 0.05$). The post-hoc test revealed that there is a statistically significant difference on self-responsibilization between the majority of main activity categories and caring for children and for some (working, looking for work, and going to school) that was the only significant difference.

Two categories of main activity were constructed based on differences between groups and the small sample counts for some categories: (1) working and (0) other; (1) going to school and (0) other.

Multivariate analysis

Similar to the independent samples t-tests, the three variables that were subjected to one-tailed tests, since they are included in the directional hypotheses, were cyber victimization, sex of respondent, and sexual assault. All other variables were subjected to two-tailed tests because they are control variables. Multiple regression analysis was used

to predict Social Control operationalized as a self-responsibilization scale. The variables were entered into three conceptual blocks to assess change in the predictive power of cyber victimization while examining the effects of other concepts in a forced entry method since there has not been extensive previous research to demonstrate any sort of hierarchical order of entry (Field, 2009). The blocks were based on conceptual agreement: cyber victimization; sociodemographic variables (sex, age, marital status, visible minority status, Aboriginal status and main activity); and physical space victimization (sexual assault, robbery/attempted robbery, assault and stalking). By entering cyber victimization into the first block, it is possible to determine the power of this variable to predict self-responsibilization once the effects of other variables are partialed out. The first model controls for sex of respondent, while the other two are sex specific (male and female) regression analyses predicting self-responsibilization. All three models use the same predictor variables in order to compare across models.

Model 1: controlling for sex of respondent

The adjusted R-square for the first block of the model indicates that 10% of the variance of scores on the self-responsibilization scale is accounted for by cyber victimization alone (F= 80.567, $p< .05$) with a standardized beta coefficient of 0.102 ($p < .05$) and cyber victimization remains significant once the effects of other predictors were entered into the regression in blocks. The model improves with the additional blocks, with the final and third model indicating that 14.3% of the variation in self-responsibilization is accounted for by the addition of sociodemographic characteristics of respondents and physical space victimization experiences (F= 108.401, $p< .05$). Table 5.3

provides the standardized beta coefficients of the multiple regression model for each block while holding the effects of all other variables constant.

Table 5.3: Multiple regression predicting self-responsibilization, standardized beta coefficients

Variable	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3
Constant	5.108**	4.313**	4.164**
Cyber victimization [a]			
Cyber bullying of respondent	.102**	.112**	. 098**
Socio-demographic variables			
Age (15 to 34) [a]		-.057**	-.057**
Sex of respondent (female)		.339**	.330**
Marital Status (married or common-law)		.022	. 026*
Aboriginal status		.018	.012
Visible minority status		.053**	.054**
Main activity			
Working		-.021	-.021
Going to school		.013	.014
Physical space victimization			
Sexual assault			.026*
Robbery/attempted robbery			.055**
Assault			.056**
Stalking			.042**
Adjusted R Square	.10**	.133**	.143**

[a] One-tailed test
* p <.05
**p < .01

Out of a total of 12 variables entered into the regression model, nine demonstrated statistical significance for predicting self-responsibilization in the final model. Five of the significant predictors were victimization types (cyber victimization, assault, robbery/attempted robbery, stalking and sexual assault, respectively) and four were sociodemographic characteristics (sex, age, visible minority and marital status, respectively). The variables that did not demonstrate significance included Aboriginal

status and main activity. None of the sociodemographic characteristics lost significance once physical victimization experiences were controlled and marital status gained significance.

The largest effect of self-responsibilization was sex of respondent (β = 0.330, $p<$ .05), while holding constant the effects of the other variables in the model. Since the beta value is positive, being a female, compared to male, is a significant predictor of self-responsibilization and the second largest predictor in the model was cyber victimization (β = 0.098, $p<.05$). Of the remaining sociodemographic characteristics, age (β = -0.057, $p<.05$), visible minority (β = 0.054, $p <.05$) and marital status (β = 0.026, $p<.05$) were significant. All of the physical space victimization types were found to be significant predictors, while holding constant the effects of the other variables in the model: assault (β = 0.056, $p <.05$), robbery/attempted robbery (β = 0.055, $p <.05$), stalking (β = 0.042, $p <.05$), and sexual assault (β = 0.026, $p<.05$)[2].

In sum, respondents who had higher levels of self-responsibilization are female, experienced a victimization (cyber victimization, assault, robbery/attempted robbery, stalking or sexual assault), 35 years of age and older, a visible minority, and married or living common-law. Self-responsibilization is predicted by cyber victimization and by being a female, while taking into account other factors such as sociodemographic characteristics and other victimization experiences. Therefore, the null hypotheses associated with research questions 1 and 2 are rejected. Cyber victimization significantly predicts social control operationalized as self-responsibilization and it is gendered.

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[2] When sexual assault within the last 12 months was examined instead of 'since the age of 15', the adjusted R^2 indicates that the model accounts for 17.8% of the explained variance of scores on the outcome measure (F= 23.516, $p <0.005$). However, sexual assault was no longer a significant predictor of self-responsibilization (β= 0.013, $p= >0.05$).

Sex-specific models

Sex specific models were used to examine and compare the differences between men and women and to determine whether sexual assault has an independent effect on the social control of women.

Model 2: Male-specific

The adjusted R-square for the first block of the model indicates that 1.3% of the variance in self-responsibilization is accounted for by cyber victimization (F= 52.559, p <.005), with a standardized beta coefficient of 0.114 (p < .005), and remains significant after the effects of other predictors are partialled out. The explained variance of the model improves slightly with the additional blocks, with the final third model indicating that 4.5% of the variation in self-responsibilization is accounted for by the addition of blocks for sociodemographic variables and physical space victimization variables (F= 18.486 p <.05). Table 5.4 provides the standardized beta coefficients for each variable in the model.

Table 5.4: Multiple regression predicting self-responsibilization among males, standardized beta coefficients

Variable	**Block 1**	**Block 2**	**Block 3**
Constant	4.270**	4.326**	4.153**
Cyber victimization [a]			
Cyber bullying of respondent	.114**	.129**	.109**
Socio-demographic variables			
Age (15 to 34)		-.067**	-.070**
Marital Status (married or common-law)		.067**	.075**
Aboriginal status		.028	.022
Visible minority status		.071**	.068**
Main activity			
Working		-.062**	-.060**
Going to school		.019	.022
Physical space			

victimization			
Sexual assault			-.005
Robbery/attempted robbery			.079**
Assault			.069**
Stalking			.053**
Adjusted R Square	.013**	.03**	.045**
[a] One-tailed test			
* p <.05			
**p <.01			

Out of a total of 11 variables entered into the regression model, eight demonstrated statistical significance for predicting self-responsibilization among males: four were victimization types (cyber victimization, robbery/attempted robbery, assault and stalking, respectively) and four were sociodemographic (marital status, age, visible minority and main activity of working, respectively). The variables that did not demonstrate significance included Aboriginal status, main activity of respondent (going to school), and sexual assault victimization.

The strongest predictor of self-responsibilization for the male-specific model was cyber victimization (β = 0.109, p <.05), while holding constant the effects of the other variables in the model. The second strongest predictor was robbery/attempted robbery (β = 0.079, p<.05), and the third was marital status (β = 0.075, p <.05). Of the remaining sociodemographic characteristics, the strongest predictors in the model, while holding constant the effects of the other variables, are age (β = -0.071, p <.05), visible minority (β = 0.068, p<.05), and main activity of working (β = -0.060, p<.05). All of the remaining physical space victimization types, with the exception of sexual assault, were significant predictors: assault (β = 0.068, p<.05) and stalking (β = 0.053, p <.05)[3].

[3] When sexual assault within the previous 12 months was examined, the adjusted R^2 indicates that the male- specific model accounts for 6.9% of the explained variance of scores on the outcome measure (F=

Male respondents who had higher levels of social control are those who have experienced a victimization (cyber victimization, robbery/attempted robbery, assault or stalking) other than sexual assault, those who are married or living in a common-law relationship, 35 years of age and older, a visible minority, and whose main activity is other than working. In sum, self-responsibilization is predicted by cyber victimization in the male-specific model, while taking into account other factors such as sociodemographic characteristics and other victimization experiences.

