Scrapbooking the Everyday Scaffolding of Sexual Violence: Making Sense of 'Rape Culture'

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Abstract

Feminist attention to the cultural causes of sexual violence has assumed many forms and debates, with the concept of 'rape culture' taking hold in the 1970s and being reinvigorated today. This thesis explores these debates to arrive at its unique conceptualisation of the 'everyday scaffolding' of sexual violence. Everyday scaffolding refers to the discursive practices – situated and material ways in which knowledges are formed – through which sexual violence becomes possible and intelligible. Designing an innovative research practice of scrapbooking, this thesis establishes these scaffolds in the lives of its participant scrapbookers; twenty-three adults with unwanted sexual experiences and one UK Rape Crisis centre. Scrapbooking involves saving, organising and sharing 'scraps' from everyday life, a potentially enjoyable, therapeutic and consciousness-raising practice.

Paying attention to queer, post-structuralist and feminist new materialist thinkers, this research organises scraps from participants' books and relevant literatures into four scaffolds. Firstly, 'Conflation and Marginalisation': where the bringing together and confusing of often contentious sexual matters naturalises and obscures sexual violence, as does the drawing of different boundaries to separate sexual violence out. Secondly, 'Spectacularisation': discursive practices by which sexual violence is constituted as a spectacle, a dramatic event cut out from everyday life, with particular audiences in mind. Thirdly, 'Catching Out': discursive practices which establish a 'truth' beneath a 'lie' in need of unmasking, connecting sexual violence to all manner of 'corrective' activities. Finally, 'Weaponisation': sexual violence as a means towards particular and harmful ends; to further divisive politics, to facilitate sexual access, and to naturalise 'vulnerability'. These four scaffolds are presented in order to both name and change sexual violence in ways which work with the ambiguity and potentiality of the everyday, the necessity for continuum-thinking and the reality of the research's own performative involvement in the worlds or 'rape cultures' it claims to make sense of.

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor

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Declaration

I confirm that no part of the material presented in this thesis has been previously submitted by me or any other person for a degree in this or any other university. In all cases, where it is relevant, material from the work of others has been acknowledged.

Statement of Copyright

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~

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~

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~

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Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1. Beginnings

The muddle and mundanity of everyday life pose a considerable challenge to feminists concerned with sexual violence. On the one hand, sexual violence is a routine and everyday reality for many across the globe (for example, Bates, 2015) and, yet, on the other, the everyday typically escapes easy articulation:

> The almost glacial movement of dust settling is too slow to watch, it's a constant drift of particles building up and becoming visible: however much you polish and vacuum its presence is relentless. The everyday is the accumulation of 'small things' that constitute a more expansive but hard to register 'big thing'. But like fissures in a stream of constancy the everyday is also punctured by interruptions and irruptions: a knock on the door, a stubbed toe, an argument, an unexpected present, a broken glass, a tear, a desperate embrace … It is a field of experience constantly in flux: I was calm but now I am anxious; I was happy but now I am sad; I was daydreaming but now I am just bored; I was frustrated but now I am indifferent (Highmore, 2010: 1).

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My phone beeps with a news item: a woman has been assaulted and murdered by a man claiming it was a 'sex game gone wrong'. My chest tightens with fear and anger and I quickly change my notification settings. A moment later, my phone beeps again: it is a friend sharing the success of their first counselling session, all excitement and emojis. I breathe a little and reply in kind.

It is a strange but perhaps hopeful paradox then that in each moment life is both made anew and the same. This realisation calls for a framework which holds the ambiguity and possibility of the moment, whilst also articulating how these moments, or 'small things', accumulate into 'big things', a 'grammar' for everyday life. It is just such a framework that this thesis attempts to realise, using the practice of scrapbooking to establish the grammar – or rather 'everyday scaffolding' – of sexual violence in the lives of the research's participants: twenty-three individual adults and one UK Rape Crisis centre with up to fifty staff, trustee and volunteer members.

In order to establish these scaffolds, this research asks how its participants – 'scrapbookers' – make sense of sexual violence; what discursive practices constitute sexual violence in their

everyday lives? By 'discursive practices', I mean situated ways in which knowledges are formed and acted; meaning-in-action, as it were. By 'constituting' sexual violence, I mean those practices which make sexual violence possible and intelligible, which establish a 'rape culture' in participants' lives.

However, rather than adopting a more customary approach to 'rape culture' – as 'cultural' activities and meanings distinct from but enabling 'rape' (for example, Johnson and Johnson, 2021) – this thesis is the first to connect a variety of everyday discursive practices into four specific scaffolds:

- Conflation & Marginalisation

- Spectacularisation

- Catching Out

- Weaponisation

Nevertheless, feminists have also long grappled with the need to make connections whilst maintaining meaningful distinctions (Boyle, 2019b; Vera-Gray, 2014). The concept of 'scaffolding' responds to this imperative, and the thesis builds on its uses in Nicola Gavey's (2019) work *Just Sex? The Cultural Scaffolding of Rape*. Indeed, Gavey (2019: x) uses the concept to describe how 'rape and (hetero)sexual coercion are made possible through normative gendered patterns, practices and cultural arrangements'.

In the years since the first edition of *Just Sex?* in 2005, 'cultural scaffolding' has become something of a popular and critical shorthand amongst feminist researchers (for example, Fileborn, Wadds and Tomsen, 2021; Smith, 2021). Indeed, in an article addressing concerns about women's safety following the recent UK murder of Sarah Everard, academic and activist Fiona Vera-Gray (2021) argues that 'individual actions make up the cultural scaffolding that supports violence against women'. Here then, 'cultural scaffolding' has entered the feminist toolbox as a way to 'register' the 'big thing' – to quote Ben Highmore on the everyday again – as being made up of everyday actions which are both conducive to sexual violence and sexual violence itself.