Model 3: Female-specific

The adjusted R-square for the first block of the model predicting self-responsibilization among females indicates that 1% of the variance of scores on the self-responsibilization scale is accounted for by cyber victimization (F= 40.101, p <.05), with a standardized beta coefficient of 0.103 (p< .05), and remains significant after the effects of the other predictors are partialled out. The model slightly improves with the additional blocks, with the final third model indicating that 2.1% of the variation in self-responsibilization is accounted for by the variables in all three blocks (F= 7.793 p <.05). Table 5.5 provides the standardized beta coefficients of the multiple regression model for each block while holding the effects of all other variables constant.

5.266, p <0.005). Sexual assault in the previous 12 months was a significant predictor of self-responsibilization (β= 0.103, p= <0.05). Given the small beta size, the effect is small.

Table 5.5: Multiple regression predicting self-responsibilization among females, standardized beta coefficients

Variable	Block 1	Block 2	Block 3
Constant	6.017**	6.056**	5.882**
Cyber victimization [a]			
Cyber bullying of respondent	.103**	.111**	.098**
Socio-demographic variables			
Age (15 to 34)		-.042*	-.040*
Marital Status (married or living common-law)		-.010	-.009
Aboriginal status		.011	.005
Visible minority status		.041*	.045**
Main activity			
Working		.008	.006
Going to school		.001	.001
Physical space victimization			
Sexual assault			.040*
Robbery/attempted robbery			.042*
Assault			.049**
Stalking			.042*
Adjusted R Square	.01**	.013*	.021**

[a] One-tailed test
* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

Out of a total of 11 variables entered into the regression model, seven demonstrated statistical significance for predicting self-responsibilization: five were victimization types (cyber victimization, assault, robbery/attempted robbery, stalking and sexual assault, respectively) and two were sociodemographic (visible minority status and age, respectively). The variables that did not demonstrate significance included marital status, Aboriginal status, and main activity.

The strongest predictor of self-responsibilization for the female-specific model was cyber victimization ($\beta = 0.098$, $p<.05$), while holding constant the effects of the other variables in the model. All of the remaining physical space victimization types were

found to be strong predictors: assault (β = 0.049, p <.05); robbery/attempted robbery (β = 0.042, p <.05); stalking (β = 0.042, p <.05) and sexual assault (β = 0.04, p<.05)[4]. Unlike males, the only sociodemographic characteristics that demonstrated statistical significance in the prediction of self-responsibilization were visible minority (β = 0.045, p <.05) and age (β = -0.04, p <.05).

Female respondents who had higher levels of self-responsibilization are those who have experienced a victimization type (cyber victimization, assault, robbery/attempted robbery, stalking or sexual assault), visible minority females, and females 35 years of age and older. In sum, self-responsibilization is predicted by cyber victimization in the female-specific model, while taking into account other factors such as sociodemographic characteristics and other victimization experiences. Therefore, the null hypotheses are rejected as cyber victimization significantly predicts social control operationalized as self-responsibilization among females. In addition, sexual assault has an independent effect on self-responsibilization for females.

The three multiple linear regression models indicate that sex of respondent was the strongest predictor of self-responsibilization in Model 1 that controlled for sex of respondent, and in Models 2 and 3 for males and females, respectively, cyber victimization was the strongest predictor (see Table 5.6). Self-responsibilization is therefore predicted by cyber victimization for the general population, and for males and females, taking into account other factors. While the three models indicate that there are shared characteristics for predicting self-responsibilization—such as visible minority

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[4] When sexual assault within the previous 12 months was examined, the adjusted R^2 indicates that the model accounts for 3.9% of the explained variance of scores on the outcome measure (F= 3.225, p <0.005). However, sexual assault was no longer a significant predictor of self-responsibilization (β= -0.054, p= >0.05).

status and being 35 years and older—there are some differences between sexes, such as marital status being significant only in the sex controlled model and the male-specific model. In all three models victimization experiences in physical space contribute to predicting self-responsibilization net of the effects of cyber victimization; however, sexual assault was a predictor only in the sex controlled and female-specific models, which indicates that sexual assault has an independent effect on self-responsibilization for females and does not have the same effect for males. A possible explanation as to why sexual assault had no effect for males could be due to small counts since only 112 (12%) male respondents have experienced sexual assault in their lifetime, compared to 875 (88%) female respondents[5]. Based on the R square values, the male and female models are weak, although the male model is slightly stronger. The weakness of the male and female models indicates that there are a number of other factors not included in the models, which is could be due to the suppression of certain variables from public use and items not measured by the GSS (this will be discussed in the upcoming chapter). Additionally, it should be noted that while the results were statistically significant the small standardized beta coefficients indicate small effects, which is common with very large samples (Field, 2009).

[5] It is noteworthy that the effect of sexual assault changed once one year estimates were used instead of 'since the age of 15', with a significant effect for the male-specific model and not the others. Due to limited personal characteristic information regarding sex, sexual orientation and gender, it is unclear as to how these males may differ from males who did not experience sexual assault.

Table 5.6: Results of Multiple Regression- final blocks across three models

Variable	Model 1: Both genders	Model 2: Males	Model 3: Females
Cyber victimization			
Cyber bullying of respondent	.098**	.109**	.098**
Socio-demographic variables			
Age (15 to 34)	-.057**	-.070**	-.040*
Sex of respondent (female)	.331**		
Marital Status (married or living common-law)	.0330**	.077**	-.009
Aboriginal status	.012	.022	.005
Visible minority status	.054**	.068**	.045**
Main activity			
Working	-.021	-.060**	.006
Going to school	.014	.022	.001
Physical space victimization			
Sexual assault	.026*	-.005	.040*
Robbery/attempted robbery	.055**	.079**	.042*
Assault	.056**	.069**	.049**
Stalking	.042**	.053**	.042*
Adjusted R Square	.143	.045	.021

* p <.05
**p <.01

Assumptions

There are a number of assumptions that should be met when using multiple regression (Field, 2009). First, it is important to have a model that demonstrates a good overall fit, which is achieved in the model that controls for gender (F= 108.401, p <.05), the male-specific model (F= 18.486, p < .05), and the female-specific model (F= 7.793, p<.05). Despite a good overall fit for each of the models, the R square values are small, meaning that the predictors in each of the models account for a small amount of variation in the dependent measure. Parametric statistics are appropriate since the dependent measure is normally distributed (see histogram Figures 5.1 to 5.3 in Appendix B).

Another assumption that has to be met is the model should not contain any multicollinearity (Field, 2009). Multicollinearity is an issue found in higher-level statistical analyses, such as multiple regression, in which two or more variables are highly correlated. This is a concern for analysis since it can be difficult to determine which of the highly correlated variables are influencing the dependent variable because they provide similar information. SPSS provides tests to determine which variables indicate issues of multicollinearity: Variance Inflation Factor (VIF) and Tolerance. Field (2009) suggests that a VIF exceeding 10 and Tolerance less than 0.2 indicates that multicollinearity may be biasing the overall model. In the model controlling for sex, the highest VIF value is 1.88 and the lowest Tolerance value is 0.842, which indicates that multicollinearity does not appear to be biasing the model and the assumption has been met. In the male-specific model, the highest VIF value is 1.327 and the lowest Tolerance value is 0.753 and in the female-specific model, the highest VIF value is 1.13 and the lowest Tolerance value is 0.885 indicating that the assumption of non-multicollinearity has been met in all models.