However, just as the concept of 'rape culture', for example, has served as a critical shorthand for identifying the social practices which normalise sexual violence (for example, Powell and Henry, 2014), so too has there been a backlash against the ways its use might emphasise

cultural factors rather than people's 'conscious decisions' (Rape, Abuse and Incest National Network, 2014; see also Dodge, 2016). Then again, many criticisms of 'rape culture' are thinly veiled constructions (and rejections) of a 'hysterical' feminism which regulates intimacy and celebrates victimhood (see, for example, McElroy, 2016; Gittos, 2015; Hoff Sommers, 2014). In fact, critics present this as a feminism going 'too far' in its attempt to end sexual violence (see also Fileborn and Phillips, 2019).

Nevertheless, this backlash against the idea of rape culture also speaks perhaps to a wider *feminist* feeling that whilst 'culture' is important to sexual violence, ascertaining precisely *how* is another matter and is one which might well detract attention from the urgency of 'actual' violence. Indeed, late twentieth century trends towards postmodernism and poststructuralism have been viewed with some trepidation by sexual violence researchers (see also Marcus, 1992), who fear that a focus on representations and constructions of 'truth' undermine recognition of the material reality of victim-survivor experiences. This thesis speaks back to this concern, drawing on the ideas of, amongst others, Karan Barad, Michel Foucault[1], Sharon Marcus and Nicola Gavey to argue against uncritical distinctions between, for example, materiality and discourse. It is precisely these divisions which leave the narrow question of how representations *cause* sexual violence unanswered and in circulation. It is precisely these divisions which artificially separate research practices from the 'culture' under 'observation'.

This thesis thus outlines and develops a wholly original onto/episte/methodology of scrapbooking, a research practice of saving, organising and sharing 'scraps' from everyday life. Just as the term scaffolding perhaps conjures up something loosely assembled but nevertheless sturdy, so too are 'scraps' used here to suggest ephemeral remnants of everyday life which can be organised into meaning. The task of this thesis then is much like the task of creating a scrapbook itself: scrapbookers and I piece together different fragments from different contexts into specific scaffolds. The same practice might be said to describe how literatures and paradigms have been used here to work with and make sense of participants' scrapbooks.

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[1]Michel Foucault's work has entered the sociological imagination and been developed to such an extent that it is possible to draw on 'Foucauldian' ideas without claiming to have read and agreed with every chapter of Foucault's own work. I make this point particularly here, owing to alleged sexual abuses perpetrated by Foucault in Tunisia which, along with extracted comments of his on children's sexualities, came to my attention in the last months of writing (Huijg, 2021).

In this sense then, the research is performative: it cut outs and creates 'the everyday' and 'sexual violence' as bounded phenomena. The methodological and writing style used thus emphasises the role of the research as itself a practice *organising* the scraps into four scaffolds (rather than 'finding' them as such). These four scaffolds are presented here primarily to aid readers in challenging the everyday practices which make sexual violence possible. Nevertheless, the organisation and ideas of this thesis have much to offer readers interested in onto-epistemology and feminist and queer knowledge production. Indeed, it works with a radical feminist tradition of bringing together practices from across contexts to better understand enabling 'strategies' and 'tactics' at work (Romito, 2008), a tradition which in many ways problematises an easy distinction between the empirical and theoretical. This thesis then is not only the first to establish the unique concepts of 'everyday scaffolding' and 'scrapbooking' but the first explicitly tackling 'rape culture' to *organise* itself performatively, namely as *active* in constituting these very scaffolds.

1.2. Background and context: The cultural constitution of sexual violence

Feminist scholars Anastasia Powell and Nicola Henry (2014) describe how a rise in primary prevention measures against sexual violence in recent years – shaped in part by feminist and public health models – are shifting attention from strategies for individual women to prevent the 'inevitability' of sexual violence to the possibility of changing the *cultural* causes of sexual violence. Amongst these cultural causes, the concept of 'rape myths' has gained traction as recognising the social patterns of stereotyped and prejudicial belief which shift the blame for sexual violence from perpetrators to their victims (Suarez and Gadalla, 2010). These myths have been identified in, for example, jury decision-making (Hildebrand and Najdowski, 2015; Temkin, 2010), the design of television shows (Custers and McNallie, 2016) and video games (Beck et al., 2012). Moreover, these myths are often posited as one of the 'building blocks of what radical feminists called a "rape culture"' (Gavey, 2019: 35).

Indeed, feminists have long organised around the idea[2] of a 'rape culture', a concept said to have emerged in the Global North in the 1970s[3] and has been reinvigorated today by the increased 'mediatisation of culture' (Ferreday, 2015) and younger feminists' experiences and

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[2]Literature reviews using 'rape culture' as a key term generate thousands of results. I focus here primarily on those which use 'rape culture' in their titles and abstracts (as this suggests their ideas and researches are structured largely around the concept).

[3]See Nickie D. Phillips (2017) for a more detailed history of the term 'rape culture', and its murky origins and emergence in 'collective imaginations'.

organising online (Keller, Mendes and Ringrose, 2018; Mendes, Ringrose and Keller, 2018; Rentschler, 2014). Certainly, the success of hashtag campaigns like MeToo are credited by some theorists with 'calling out rape culture' (Mendes, Ringrose and Keller, 2018: 244; see also Fileborn and Loney-Howes, 2019).

Much of this contemporary scholarship draws in part on earlier definitions of 'rape culture' associated with the popular *Rape Culture* documentary (Lazarus and Wunderlich, 1975) and edited collection *Transforming a Rape Culture* (Buchwald, Fletcher and Roth, 2005). Here, rape culture is established as a 'complex of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women' (Buchwald, Fletcher and Roth, 2005: xi). Subsequent work also builds in and draws attention to, for example, the role of 'rape jokes' (Bates, 2014), expectations of women's sexual passivity and purity (Valenti, 2008), practices obscuring abusers (Adur and Jha, 2018), or turning sexual violence into a 'spectacle of suffering' (Loney-Howes, 2015). These literatures vary somewhat as to whether 'rape culture' is intended as an 'umbrella' term for a range of relevant practices (for example, Adur and Jha, 2018), or as a reality alongside and working in tandem with, for example, harassment and misogyny (for example, Mendes, Ringrose and Keller, 2018). Despite these variations – or perhaps precisely because of its variable potential – the concept and its 'pejorative' shorthand use (Powell and Henry, 2014) amongst feminists appears productive in highlighting and organising both ideas and action against the cultural conditions of sexual violence. Indeed, the concept of rape culture is enormously popular across publishing contexts (Phillips, 2017), with much work on the subject informed by lived experience of both rape and rape culture (Abdulali, 2018; Harding, 2015), or bringing together survivors to provide personal accounts or 'dispatches' on the subject (Gay, 2018).

Indeed, perhaps some of the most interesting uses of the term focus on people's own identification and experience of 'rape culture', with Sophie Sills and colleagues (2016: 940) finding that for their participants in a New Zealand study it comes to mean living within a 'matrix of sexism' or with a 'blanket of sexism'. Likewise, Amira Proweller, Beth Catlett and Sonya Crabtree-Nelson (2020: 1) found that the girls in their participatory study in Chicago welcomed a framework to articulate pressures to be the 'perfect Jewish girl' and to 'connect all these ideas to this culture' (2020: 8). Certainly, the remarkable take-up of the language of rape culture among younger people is noted by numerous scholars, with Carrie A. Rentschler (2014: 68), for example, highlighting how popular blogs, feminist *Tumblr* accounts, and mobile media responses to street harassment 're-deploy rape culture as a key term of feminist

anti-rape activism which also gives conceptual form to disparate younger feminists' social media practices'. Most recently, a website 'Everyone's Invited' has been credited with identifying a 'rape culture' in UK primary and secondary schools (BBC, 2021).

University contexts have also become key sites for the development and deployment of work on 'rape culture', owing in part to rising concerns about the level of sexual violence and sexism on campuses (see Lewis, Marine and Kenney, 2018). For example, Ann Burnett and colleagues (2009) examine how a rape culture is created and perpetuated on one college campus in the US, exploring individual frames of reference, interpersonal/situational contexts of date rape and its immediate context. A similarly in-depth exploration of the campus conditions conducive to sexual violence comes from A. Ayres Boswell and Joan Z. Spade (1996). They draw on observations and interviews to compare the interactions of men and women at fraternities identified as dangerous with those identified as safer. Boswell and Spade (1996: 137) find, for example, that alcohol consumption is key to a fraternity 'rape culture' and that house parties with 'skewed gender ratios', little mixed interactions until late in the evening and no opportunities for talking and sitting together are conducive to sexual violence. Based on student reports that college men in these houses are more likely to abuse women they do not know, Boswell and Spade (1996: 144) make suggestions of 'simple changes' to provide opportunities for men to interact with women in meaningful ways: turning down music and providing seats, for example. These literatures, from the phenomenological to the ethnographic, represent interesting attempts to locate 'rape culture' or 'cultures' *in specific spaces and times*. Indeed, for all the concern that 'rape culture' denotes the immoveable monolith of all women as victimised by all men (Ellis 1989), Boswell and Spade suggest micro material interventions to establish space differently in their move beyond a research focus on simply 'human' decision-making.

However, other approaches to rape culture argue for the need for a shared and 'consistent quantification of rape culture [otherwise] limited conclusions can be drawn about the existence and in turn eradication of such a culture' (Johnson and Johnson, 2021: 71). Whilst there is real merit in this literature's attempt to outline the key components of a rape culture model through people's perceptions of what their peers believe, a universalising and unifying model of rape culture is highly problematic (see Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017 for a similar argument regarding street harassment).

Certainly, in attempting to establish the reality of a US rape culture, Nicole L. Johnson and Dawn M. Johnson (2021) run the risk of reifying coherent distinctions between nation states and between sexual violence and other practices. Indeed, Vrushali Patil and Bandana Purkayastha (2018: 1967) explore how an 'Indian rape culture', established through news reporting of a rape in Delhi in 2012, is actually assembled with the British Raj's idea in the 1800s of Indian men as sexually savage and in need of subduing:

> At each moment of becoming, Global north voices and materializations are predominant in shaping and circulating the notion of Indian rape culture, while India-based voices in all their diversity are marginalized. In short, "Indian rape culture" is an allegory for power-laden transnational and colonialist constructions of knowledge more generally.

Evidently, knowledge production around the idea of 'rape culture' is geopolitically shaped and contentious, and many of its popular uses adopt uncritical and totalising definitions of 'culture' itself. Certainly, defining 'the cultural' more generally is complex (see, Butler, 1998 and Fraser, 1998 for an interesting debate); for example, whether it is taken as 'universally constitutive of social relations and identities' (Nash, 2001: 77) or as *distinct* from 'the social' (Jackson, 2001) and super-seceding it as part of a 'decorative sociology' (Rojek and Turner, 2000). Whilst there is not the space here to do these debates their full justice, Patil and Purkayastha's (2018) research signals the issue with ahistoric work on culture focused on difference. Similarly, Phillips (2017) charts the significance of apparently *subcultural* misogynistic gaming and comic book 'geek spaces' which are increasingly shaping wider rape culture.