Outliers and Influential Cases

Outliers are extreme cases that are different from the cases in the model that can bias a model by influencing the coefficients (Field, 2009). The extreme cases can be easily identified in SPSS with a Casewise Diagnostic. Field (2009) suggests 95% of standardized residuals, which are "the standardized differences between the observed data and the values that the model predicts" (p. 229), within a normal distribution should not be greater than ± 1.96 (2 Standard Deviations), meaning that only 5% of the standardized residuals should be allowed to be extreme cases. More than 5% of extreme

cases is an indication of the model being a poor fit of the data (Field, 2009). In this study, the Casewise Diagnostics identified only 29 extreme cases in the model that controls for gender, which means that 0.37% of cases are considered outliers (29 cases / 7739 x 100). The Casewise Diagnostics for the male-specific model identified only 24 extreme cases, which means that 0.59% are considered outliers (24 cases/ 4029 x 100), and only three extreme cases for the female model, meaning that 0.08% are considered outliers (3 cases/ 3710 x 100).

In addition to detecting outliers, it is also important to examine the Residual Statistics output in SPSS in order to determine whether there are any influential cases biasing the model; this also detects outliers. Field (2009) recommends that a Cook's Distance, which is "a measure of the overall influence of a case on the model" (p. 217), greater than 1 is cause for concern. The Cook's Distance for all three models is well below a value of 1: it is 0.004 in the model controlling for gender, 0.012 in the male model, and 0.006 in the female model. Given the small number of extreme cases and low Cook's Distance values, there is no cause for concern of outliers and influential cases biasing any of the three models.

Influence of missing cases

A common challenge associated with survey research is missing cases, which can be the result of respondents not answering questions or dropping out. The missing cases from the outcome variable can be examined, ad hoc, through SPSS with Little's Missing Completely at Random test (MCAR) in which it can be determined whether the missing cases follow any particular pattern or are missing at random. The results of Little's MCAR test revealed that participants missing on the outcome variable were not missing

completely at random (X^2= 636.146, df 569, p = 0.026) (see Table 5.7 in Appendix B). Given that the test was below the p-value threshold of 0.05, further exploration into the missing cases was warranted.

In this study, there are a total of 615 cases (3.2 % of total sample) missing from the outcome variable self-responsibilization. The creation of a binominal variable (Social Control: missing and non-missing) in SPSS was used in order to examine the characteristics of the missing data. Chi-square tests revealed significant associations among the sociodemographic variables, with the exceptions of main activity (going to school) and visible minority, and non-significant associations for all of the victimization variables (see Table 5.8 in Appendix B). Compared to their representation in the overall sample, missing data on the outcome measure was higher for females (63% of respondents who were missing on the outcome measure were female compared with 51% in the overall sample); higher for Aboriginal status respondents (6% of respondents with missing data were Aboriginal compared with 3% in the overall sample); lower for respondents in the relationship category of married or living common-law (58% of respondents with missing data were married or common-law compared with 63% in the overall sample); lower for respondents who have working as their main activity (38% of respondents with missing data were working compared with 58% in the overall sample); and higher for respondents who are 35 years of age or older (78% of respondents with missing data are in the older age group compared with 67% in the overall sample).

The variables that demonstrated statistical significance in the chi-square tests were included in the logistic regression model to examine the unique contribution to 'missing' for each one. A test of the full model indicated that all seven of the predictors

entered are associated with the odds of 'missing' on the dependent measure (see Table 5.9 in Appendix B). The Nagelkerke R^2 of 0.040 suggests that together these variables explain 4% of the variance in missing data and that 96% of unexplained variance is due to other predictors not included in the model.

Respondents who have higher odds of missing on the outcome measure have working as their main activity (1/.453= 2.2 times higher compared with those who are not working), are in the age group 35 years and older (1/.460= 2.17 times higher compared with those who are younger), Aboriginal persons (1.985 times higher compared to those who are not Aboriginal), female (1.392 times higher compared to male respondents), and those who are in the relationship category other than married or living-common law (1/.764= 1.3 times higher for respondents who are in other relationship categories). The results of this study may be biased in the direction of these missing cases.

Chapter Conclusion

Multiple linear regression revealed that being female is the strongest predictor of social control operationalized as self-responsibilization, followed by cyber victimization experiences. In separate models for male and female respondents, cyber victimization was the strongest predictor of social control. As expected, physical space victimizations were shown to be significant predictors of social control in all three models, net of the effects of other variables, and sexual assault retained significance for female respondents. The overall findings offer support for the research hypotheses that cyber victimization experiences contribute to self-responsibilizing behaviours and that this effect is gendered. An unexpected finding was that males also engage in forms of self-responsibilization and male specific model had more explained variance. The following chapter will discuss the

findings in relation to the research literature, discuss how the findings can contribute to this area of study, and provide suggestions for future research.

Chapter 6: Discussion

The understandings of the effects of various forms of violence against women have evolved over the years and continue to expand with the advancement of technology (Citron, 2009b; Franks, 2012). Early feminist scholars and researchers drew on the theory of social control as an explanation for male violence against women and the impacts on women, specifically how they were encouraged to modify their behaviour and restrict their movements in order to avoid possible attacks (Brownmiller, 1975; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Sheffield, 2007). This current study draws on the work of early feminist scholars by applying the theory of social control (operationalized as self-responsibilizing behavioural changes) to victimizing experiences in cyber space, and determined that both cyber victimization and sexual assault have independent effects on self-responsibilization behaviours for women. While both types of victimization in relation to social control are under-researched areas, the effects of cyber victimization have been largely overlooked on the basis that no physical harm was carried out (Hand et al., 2009; Citron, 2014; West Coast LEAF, 2014) and many of the harmful and outright violent comments made in cyberspace are often trivialized (Citron, 2009b). There has been research on some of the psychological effects of cyber victimization (Bonanno et al., 2013; Brown et al., 2014; West Coast LEAF, 2014; Halder & Jaishankar, 2012) and precautionary measures women take to increase their safety on the Internet to avoid potential or additional online harassment (Spangler, 2014; Steeves & Bailey, 2014; Bailey et al., 2013); however, there is limited research on women's experiences of cyber victimization, levels of fear and vulnerability resulting from this victimization, and how these experiences can affect behaviour. With respect to sexual assault, the theoretical discussions and empirical

studies on the social control of sexually assaulted women are limited, generally dated, and many have not used nationally representative samples, with the exception of the examination of stalking by Nobels et al. (2012).

To this author's knowledge, this research study is one of the first to empirically explore the gendered nature of self-responsibilizing behaviours predicted by cyber victimization and sexual assault, by using a large nationally representative sample. This contribution to the literature offers some insight in an under-researched area with regards to the gendered nature of the effects of cyber victimization and sexual assault and the application of the theory of social control. While the regression models accounted for a small amount of explained variance for both women and men and the total population, and there is a large amount of unexplained variance due to other factors not included in the models, the findings from this study have some implications for future research on the gendered nature of cyber victimization and its effects. This chapter will discuss the findings from this study in relation to the theoretical discussions on social control, outline limitations associated with the use of secondary data and threats to validity.

Cyber victimization and social control

The theory of social control, as discussed and used by feminists, was traditionally used to explain the function of gender-based violence (actual or threatened) as a fear driven tool to socially pressure women to alter their behaviour and adhere to specific gender norms to prevent 'justifiable' harassment and attacks (Brownmiller, 1975; Riger & Gordon, 1981; Green et al., 1987; Smart & Smart, 1978). The theory of social control has primarily been discussed in terms of physical space gendered social interactions and physical space victimizations. The technological developments in communication and

interactions created a new space for gendered social interaction as an alternative to face-to-face interactions (Franks, 2009). The digital social structures parallel those found in physical space, meaning there is a social hierarchy grounded on privileging the viewpoints and positions of those belonging to dominant groups, and offers a new space to carry out victimizing behaviours (Philips & Morrissey, 2004). The theoretical discussions on social control have re-emerged as a result of cyber harassment and cyber misogyny.