Scholars also note an issue here with separating 'rape culture' from other processes and practices, what bell hooks (2000) sees as a tendency to separate sexual violence from a broader 'culture of violence'. Audrey Miller's (2019) work, one of a limited number applying intersectionality theory to ideas of rape culture, calls for increased attention to the relationship between structural racism and rape culture. Indeed, Miller argues that, despite its ubiquity, there has been limited research attention to the 'myth of the black rapist' (see, also Patton and Snyder-Yuly, 2007; Moorti, 2002; Davis, 1983). Miller finds that increased culpability is attributed to 'White, Hispanic or Black women'[4] when they are raped by a

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[4] I present the terms used in Miller's study to identify participants and people in the hypothetical scenarios as these no doubt shape how the rapists and victims are perceived. It is, however, important to note that the term 'Hispanic' has been met with great reservation and concern (Cruz, 2018).

Black man, because, the reasoning goes, 'she should have known better than to fraternize with a black man'. Furthermore, Saida Grundy (2021) locates race as a 'critical context for rape culture', tending to the omissions in work by, for example, Boswell and Spade, through exploring black men's masculinities at a college. Indeed, Grundy (2021: 244) describes the men as hyper-conscious of white projections about black criminality and sexuality, whilst also noting that:

> The propagandized belief that Black men are "losing ground" to Black women in education and employment stokes masculine anxieties about intra-racial competition with Black women. Sexual dominance over Black female coeds provides a means of compensating for the racial and masculine anxieties that are provoked by being bested by them.

Whilst it may be a valuable strategy then to focus on 'sexism' for research on rape culture, work like that by Miller and Grundy highlights how research practices themselves draw boundaries around what counts as relevant. Is not, for example, the marketisation of higher education integral here to rape culture, or, indeed, neoliberalism and colonisation? Of course, boundary-making is critical to and inevitable in research (Barad, 2003), but there is room for experimenting with different and perhaps broader boundaries.

It is here then that this research picks up, through attention to 'what counts' in the everyday lives of its participants: twenty-three adults and one UK Rape Crisis centre with up to fifty staff, trustee and volunteer members. Following their lives over a period of time and creating contexts for documenting multi-media and multi-sensorial configurations opens up the idea of 'rape culture' to the banal, the one-off, the regular, the racialised, the queer. Indeed, it is precisely in its attention to the everyday, that scrapbooking might be said to speak to Eve Sedgwick's (1993: 8) classic treatise on the definitions and uses of 'queer':

> The open mesh of possibilities, gaps, overlaps, dissonances and resonances, lapses and excesses of meaning when the constituent elements of anyone's gender, of anyone's sexuality aren't made (or can't be made) to signify monolithically.

'Queer' is thus used here as a destabilising tool to look at ideas of 'culture' and 'sex' differently and deconstructively. This is not the 'queer' presented as an 'answer' to a 'retrograde' and 'banal' feminism (particularly lesbian feminism) which has concerned many feminists (for example, Walters, 1996). It is, rather, a working with what Stevi Jackson (2001: 290) sees as the need to 'address both heteronormativity and male dominance' for

fruitful critique, or a working with Gloria E. Anzaldúa's (1987) borderlands where apparently distinct and binary ethnic and sexual cultures meet.

Interestingly, however, there is also limited attention to LGBTQIA+[5] people and their experiences in the aforementioned literatures,[6] with, for example, Boswell and Spade (1996) taking it for granted that the students observed are cisgendered and heterosexual, or Burnett et al. (2009: 482) omitting attention to what they call 'same sex rape culture'. Whilst LGBTQIA+ people report high levels of sexual violence (Fileborn, 2012), Samuel Z. Shelton (2018: 39) identifies their absence in much sexual violence research as 'narratives of disposability', in which some people's accounts of sexual and/or domestic violence are deemed 'reasonable' to leave behind in anti-violence movements. What this thesis argues is that these experiences matter not only in, of and for themselves but also, specifically, for any understanding of the cultural constitution of sexual violence. Interestingly, in the latest edition of *Just Sex?* Gavey (2019) advances the 'myth of masculinity' as a critical framework for understanding not only the problems of normative heterosex but also sexual violence against LGBTQIA+ people.

Whilst omissions or even 'disposals' of LGBTQIA+ experience might be pragmatic to each project, cumulatively they might be said to reproduce the very binary positions of gender and victim/perpetrator which their rape culture requires. To understand this idea of positions, Sharon Marcus' (1992: 390) work on 'rape scripts' can be brought in to address how sexual violence exists as 'a series of steps and signals'. For instance, Marcus (1992: 393) notes 'culture's techniques of feminization' which encourage women's passivity before and during a rape attempt, techniques which make drawing on physical strength unavailable to women in moments of violence. Marcus' point that 'rape scripts' shape women into rape-able and men into rape-capable subject positions which are neither natural nor inevitable is echoed in a variety of works, some of which extend the idea of scripts to disclosing sexual violence (for example, Loney-Howes, 2018) or pornography (for example, Vera-Gray et al., 2021). Limited attention has been paid to how 'rape scripts' are situated by and situate LGBTQIA+ people, other than perhaps the expected finding that 'typical scripts' – sexual violence as

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[5] Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer, Intersex, Asexual + more

[6] Interestingly, one of the few results of a Google Scholar title search for 'queer' and 'rape culture' was a paper published as part of the infamous 'Grievance Studies Affair' (Lagerspetz, 2021) where three authors produced bogus materials between 2017-2018 to highlight 'poor' scholarship. Whilst their hoax was subsequently used to suggest a left-wing academia 'gone too far', in reality these 'buzzwords' and even paradigms do not appear to be 'natural' companions in the gender studies field that the authors were so keen to expose. Moreover, coalition-building between particular right-wing and feminist groups around the issue of a trans-inclusive gender politics (see Olufemi, 2020; Phipps, 2020) questions the notion of 'gender studies' as a wholly 'left-wing' endeavour.

something done by cis heterosexual men to cis heterosexual women – shape how advocates approach experiences 'outside' these scripts (Mortimer, Powell and Sandy, 2019).