Sheffield's (2007) discussion on sexual terrorism specifies that forms of actual/threatened violence serve as a reminder to women that they could be attacked at any given time and this can invoke fearful responses in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours. For example, women who fear sexual assault are more likely to refrain from participating in activities outside the home (such as work and various social group and independent activities) (Pryor & Hughes, 2013; Perilloux et al., 2012; Fisher & Sloan, 2003) and from specific spaces during the evening (Sheffield, 2007; Perilloux et al., 2012). This research hypothesized that similar mechanisms of social control in the form of self-responsibilization behaviours are not limited to physical space victimizations; but rather, they can also be found with cyber space victimizations.

Testing this hypothesis through regression models, the hypothesis was supported and cyber victimization was shown to be a strong predictor of self-responsibilization across all three models, even when the effects of physical space victimizations were controlled. Threatening and harmful online interactions can result in some cyber participants to fear for their personal safety in physical space (Citron, 2009b; Melander, 2010; Shariff & Gouin, 2006). This finding lends support to the work of Nobels et al.

(2012), who examined the differing effects of physical space stalking and cyber space stalking on adopted self-protection measures. Nobels and colleagues (2012) found that while physical space stalking and cyber space stalking victims engaged in similar self-protective behaviours, cyber space stalking victims adopted some different self-protective measures and were more likely to engage in multiple protective measures. Similarly, the School Crime supplement survey of the NCVS in the United States found that those who experienced cyber victimization were more likely to engage in forms of avoidance behaviours and were more likely to carry a weapon, compared to those who only experienced victimization in physical space (U.S. Department of Education, 2013).

The findings of this study are reflective of Henry and Powell's (2014) position on self-responsibilization operating as the self-policing component of panopticism (p. 94). Individuals are not only their own individualized risk management overseers purely in physical space interactions; but rather, similar self-responsibilization behaviours may be produced as a result of cyber space interactions in the form of cyber victimization. The current study lends support to this assertion. The social control function of rape myths has trained women to identify and avoid risky situations (Deming et al., 2013). If women fail to take the 'necessary' precautions to avoid an attack, they are deemed blameworthy since women are aware of risky situations and unsafe spaces (Deming et al., 2013; Johnson & Dawson, 2011). Although the GSS does not include follow-up questions on the various effects of cyber victimization, this research demonstrated that there is an association between cyber victimization and self-responsibilization behaviours in physical space, independent of violent victimization, and can thus deduce that cyber victimization likely functions as a mechanism of social control in physical space.

Sex-specific models

At the bivariate level, males and females aged 15 years and older have comparable estimates of experiencing cyber victimization, 49% and 51%, respectively. This initial finding is in contrast with some of the literature that has demonstrated gender differences in estimates and experiences of cyber victimization (Pew Research Centre, 2014; Citron, 2009a; Reyns et al., 2012; West Coast LEAF, 2014). The difference in findings could be attributed to the methodological differences in measurement; research that demonstrates gender differences use measures that consider the gendered nature of certain cyber victimizations and incorporate various sexually and physically threatening behaviours, whereas the GSS uses a gender-neutral and non-specific broad measure. Further exploration through bivariate analyses revealed that despite comparable estimates of cyber victimization for males and females, there was a sex difference for the self-responsibilization behaviours, with females scoring higher than males and this difference remained at the multivariate level. The regression model indicated that sex is a strong predictor of self-responsibilization; specifically, being a woman is a strong predictor of engaging in self-responsibilization behaviours. This expected finding lends some support to previous theoretical discussions (see Brownmiller, 1975) and limited and dated research on the gendered nature of social control. Previous studies have shown that women who fear sexualized attacks and sexualized street-level harassment are more likely to engage in similar precautionary avoidance behaviours used in this study to measure social control operationalized as self-responsibilization, such as changing/planning routes to and from home, changing place of residence, avoid going out

in the evening, and avoiding certain locations and people (Hollaback Ottawa, 2014; Pryor & Hughes, 2013; Fisher & Sloan, 2003; Perilloux et al., 2012).

Further exploration through the creation of two additional regression models (female-specific and male-specific) revealed some expected and unexpected findings. As expected, sexual assault showed to have an independent effect on the self-responsibilization for women, while controlling for the effects of cyber victimization, sociodemographic characteristics, and other physical space victimizations. Previous literature has indicated that for many women, especially those who have previously been sexually assaulted, the unpredictable nature of harassment in public spaces can be distressing and can control their behaviour because they are fearful of the situation escalating (Fahs, 2011; Hollaback Ottawa, 2014; Sheffield, 2007).

An unexpected finding was that the male-specific model had more explained variance compared to the female-specific model, and males engaged in self-responsibilization as a result of cyber victimization. The nature of using secondary data poses some limits: survey items on respondent characteristics were limited and some variables were suppressed from the public use file making it impossible to uncover further characteristics of these groups and. However, other research offers insight as to who these males may be. A survey conducted for the University of Ottawa (2015) Task Force on Respect and Equality found that while women make up the majority of those who experience harassment, both in physical space and cyber space, there is a group of males who reported being subjected to similar types of harassment. Non-gender conforming males (bisexual, gay, transsexual, genderqueer) experienced more forms of harassment in physical space and cyber space compared to heterosexual males

(University of Ottawa, 2015, pp. 13-14). Through the theory of social control, males who identify as non-gender conforming are viewed as defying heteronormative gender norms for male conduct and may be subjected to social control in the form of harassment, threats, and sometimes violence in physical space (Messerschmidt, 2005; Kimmel, 2000; Gardiner, 2005; Adams & Coltrane, 2005) and cyber space (Reyns et al., 2012; West Coast LEAF, 2014). Further research on the specific characteristics of respondents is required in order to gain additional insight on which groups are at risk of experiencing these kinds of harassment.

Limitations: Threats to Validity

There are a number of validity threats present in this study. The construct validity is a concern with the use of secondary data since the data was not designed to specifically address the research questions (Neuman, 2009). Secondary data is used as a "proxy for a construct" of particular interest to a researcher rather than designing and measuring newly developed concepts and items (Neuman, 2009, p. 221), which is common since it is not always financially and timely feasible to collect original data with newly constructed and tested measures, leaving secondary data as the best option.

There are two concepts in particular that compromise the construct validity of this research: Social Control (operationalized as self-responsibilization behavioural changes) and cyberbullying. The concept of Social Control has yet to be fully empirically explored and this measure was modeled on conceptually similar measurements in the research literature and included items involving general questions about protective measures adopted by respondents for prevention against criminal victimization. This proxy measure was used since the GSS does not examine the gendered behavioural

modifications as a result of fear of potential and additional victimizations. Given the fair internal consistency of this proxy measure (a= 0.676), additional methodological debate is warranted in order to develop a more reliable and valid measure of social control.

The second concept that compromises the construct validity of this study is the definition of cyberbullying provided by Statistics Canada's 2009 GSS, measured as online threats, aggressive messages, hateful comments, and/or use of a person's identity to send out cyber bullying-like emails (Statistics Canada, 2011a). The low alpha level indicating poor internal consistency (a= 0.539) demonstrates that the items provided in the GSS do not adequately measure cyber victimization. This gender-neutral approach does not distinguish between different types of threats and other online victimizing experiences (see Table 1 in Chapter 2), despite the fact that women and men have different online experiences with women experiencing more sexualized, frequent and severe online attacks (Fairbairn, 2015; Reyns et al., 2012; Pew Research Center, 2014; Citron, 2014) and males experiencing name-calling, with the exception of non-gender conforming males (University of Ottawa, 2015). For example, someone making threats in cyber space could range from threatening vandalism to threatening sexual assault and under the current definition provided by the GSS these different behaviours are equated as the same. Although the items imply physical and emotional threats in cyber space, it is possible that some respondents may interpret them as property or financial threats since these are not precise items. The 2014 GSS, which was not available at the time this study was underway, includes an additional question to measure cyber bullying: someone posting/sharing any photographs that make a respondent feel embarrassed or threatened (Statistics Canada, 2014); however, it does not distinguish between an unflattering

photograph and 'revenge porn' and all forms of victimization experiences involving a photograph are equated the same despite the fact that there is a difference in impacts. Use of the 2014 GSS therefore would not have addressed the shortcomings in the construct validity of this variable. There are also conceptual concerns and validity regarding the use of the term 'bully' to measure cyber victimization since the term carries with it a juvenile connotation (Ainsley, 2011; Halder & Jaishankar, 2012) and those who do not belong to the youth/young persons age group may not consider their experience as 'cyberbullying'. This can possibly result in an underestimation of the prevalence of victimizing experiences in cyber space since some studies have shown that adults (18 years and older) can also experience forms of cyber victimization (Nobels et al., 2012; Krysik, 2012; Reyns et al., 2012).

There is a potential problem of the reliability of the concept of sexual assault used in this study. Despite the methodological advancements in survey research on violence against women there are still measurement errors that could result in underestimation (Fisher & Cullen, 2000). The GSS frames the items as gender-neutral and as crimes; however, experiences that are not legally criminal (Johnson & Sacco, 1995) and/or experiences that involve a known perpetrator (Muehlenhard et al., 1996) may not be disclosed due to the sensitive nature of the subject and this will bias estimates. For example, Chasteen (2001) presented a group of women with a vignette that involved a woman sleeping next to her boyfriend who did not consent to the sexual intercourse that occurred, and only 44 percent labeled the incident as rape, and this finding is consistent with the conclusions reached by Boonzaier and van Schalkwyk (2011) with women identifying their experience as 'like rape' if it was carried out by their partner.

Additionally, the GSS does not measure other forms of sexual harassment that are considered a 'normal' aspect of being a woman, such as street level harassment (Sheffield, 2007). The inclusion of these items may have affected the outcome of this study since the unpredictable nature of sexualized street harassment also influences the behaviour of women by restricting women's movement in public spaces and limiting spaces deemed 'safe' (Hollaback Ottawa, 2014; Fahs, 2011).

A particular threat to the internal validity of this study is ambiguous temporal precedence, which is an issue when it is unclear as to the ordering of variables to establish causality, which is the 'cause' and which is the 'outcome' (Shadish et al., 2002). The GSS asks respondents about various methods of protection from crime in very general terms rather than whether he/she engages in these behaviours as a result of solely fear of potential future victimization(s) or as a result of a previous victimization experience. It is possible that these protections from crime measures were adopted prior to the victimization. It is not possible to determine causation with cross-sectional data.

Chapter Conclusion

Given the methodological limitations of the study and threats to validity, future research would greatly benefit from creating and utilizing research-informed concepts and measurements of the gendered nature of cyber victimization and sexual assault. Generic crime surveys are limited in their ability to advance knowledge on gendered experiences and their impacts since these surveys can lead to underreporting and can result in a misrepresentation of the nature and severity of violence against women (Johnson & Sacco, 1995). In addition, future attention is needed towards refining our understanding, conceptualization and measurement of self-responsibilization behaviours

post victimization in order to gain further insight in the gendered nature of victimization types and their effects.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

Research on forms of cyber victimization and their effects are still in their infancy. While there is no universal definition of cyber victimization, there has been some acknowledgement of the gendered nature of some forms of cyber victimization and some progress in identifying types predominately experienced by women (see Table 1 in Chapter 2). Additionally, while there has been empirical and theoretical exploration into and discussions about the impacts of forms of violence against women, research on the socially controlling function of sexual violence is outdated and under-researched. There is empirical evidence to suggest that forms of sexual violence and street harassment cause fear and lead women to adopt avoidance behaviours and therefore likely function as a mechanism of social control; however, this theory has not been empirically explored in relation to cyber victimization with a nationally representative sample.

This current study suggests that cyber victimization and sexual assault may function as mechanisms of social control, operationalized as self-responsibilization. While the model controlling for sex indicated that being a female is a strong predictor of adopting self-responsibilization behaviours, further exploration into sex specific models unexpectedly revealed that males who have been cyber victimized also engage in self-responsibilization behaviors and the model had higher explained variance compared to the female-specific model. The low explanatory power of the models indicates that the amount of explained variance in self-responsibilization accounted for by the various independent variables could be improved with the addition of other variables that are not publicly available for analysis (e.g., sexual orientation) and variables that are not included in the GSS (e.g., gender identification). While the findings lend some empirical

support to the theoretical discussions on gender-based violence as a function of social control, there remains methodological limitations that must be addressed in future research in order to have more reliable and valid measures and a better understanding of these specific forms of violence and related impacts.

Future research on the impacts of sexual assault and cyber victimization could benefit from incorporating victimization related perceptions of fear and safety management that could uncover how this controls the daily functioning of women's lives in which they judge their safety on a personal calculation of risk. Without detailed questions about whether victimization influences precautionary/ avoidance behavioural changes, our understanding of the nature and severity of harms experienced as a result of a victimization is limited to correlation and cannot assume a causal relationship. With respect to cyber victimization, the research literature reveals that victims of cyber abuse and harassment influence engagement in self-responsibilization behaviours in cyber space (Rainie et al., 2013; Spangler, 2014; Steeves & Bailey, 2014); however, only examining precautionary and avoidance behaviours in cyber space hinders our understanding of the effects of the cyber victimization and perceptions of fear since it dichotomizes victimizations intro 'real space' and 'cyber space', with each having separate experiences and effects from one another and without taking into consideration the overlap in experienced harms (Standing Senate Committee on Human Rights, 2012). While there can be a literal physical barrier between perpetrator and victim with respect to cyber victimization, the existence of that barrier can lead to a misguided assumption that physical space victimizations are more serious than those that occur in cyber space since individuals have the ability to turn off electronic communication devices (Philips &

Morrissey, 2004). Despite this common admonishment, some may fear that threats made in cyber space could be carried out in physical space and are therefore perceived to be very real.

Future GSS on victimization and/or cyber-focused research would benefit from feminist informed measures that consider the literature and methodological debates on conceptualization and operationalization of the measurement of gender-based violence rather than continue to use gender-neutral measures that minimize the experiences of women and the impacts and conflates victimization types (Fairbairn, 2015). The inadequacy and imprecision of measures on the GSS compromise the validity of the study. Canada could model future GSS victimization cycles on surveys in the United States, such as the NISVS and include elements of cyber misogyny from the West Coast LEAF (2014) and incorporate the cyber harassment typologies typically experienced by women from the Learning Network at the Centre for Research and Education on Violence Against Women and Children (Baker et al., 2013). Future research would benefit from incorporating typologies of cyber victimization (Baker et al., 2013) and other sources (Halder & Jaishankar, 2011; Barak, 2005; West Coast LEAF, 2014) (see Table 1, Chapter 2). This study finds a non-significant association between sex of respondent and cyber victimization; however, further exploration with revised measures of cyber harassment is warranted given the methodological criticisms of the gender-neutral measurement of cyber harassment in the GSS (Fairbairn & Black, 2015; Fairbairn, 2015). The gender-neutral understanding of cyber victimizations that underlie the GSS is grounded in androcentricism, which lacks the inclusion and consideration of

the types of harassment and impacts that are specific to women, non-gender conforming persons, transgender persons, and sexual minorities.

Additional variables that should be considered for future research include the identification of respondents as non-gender conforming and/or transgender and non-heterosexual. One variable of interest that was suppressed on the GSS public use datafile is sexual orientation, which limits our understanding of potentially high-risk groups. The expansion of available variables would assist in more fully uncovering at-risk groups and provide the information needed to inform policies. For example, this study found that males who have experienced cyber victimization engage in forms of self-responsibilization behaviours in physical space; however, it is unclear as to the characteristics of these males in terms of gender identity and sexual orientation. This is of particular interest since research on social control suggests that males who do not conform to the androcentric definition of masculinity by possessing what is viewed as non-heteronormative qualities can be subjected to methods of informal social control in the forms of bullying, threats of violence, and assault (Messerschmidt, 2005; University of Ottawa, 2015).