Interestingly, feminists call for counter-stereotypic stories (Gavey, 2019) and interventions in 'violent discourse' (Ferreday, 2015), that challenge women as always already raped and men already rape-capable. I argue here that these interventions are possible through attending to queerness and to gender in everyday life; that is, drawing wider and more flexible boundaries around what counts as relevant 'stories', 'experiences' and 'discourses'. Similarly, in research on how knowledges are created that make sexual violence possible and intelligible there is a real dearth of attention to feminist knowledges and anti-sexual violence work. For example, Burnett et al. (2009) do not involve the active women's centre on the campus they study, despite noting its importance and attempting to map a multi-layered 'rape culture'. Such conceptualisations may struggle to thus account for change because their boundaries have been so drawn that 'rape culture' becomes the very thing it identifies: an unalterable structure bearing down.

However, feminists attend to the issue of resistance to power and oppression with great trepidation, not least because ideas of agency and choice have been greatly oversold in recent years of feminist work (see, Gavey, 2019; Bordo, 1997). In adopting an everyday feminist approach, which is both performative and queer, it may be possible to argue that the need to 'theorise agency' or 'theorise resistance' only *becomes* so pressing where power is so totally accounted for. An approach to rape culture which works with the idea of the everyday necessarily challenges this.

1.3. Going forward: The aims of the study

Actually conceptualising the everyday itself is not easy. For Highmore (2002: 16), 'it offers itself up as ... a paradox: the ordinary and extraordinary, self-evident and opaque, known and unknown, obvious and enigmatic'. Highmore goes on to suggest that attention might therefore be better focused on *what the everyday can do* for research. Feminist research from the 1960s onwards shows how integral the everyday is to both identifying oppression and generating new political forms (see, for example, Stanko, 1990; 1985; Kelly, 1988; Wise and Stanley, 1987). It is a site for challenging theoretical dualisms, as, whilst the everyday 'reverberates' with power (Lefebvre, 2014), it is hardly the place for simply reproducing dominant social relations. It might thus be useful to adopt Piotr Sztompka's (2008: 8-9) claim

that the 'the extremely rich visual, externally observable face of everyday life provides a strategic research resource for … unravel[ing] the secrets of social existence'.

This research therefore takes as its 'strategic' research site *the everyday* lives of people with unwanted sexual experiences and a Rape Crisis centre charged with responding to this issue. This research thus begins with an open question of how scrapbookers make sense of sexual violence in everyday life, finding that, in order to this topic justice, sense-making must be seen to involve varied discursive practices and more than just the 'human'.

The aims of this study then are multiple:

- Firstly, it aims to outline the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence as comprised of those discursive practices which constitute sexual violence in the lives of its scrapbookers. It does so in order to name and change sexual violence, advancing specific concepts of 'Conflation and Marginalisation', 'Spectacularisation', 'Catching Out' and 'Weaponisation' as tools for doing so.

- Secondly, this study outlines and develops an onto/episte/methodology of scrapbooking as a performative research practice. Scrapbooking is also established here as a useful and potentially consciousness-raising and therapeutic process which integrates transformative research goals into research methodologies.

- Thirdly, the project aims to explore discursive practices as an alternative to limited distinctions between the material and discursive. Indeed, in so doing, it will be of interest to a range of scholars, and aims to inform ongoing and specifically Foucauldian, Baradian, Poststructuralist and/or Feminist New Materialist analyses of discursive practices and also performativity.

- Fourthly, it explores definitions and applications of sexual violence and its relationship to gender, finding ways in which to honour both the specifically feminist and woman-centred origins of much literature and epistemologies, and also the queer potential of others.

- Finally, but no less importantly, this study aims to do justice to the time, trust, effort and engagement of its many participants, showing that is possible to centre participants' needs and experiences whilst highlighting the role of research as itself a performative practice: namely, constituting culture itself.

1.4. Outline of the thesis

The following chapter *Theoretical Foundations I: Situating Sexual Violence* begins by exploring contested definitions and applications of sex, gender, violence and culture. This chapter is followed by *Theoretical Foundations II: Scrapbooking the Everyday Scaffolding of Sexual Violence* which outlines the thesis key concepts of 'discursive practices', 'everyday scaffolding' and 'scrapbooking'. The conclusion of this chapter leads appropriately into another, *Scrapbooking: Design and Application*, which focuses more on the methodological design and application of scrapbooking and on establishing who the scrapbookers are.

The thesis' first Scaffolding chapter, *Conflation and Marginalisation*, explores the relational discursive practices of both conflating and separating sexual violence from other, often contentious, matters. The next chapter addresses the *Spectacularisation* of sexual violence, as discursive practices which establish sexual violence as a dramatic and audience-centred event. Following this, the chapter *Catching Out*, highlights the imperative for and activities of uncovering the 'truth' of someone or something, whilst the final chapter *Weaponisation* sees sexual violence being used as means towards particular ends.