This has implications for policy development with regards to addressing forms of violence against women and non-gender conforming persons. In order to contribute to the reduction of violence against women, research on various forms of violence against women requires the incorporation of cyber victimization because much of social life and social interactions have moved online and if we do not include cyber space in the examination of violence against women we are missing additional victimizing experiences on the spectrum of violence. Since measuring forms of cyber victimization is

a relatively new field and few evaluations have been conducted on the effectiveness of interventions designed to reduce online harassment, a step in the right direction could be in the form of raising awareness. This could be done by integrating the various victimization typologies on forms of cyber victimization into the new Ontario sex education curriculum. This curriculum briefly notes that forms of bullying are not limited to face-to-face interactions and it can also be carried out through text messages and other types of online interactions (The Ontario Curriculum Grades 1-8- Health and Physical Education, 2015); however, there is limited discussion on the types of bullying and harassing behaviours that can occur online (e.g., death threats, rape threats, comments that are fuelled by racism and misogyny). One noteworthy point: the new curriculum briefly discusses 'sexting' and harms for the victim that can result from sharing photographs without consent. Additionally, it emphasizes the importance of respecting individuals and respecting their privacy just as they would in any face-to-face situation (The Ontario Curriculum Grades 1-8- Health and Physical Education, 2015).

Future research in this area could alter the advice given to women who participate in cyber space and the responses to victims by shifting the onus of responsibility towards perpetrators, website administrators, and service providers. The advice that is commonly given to women who participate in cyber space parallels what is offered to women in physical space in the form of behavioural restrictions and/or to ignore the behaviour since it is a 'joke' (West Coast LEAF, 2014; Karaian, 2014; Citron, 2009b). Rather than focusing on the behaviours of those who are victimized, it is important to have an increase in appropriate responses targeted at the inappropriate and harmful perpetrating behaviours. For example, social media website Twitter has taken a set in the right

direction by banning a number of its users following the abusive racist and misogynistic cyber attacks directed towards Ghostbusters' actress Leslie Jones (The Globe and Mail, 2016). There are many instances on Facebook where the service providers failed to take action and outright ignored the harmful impacts on women. For example, Facebook will allow certain misogynistic groups, such as ""Riding my girlfriend softly so she doesn't wake up"" and ""It's not rape if you yell surprise"", to be active because the service providers believe that it is the "users' freedom to voice their opinions and likening the pages to jokes friends might tell over beers" (Bosker, 2011). Additionally, Facebook told BBC in 2011 that " "It is very important to point out that what one person finds offensive another can find entertaining, just as telling a rude joke won't get you thrown out your local pub"" (Bosker, 2011). The services providers and website administrators have a responsibility and they have the power to dictate what is and is not acceptable behaviour.

Sexual violence and types of cyber victimization are arguably forms of gender-based violence and addressing the degrading attacks on femininity and women and the harmful conceptions of (hyper)masculinity/ 'a real man' commonly found in gendered cultural norms can assist in promoting improved gender relations and reduce violence (actual or threatened) (Flood & Pease, 2006). Those who experienced cyber victimization are more likely to engage in self-responsibilization behaviours for protection from crime out of fear, which is empirically supported (Nobels et al., 2012; U.S Department of Education, 2013). This empirical information challenges previously held assumptions about the harms that can arise as a result of cyber victimization, which is a crucial component to effectively addressing an issue. Assumptions about impacts of cyber victimization are often dismissed because of the literal space between cyber space and

'real' space and can lead to the delusion that physical space victimizations are more serious than those that occur in cyber space since individuals have the ability to turn off electronic communication devices and distance themselves (Philips & Morrissey, 2004). Therefore, more inclusive and methodologically improved measures can assist in informing and shaping social attitudes and policies to address, prevent, and eliminate forms of gender-based violence.

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Appendix A: General Social Survey (cycle 23) modules

Table 4.1: Cycle 23 General Social Survey - modules

Section	Modules
Section A: Confirmation of Birth Date and Marital Status	• Module: Birth Date of Respondent (BDR) • Module: Confirm Marital Status of Respondent (CMR)
Section 1: Perceptions, History and Risk	• Module: Perceptions, History and Risk (PHR) • Module: Perceptions: Evenings Out (PEO) • Module: Perceptions: Local Police (PLP) • Module: Perceptions: Criminal Courts (PCC) • Module: Perceptions: Prison Parole System (PPP) • Module: Contact with Police (CWP)
Section 2: Crime Prevention	• Module: Sense of Belonging (SBL) • Module: Isolation (ISL) • Module: Protection from Crime (PFC) • Module: Trust and Reciprocity (TRT)
Section 3: Criminal Victimization Screening	• Module: Criminal Victimization Screening Property (VSP) • Module: Criminal Victimization Screening Vehicle (VSV) • Module: Criminal Victimization Screening Assault (VSA) • Module: Criminal Victimization Screening Total (VST)
Section 4: Abuse by Current Spouse/ Partner *	• Module: Emotional and Financial Abuse by Spouse/Partner (EFP) • Module: Physical and Sexual Violence by Spouse/Partner (PSP)
Section 5: Abuse by Ex-Spouse/ Partner	• Module: Emotional and Financial Abuse by Ex- Spouse/Partner (EFX) • Module: Physical and Sexual Violence by Ex- Spouse/Partner (PSX)
Section 6: Spousal/Partner Abuse Report *	• Module: Spousal/Partner Abuse-Injuries (SAI) • Module: Spousal/Partner Abuse-

	Report to Police (SRP) • Module: Spousal/Partner Abuse- Talk to Anyone About the Incident (STA) • Module: Spousal/Partner Abuse- Contact with Services (SCS)
Section 7: Ex-spousal/Partner Abuse Report	• Module: Ex-spousal/Partner Abuse- Injuries (XAI) • Module: Ex-spousal/Partner Abuse- Report to Police (XRP) • Module: Ex-spousal/Partner Abuse- Talk to Anyone About the Incident (XTA) • Module: Ex-spousal/Partner Abuse- Contact with Services (XCS)
Section 8: Crime Incident Reports	• Module: Incident Report Tables (IRT) • Sub-module: Info For Array (IFA) • Main Routing Module: Crime Incident Report (CIR) • CIR_Q020: Sub-module: Where incident took place (WHR) • CIR_Q130: Sub-module: How respondent was Threatened (HWT) • CIR_Q200: Sub-module: Who was present during the incident (WHO) • CIR_Q340: Sub-module: Persons Involved (PIV) • CIR_Q320: Sub-module: Hate Crime reasons (HTC) • CIR_Q350: Sub-module: Stolen Property (SPR) • CIR_Q400: Sub-module: Property Damage (PRD) • CIR_Q460: Sub-module: Obtain Compensation (OBC) • CIR_Q500: Sub-module: Police found out about the incident (PFO) • CIR_Q600: Sub-module: Talk to anyone about the incident (TTA)
Section 9: Other Crime Events (OCE)	
Section 10: Internet Victimization	• Module: Internet Use, Risk and Prevention (IRP) • Module: Cyber Bullying Respondent (CBR) • Module: Cyber Bullying Children (CBC)

Section 11: Main Activity of Respondent	• Module: Main Activity of Respondent (MAR) • Module: Main Activity of Spouse/Partner (MAP)
Section 12: Education of Respondent, Spouse/Partner and Parents	• Module: Education of Respondent (EOR) • Module: Education of Spouse/Partner (EOP) • Module: Education of Respondent's Mother (EOM) • Module: Education of Respondent's Father (EOF
Section 13: Health and Well-being	• Module: Self-Rated Health (SRH) • Module: Health and Activity Limitation (HAL) • Module: Medication of Respondent (MED) • Module: Drinking of Respondent (DRR) • Module: Drinking of Spouse/Partner (DRP) • Module: Drug Use of Respondent (DUR) • Module: Drug Use of Spouse/Partner (DUP)
Section 14: Housing Characteristics of Respondent	• Module: Dwelling of Respondent (DOR) • Module: Respondent Selection Process (RSP) • Module: Social Disorder (SDQ)
Section 15: Other Characteristics	• Module: Birthplace of Respondent (BPR) • Module: Birthplace of Spouse/Partner (BPP) • Module: Birthplace of Mother (BPM) • Module: Birthplace of Father (BPF) • Module: Aboriginal Identity of Respondent (AIR) • Module: Aboriginal Identity of Spouse/Partner (AIP) • Module: Visible Minority Status of Respondent (VMR) • Module: Visible Minority Status of Spouse/Partner (VMP)

	• Module: Discrimination (DIS) • Module: Religion of Respondent (RLR) • Module: Language of Respondent (LNR) • Module: Sexual Orientation of Respondent (SOR) * • Module: Income of Respondent (INR)
Source: Statistics Canada, 2011 (Questionnaire) * Data has been suppressed from public files.	