In the thesis' overall *Conclusion* chapter, these four scaffolds are brought together to speak back to the literatures outlined in the thesis. In so doing, the chapter identifies areas for future research and makes suggestions as to how these everyday scaffolds might be destabilised. Following this chapter, the remaining parts of the thesis are ordered by *References* then *Appendices*. The *Appendices* chapter presents the information, support and consent sheets provided to participants, along with a list of scenarios used for a group activity with Rape Crisis.

Chapter 2. Theoretical Foundations I: Situating Sexual Violence

2.1. Introduction

Whilst the opening chapter situates this study within knowledge production of 'rape culture', this chapter introduces the reader to debates around sex, violence and gender. It does so in order to establish the role that an everyday scaffolding and scrapbooking approach can play not only in exploring sexual violence sense-making, but also in addressing some relevant contentious areas. The first section defines and debates the 'sexual' in sexual violence, as it were; this is followed by an exploration in part two of definitions around 'violence'.

2.2. Approaching the 'sexual' in sexual violence

Varying and ambiguous uses of 'sexual' and 'gender' throughout literatures on the subject of sexual violence highlight the primacy given to sexual violence as men's violence against women. Grappling with these uses and related paradigms is critical for any research concerned with how sexual violence becomes possible and, also, intelligible.

2.2.1. Approaching the 'sexual' in sexual violence: Unwanted sexual experiences and/or men's violence against women?

Using the definition offered by Rape Crisis England and Wales (2021) to people navigating their resources, sexual violence can be understood as 'any unwanted sexual act or activity'. It thus differs from concepts like rape, sexual harassment and sexual assault by its potential here as an umbrella and non-legal term. In particular, it centres the unwanted and sexual nature of the violence, rather than perhaps particular practices, persons and places.

In so doing, it might be said to lend itself to the exploration of *connections* between these particularities. One way of understanding these connections is Liz Kelly's (2012; 1988; 1987) enduring idea of an experiential 'continuum of sexual violence'. Kelly's (2012: xviii, see also 1988; 1987) continuum offers a critical 'dual definition': a 'common character' underlies and connects different events of sexual violence but these events (and the categories used to describe them) also 'shade into and out of one another' and cannot be easily differentiated. Therefore, the term sexual violence might be used not only to encompass its different forms

but also perhaps to denote their common character and interrelationships. Certain literatures establish this 'common character' as being men's use of violence to maintain power over women (see, for example, Phoenix, 2011).

Indeed, Kelly's (1988: 41) continuum approaches sexual violence specifically as *men's violence against women and girls*, including:

> Any physical, visual, verbal or sexual act that is experienced by the woman or girl, at the time or later, as a threat, invasion or assault, that has the effect of hurting her or degrading her and/or takes away her ability to control intimate contact.

Here then, forms of unwanted sexual activity are connected not only to each other but also, for example, to 'non-sexual' threats or assaults. Certainly, as this thesis will address, making sense of sexual violence often means making sense of interpersonal violence more broadly.

Moreover, as Kelly's definition suggests, sexual violence has a long and important history referring specifically to men's violence against women and girls (MVAWG or VAWG[7]) in its numerous forms. In many senses, this usage reflects applications of 'sex' and 'gender' to varying levels of differentiation throughout feminisms' different waves.[8] Likewise, it responds urgently, of course, to what feminists have identified (and continue to identify) as an 'epidemic' of violence against women (Kelly, 1988: 5, see also Valenti, 2014). Nevertheless, the naturalness with which sexual violence is taken to mean both men's violation of women and violation of a sexual nature is important to explore.

There is certainly great 'linguistic confusion' concerning words like sexual or sex, which according to Jackson (1999: 6), 'slip and slide between gendered and erotic meanings'. For example, 'sex' might refer to distinctions between genitalia or to erotic activities, whilst 'sexual' might refer to distinctions between people (i.e. those of a 'sexual nature'), bodily zones or the erotic nature of activities engaged in. This ambiguity is not accidental, but 'tells us something about the male dominated and heterosexually ordered culture in which we live' (Jackson, 1999: 6). This conflation creates a seemingly natural connection between bodily parts and distinctions and sexual activities and desires, a conflation arguably evident where people tackling abusive sexual experiences rely on assumptions about what people might do

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[7] Much of this chapter addresses violence by and against adults, but I maintain the acronyms VAWG and MVAWG (which include girls) to reflect particular paradigms and approaches. Sadly, there is not the space here to do justice to the nuances of childhood and is relationship to adulthood in the context of violence.

[8] See Anne Fausto-Sterling (2000) and also Ann Oakley (2015) for histories of these terms. It should also be noted that scholars increasingly query the reduction of multiple and diverse practices and political positions into the idea of single 'waves' (see, for example, Evans, 2015; Lewis & Marine, 2015).

together *consensually* (see, for example, Mortimer, Powell and Sandy, 2019). Attention to peoples' own desires and experiences in everyday life helps to challenge these assumptions.

So where Sandra Walklate and Jennifer Brown (2012: 153) argue in their *Handbook on Sexual Violence* that, 'whilst sexual violence has been sexed, it remains to be truly gendered', it might be argued that neither is always particularly clear. Much can therefore be gained from close attention to terminological and conceptual debates around the sexing and gendering of sexual violence. This proves particularly important for this research, which engages with diverse adults making sense of sexual violence, and also workers at one Rape Crisis centre. Indeed, existing research on Rape Crisis centres highlights how their practices are rooted in a social movement birthed in the 1970s and struggling to have sexual violence taken seriously as a gendered issue (see, for example, Vera-Gray, 2020; Campbell, Baker, Mazurek, 1998).