Appendix B: Tables and Figures

Table 5.1: Results of Bivariate Testing- Chi- square test

Variable	**Count within experiencing Cyber victimization (%)**	**% in overall sample**	**Count within not experiencing Cyber victimization (%)**	**% in overall sample**	X^2	*df*
Sex of respondent					0.721	1
Male	611 (49)	7.4	7591 (50.3)	92.5		
Female	634 (51)	7.8	7492 (49.7)	92		
Total	1245	7.6	15083	92.2		

Table 5.1.1: Difference in means on the self-responsibilization scale by sex of respondent and cyber victimization

Variable	**M**		**SD**		**t-test**	
	Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Sex of respondent [a]	4.11	5.54	2.16	2.54	-41.647**	
Cyber victimization [a]						
Cyber bullying of respondent						
Yes	3.78	5.32	2.22	2.63	8.582**	9.064**
No	2.97	4.34	2.02	2.34		

[a] One-tailed test
**p <0.01

Table 5.1.2: Results of Bivariate Hypothesis Testing- Independent samples t-test

Variable	*M*	SD	t-test
Cyber victimization [a]			
Cyber bullying of respondent			11.809**
Yes	5.78	2.76	
No	4.82	2.46	
Socio-demographic variables			
Aboriginal status			4.021**
Aboriginal	5.25	2.54	
Non-aboriginal	4.8	2.46	
Visible minority status			3.786**
Visible minority	4.99	2.38	
Non-visible minority	4.8	2.47	
Physical space victimization			
Sexual assault			11.231**
Yes	6.11	2.7	
No	5.07	2.5	
Robbery/attempted robbery			5.157**
Yes	5.7	2.73	
No	5.14	2.53	
Assault			6.017**
Yes	5.5	2.82	
No	5	2.46	
Stalking			7.452**
Yes	6.34	2.97	
No	5.14	2.53	

[a] One-tailed test
**p <0.01

Table 5.2: Results of Bivariate Hypothesis Testing- ANOVA

Variable	*M*	df 1	df 2	Welch's F test
Age of respondent		6	7044.929	16.18**
15 to 24	4.7862			
25 to 34	4.7115			
35 to 44	4.9668			
45 to 54	4.9565			
55 to 64	4.9382			
65 to 74	4.7903			
75 years and over	4.3583			
Marital status		5	2371.676	11.918**
Married	4.8866			
Living common-law	4.5383			
Widowed	4.7652			
Separated	5.0172			
Divorced	5.2484			
Single (Never married)	4.7731			
Main activity		9	740.124	12.245**
Working at a paid job or business	4.7873			
Looking for paid work	5.0650			
Going to school	4.7433			
Caring for children	5.6315			
Household work	5.0641			
Retired	4.7066			
Maternity/paternity leave	5.3290			
Long term illness	5.3320			
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	5.2458			
Other	4.4454			

**p <.01

Table 5.2.1: Results of Bivariate Hypothesis Testing- Post-hoc ANOVA Multiple comparisons

Variable	Mean difference
Age of respondent	
15 to 24	
25 to 34	.07463
35 to 44	-.18068
45 to 54	-.17038
55 to 64	-.15207
65 to 74	-.00417
75 years and over	.42787**
25 to 34	
15 to 24	-.07463
35 to 44	-.25531**
45 to 54	-.24501**
55 to 64	-.22670**
65 to 74	-.07880
75 years and over	.35324**
35 to 44	
15 to 24	.18068
25 to 34	.25531**
45 to 54	.01030
55 to 64	.02861
65 to 74	.17651
75 years and over	.60855**
45 to 54	
15 to 24	.17038
25 to 34	.24501**
35 to 44	-.01030
55 to 64	.01831
65 to 74	.16621
75 years and over	.59825**
55 to 64	
15 to 24	.15207
25 to 34	.22670**
35 to 44	-.02861
45 to 54	-.01831
65 to 74	.14790
75 years and over	.57994**
65 to 74	
15 to 24	.00417
25 to 34	.07880
35 to 44	-.17651
45 to 54	-.16621
55 to 64	-.14790

75 years and over	.43204**
75 years and over	
15 to 24	-.42787**
25 to 34	-.35324**
35 to 44	-.60855**
45 to 54	-.59825**
55 to 64	-.57994**
65 to 74	-.43204**
Marital status	
Married	
Living common-law	.34837**
Widowed	.12140
Separated	-.13056
Divorced	-.36174**
Single (Never married)	.11354
Living common-law	
Married	-.34837**
Widowed	-.22697
Separated	-.47893**
Divorced	-.71010**
Single (Never married)	-.23483**
Widowed	
Married	-.12140
Living common-law	.22697
Separated	-.25196
Divorced	-.48313**
Single (Never married)	-.00786
Separated	
Married	.13056
Living common-law	.47893**
Widowed	.25196
Divorced	-.23117
Single (Never married)	.24410
Divorced	
Married	.36174**
Living common-law	.71010**
Widowed	.48313**
Separated	.23117
Single (Never married)	.47527**
Single (Never married)	
Married	-.11354
Living common-law	.23483**
Widowed	.00786
Separated	-.24410
Divorced	-.47527**

Main activity	
Working at a paid job or business	
Looking for paid work	-.27775
Going to school	.04397
Caring for children	-.84421**
Household work	-.27688
Retired	.08065
Maternity/paternity leave	-.54176
Long term illness	-.54477
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.45857
Looking for paid work	
Working at a paid job or business	.27775
Going to school	.32172
Caring for children	-.56646*
Household work	.00088
Retired	.35840
Maternity/paternity leave	-.26401
Long term illness	-.26702
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.18082
Other	.61960
Going to school	
Working at a paid job or business	-.04397
Looking for paid work	-.32172
Caring for children	-.88818**
Household work	-.32085
Retired	.03668
Maternity/paternity leave	-.58573
Long term illness	-.58874
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.50254
Other	.29788
Caring for children	
Working at a paid job or business	.84421**
Looking for paid work	.56646*
Going to school	.88818**
Household work	.56734**
Retired	.92486**
Maternity/paternity leave	.30245
Long term illness	.29944
Volunteering or care-giving	.38564

other than for children	
Other	1.18606**
Household work	
Working at a paid job or business	.27688
Looking for paid work	-.00088
Going to school	.32085
Caring for children	-.56734**
Retired	.35752*
Maternity/paternity leave	-.26489
Long term illness	-.26789
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.18169
Other	.61873
Retired	
Working at a paid job or business	-.08065
Looking for paid work	-.35840
Going to school	-.03668
Caring for children	-.92486**
Household work	-.35752*
Maternity/paternity leave	-.62241
Long term illness	-.62542*
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.53922
Other	.26120
Maternity/paternity leave	
Working at a paid job or business	.54176
Looking for paid work	.26401
Going to school	.58573
Caring for children	-.30245
Household work	.26489
Retired	.62241
Long term illness	-.00301
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	.08319
Other	.88361
Long term illness	
Working at a paid job or business	.54477
Looking for paid work	.26702
Going to school	.58874
Caring for children	-.29944
Household work	.26789
Retired	.62542*