Since the 1970s, feminist research and activism has increasingly documented the nature and extent of MVAWG. In early feminist texts, women's subjection to violence was posited as being too everyday to be easily addressed (Kelly, 1988; Stanko, 1985). The ubiquity and ordinariness of MVAWG arguably rendered it hidden from perception and articulation, with Deirdre Davis (1993), for example, describing the daily harassment experienced by African American women in the 1990s as the 'harm that has no name'. Ongoing scholarship attempts to bring men's violences and women's experiences into language and provide vital theoretical frameworks within which to act in the interests of women and justice. Aisha K. Gill's (2011) work on 'honour-based' violence and Claire McGlynn, Erika Rackley and Ruth Houghton's (2017) campaign to recognise 'image-based sexual abuse' are just two of many contemporary examples.

The significance of naming and framing MVAWG, is evident where feminist consciousness-raising and claims-making have aided the criminalisation of, for example, marital rape (for, example, Hasday, 2000) and domestic violence (for example, Dixon, 2014; British Library, 2013) in many countries across the world, and also been influential in the setting up of much support and service-provision (for example, Jones and Cook, 2008). In spite of such developments – many of which are currently under threat – scholars note the limitations of criminalisation (and the harms of incarceration[9]). The translation of women's and girls'

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[9] See resources organised by Mariame Kaba (https://transformharm.org/) and work by Elizabeth Bernstein (2010; 2012) for the harms of incarceration and for critiques of 'carceral feminisms' which treat imprisonment and a law-and-order approach as the primary answer to sexual violence.

experiences into categories of criminal offence is arguably, as Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (1999: 172) once said of human rights, something 'we cannot not want'. Nevertheless, to 'inhabit this rational abstraction' (Spivak, 1999: 172) is to limit the conversation to a particular set of discourses. This research pays attention to these limitations.

Certainly, two outcomes of these processes of claims-making and criminalisation are that attention to everyday and routine experiences of MVAWG fall off research agendas (see, for example, Kelly, 2012), whilst critical models for defining MVAWG also become models or 'public stories' by which other forms of interpersonal violence are understood (Donovan and Hester, 2010; see also Skelton, 2018). Questions must inevitably emerge about the applicability of these models: for example, to what extent can diverse people's experiences of unwanted sexual activities relate to MVAWG and share with it a 'common character' around which to organise and intervene? Research suggests that all too often practitioners conceiving of domestic violence as a problem principally of gender – or, more specifically, 'heterosexual masculinity' – adopt simplistic discourses of either 'sameness' or 'difference' when considering LGB and/or T perpetrators (Donovan and Barnes, 2019).

Throughout this section then, I will attempt to address some of these questions and their implications for sexual violence research. I do so primarily to argue that attention to meaning-making in everyday life is critical for addressing ideas of sameness and difference, not just in how people move through and establish space but also in opening up sexual violence to different constitutions in different contexts. In fact, it is precisely because everyday situations confuse easy distinctions and reifications that any attempt to address a 'rape culture' – especially one that recognises its particular harms for women and girls – might do well to draw on a variety of people, practices and places involved in constituting it.

2.2.2. Addressing the 'sexual' in sexual violence: Conflicts and compromises

Firstly then, Sylvia Walby et al. (2017: 470) outline criticisms of 'the framework of violence against women', suggesting that it:

> Omits men who might be subject to violence in gender-saturated contexts … [and] the focus on women rather than gender tends to essentialise the categories of women and men.

Whilst there is some value in considering these claims, I want to take a slightly circuitous route in addressing them, beginning with the fallacy that much feminist work, by focusing on men's violence against women, does not, for example, care about men's experiences of victimisation. Indeed, the Coalition of Feminists for Social Change (2017: 6) point out that:

> [Gender-based violence] actors and activists who speak about VAWG in any space are asked increasingly to also speak about violence against men and boys. If they do not, what they say about VAWG is invalidated.

Periodically, papers are indeed published to imply that the 'feminist paradigm' – note the singular and monolithic use of 'feminist' and 'paradigm' – is dangerous in its inability to account for men's victimisation by women (see, for example, Dutton and Nicholls, 2005). Satu Venäläinen (2020: 484) identifies this argument in specific online forums and within broader meaning-making processes that discredit feminist epistemologies through their construction as 'inherently incapable of incorporating and making sense of [intimate partner violence] committed by women and experienced by men'.

Men's experiences of victimisation are of course critical to consider. Indeed, the recent case of Reynhard Sinaga, who targeted up to 200 men (as known so far) in the UK (Pidd and Halliday, 2020), raises questions about the public's and professionals' capacity to recognise and address men's sexual violence against other men. However, it is possible to act on a concern for men's victimisation, whether by men or others, whilst also recognising the way in which 'men as victims' can act as a discursive tactic to silence feminist activism (see, for example, Dragiewizc, 2011).

In a similar vein, US scholars have highlighted how public awareness of sexual violence takes the form of a history of attention to the 'threat' that black men pose to white women's sexuality and the justification then of lynching (Moorti, 2002). This 'threat', cemented during slavery and the post-reconstruction era, endures today, with research finding public belief in the higher propensity of black men to rape (Miller, 2019) and the attitude of justice-seekers, aptly epitomised in Tracey Owens Patton and Julie Snyder-Yuly's (2007) analysis of a trial 'Any Four Black Men Will Do'. Indeed, feminists (for example, Phipps, 2021; Olufemi, 2020; Crenshaw, 1991; Amos and Parmar, 1984) note that protecting white women remains at the forefront of many agendas to tackle sexual violence – from mainstream feminism to the resurgent right – which legitimise oppressive systems. I bring these works on men as victims and racism together here to establish the necessity of combining a concern for addressing

sexual violence and victim-survivor needs with attention to the complex consequences of doing so.