	Maternity/paternity leave	.00301
	Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	.08620
	Other	.88662
Volunteering or care-giving other than for children		
	Working at a paid job or business	.45857
	Looking for paid work	.18082
	Going to school	.50254
	Caring for children	-.38564
	Household work	.18169
	Retired	.53922
	Maternity/paternity leave	-.08319
	Long term illness	-.08620
	Other	.80042
Other		
	Working at a paid job or business	-.34185
	Looking for paid work	-.61960
	Going to school	-.29788
	Caring for children	-1.18606**
	Household work	-.61873
	Retired	-.26120
	Maternity/paternity leave	-.88361
	Long term illness	-.88662
	Volunteering or care-giving other than for children	-.80042

*$p<.05$
**$p<.01$

Table 5.7: Results of Univariate Testing- Missing cases Social Control

Variable	Frequency	Percent
Social Control (valid/missing)	615	3.2
Little's MCAR X^2= 636.146, df 569, p = 0.026		

Table 5.8: Results of Bivariate Hypothesis Testing- chi-square missing cases

Variable	**Percent within missing on Self-responsibilization**	**Percent in overall sample**	X^2	*df*
Cyber victimization				1
Cyber bullying of respondent			.480	1
Yes	7	8		
No	93	92		
Sociodemographic characteristics				
Sex of respondent			39.293**	1
Male	37	49		
Female	63	51		
Aboriginal status			14.165**	1
Aboriginal	6	3		
Non-aboriginal	94	97		
Visible minority status			2.532	1
Visible minority	16	13		
Non-visible minority	84	87		
Age			34.308**	1
15 to 34	22	67		
35 years and older	78	33		
Main activity (work)			105.601**	1
Working	38	58		

Other	62	42		
Main activity (school)			1.591	1
Going to school	1	2		
Other	99	98		
Marital status			6.383*	1
Married OR common-law	58	63		
Other/no partnership (single, divorce, separated, widowed)	42	37		
Physical space victimization				
Sexual assault			.024	1
Yes	12	11		
No	88	89		
Robbery/attempted robbery			.172	1
Yes	8	91		
No	92	9		
Assault			1.217	1
Yes	20	24		
No	80	76		
Stalking			2.982	1
Yes	2	4		
No	98	96		

* $p < .05$
** $p < .01$

Table 5.9: Logistic Regression predicting missing cases

Variable	**Exp(B)**
Sex of respondent (1=female; 0=male)	1.392**
Aboriginal persons (1=yes; 0=no)	1.985**
Marital status (1= married OR common-law partnership; 0= other)	.764**
Main activity of respondent (1=working; 0= other)	.453**
Age (1=15 to 34; 0= 35 years and older)	.460**
Nagelkerke R^2	.04
-2 Log Likelihood	5039.057
Model Chi-square*	185.736
Df	5

**p <.01

Figure 5.1: Histogram (model 1)

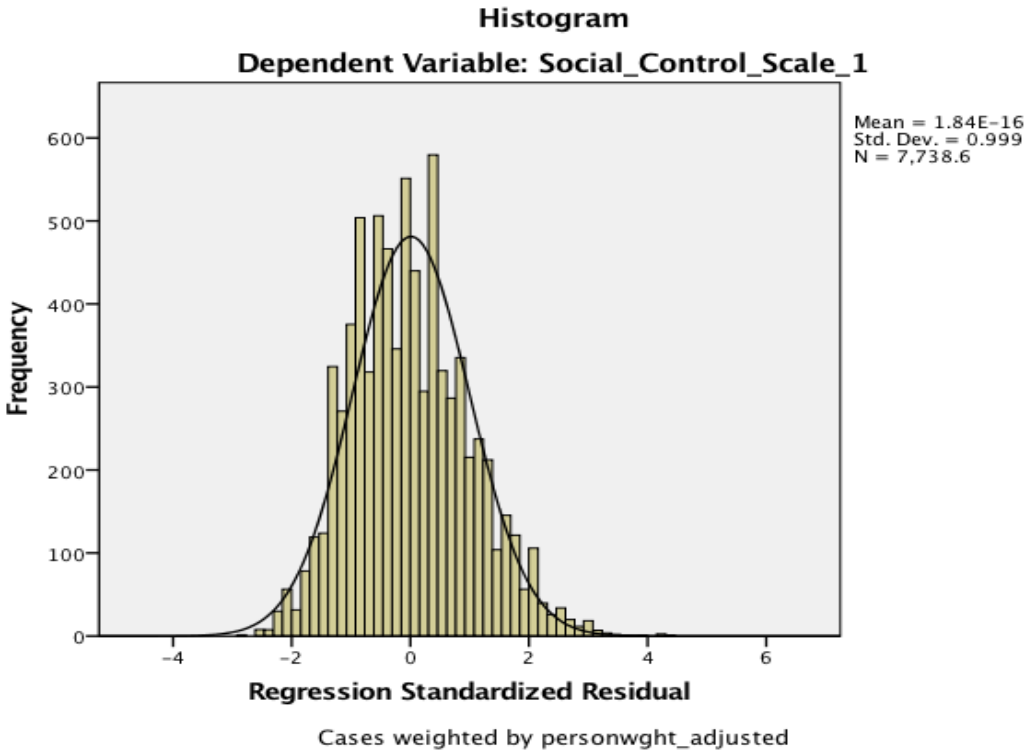

Figure 5.2: Histogram (model 2)

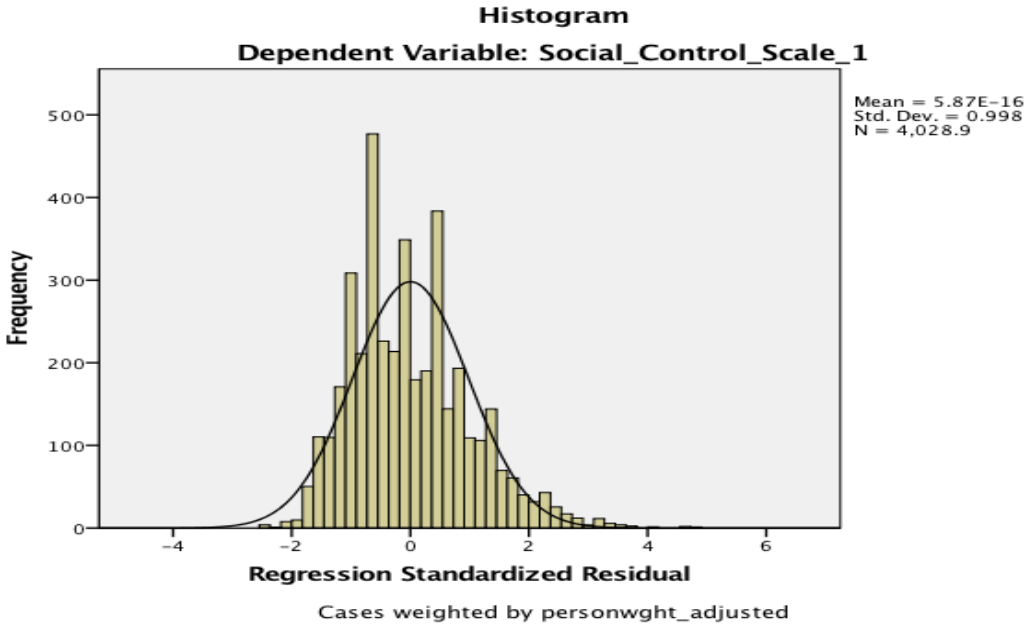

Figure 5.3: Histogram (model 3)