Certainly, attention to men's violence against women and girls does not ontologically preclude men and boys from the possibility of victimisation and is not necessarily a 'parenthetical suggestion that gender might be understood as equivalent to "female or male"' (Butler, 1994: 2). In many cases of both research and activism this suggestion is of course less parenthetical and more actual, though this is not specific to work on violence and abuse (or even perhaps feminist research). However, despite considerable emphasis on understanding situation and social change in feminist and social science research on gender, surprisingly little work has addressed the emergence[10] of non-binary and/or genderqueer people and communities. Other researchers have been explicit in their rejection of, for example, uses of 'non-binary' to describe people (see, for example, Saxby, 2016).

That is not to suggest that MVAWG research and activism *need* to directly address the experiences of non-binary and/or genderqueer people, according to the same logic perhaps that researchers and service-providers addressing MVAWG should not necessarily be expected to address women's violence against men. However, much might be gained from doing so, not least because of increasing awareness of people identifying as *both* non-binary and women (see, for example, Weiss, 2018) and the increasing demarcation and description of spaces as being for, for example, 'women and non-binary folk' or people 'from marginalised genders' (see, for example, Gal-dem, 2021). Evidently, there are important intersectional questions to be asked here about the 'levels' at which gender concepts are employed and also about the grounds on which solidarity and shared experience are constituted. Certainly, recent research on sexual violence against women and non-binary folk within activist circles in the UK Left suggests shared and subordinated positions in certain settings (Downes, 2017).

Interestingly, there is however a 'naturalness' with which certain omissions can occur and with which terms and tools are used that may indeed constitute parenthetical suggestions and particular forms of meaning-making. Patricia Romito (2008), for example, writes about the need to specify that it is *men's* violence against women, rather than adopting the VAWG

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[10] Languages for varied genders and gendered forms of expression have long been in existence across the world (see Vincent and Manzano 2018 for an overview). However, 'emergence' here refers specifically to *increasing* resource-mobilisation and claims-making in Global North contexts especially, and to an increasing *awareness* of, for example, non-binary, genderqueer and agender folk in popular contexts (see Richards, Bouman and barker, 2018).

label.[11] Romito does so primarily to argue that men's actions need to be held to account. I would also perhaps add that these omissions contribute to the 'naturalness' or 'complementary nature' with which one is meant to think of (cis heterosexual) men (as perpetrators) when one thinks of (cis heterosexual) women (particularly as victims) and vice versa.

'Masculinity' and 'femininity' are often addressed as complementary positions, treated as distinct from but nonetheless tied to men and women respectively. As the work of Catherine Donovan and Rebecca Barnes (2019) cited earlier intimates, 'heterosexual masculinity' is often what domestic violence practitioners mean when they identify the socio-cultural causes of men's violence against women. This is also true of much literature citing rape culture 'as a socio-cultural context in which an aggressive male sexuality is eroticized and seen as a 'healthy', 'normal' and 'desired' part of sexual relations' (Keller, Mendes and Ringrose, 2018: 23). Whilst such literature may also highlight women's passivity as part of this norm (for example, Sills et al., 2016), an extensive range of terms are emerging to identify 'violent masculinity', 'laddism' (Lewis, Marine and Kenney, 2018) or 'toxic masculinity' (Proweller, Catlett and Crabtree-Nelson, 2020).

Such ideas of masculinity are certainly popular for explaining sexual violence, which is both productive and yet also, in some ways, problematic. On the one hand, masculinity provides a language for articulating power and identifying what norms exist in what places, challenging enduring ideas of 'men' as essentially and universally aggressive. For example, Matthew C. Gutmann's (1996) classic ethnography in Mexico City identifies different patterns of working-class masculinity which conflict with changing cultural and nationalist ideals of Mexican 'machismo'. Likewise, and more specific to sexual violence, Gavey (2019; 249) draws on work by Debra Bergoffen (2012; 2014) to advance a 'myth of masculinity' or rather masculine *invulnerability* that offers a useful conceptual gap between cultural fantasies and specific men's experiences and behaviours.

On the other hand, where masculinity is applied loosely to mean that 'masculinities … concern the position of men in the gender order' (Connell, 2016b), the term can become an

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[11] The point here is not to argue against the use of 'VAWG', but rather to locate its use in meaning-making. Indeed, Karen Boyle (2019) provides interesting and important defences of the framework. Moreover, it is important to avoid criticisms of terms dependent on their being abstracted from contexts and paradigms and interpreted somewhat literally. Indeed, Nicole Westmarland (2015: xvi) includes, for example, forced marriage, and female genital mutilation as practices of men's violences, understanding them as 'acts by women [. . .] used to uphold men's privilege and support women's inequality'. These are literal acts, as it were, by women, which it is also helpful to understand in terms of MVAWG.

'empty signifier' for anything associated with men (Howson, 2009) whose 'natural' relationship to or 'ownership' of masculinity is reified (Holter, 2003; 1997).[12] Jeff Hearn suggests that certain focuses on masculinity risk re-naturalising the social category of 'men' and invisiblising what men do in the context of violence (2014; 2012; 2004). Moreover, Hearn (2004: 58) asks:

> Are we talking about cultural representations, everyday practices or institutional structures? … why is it necessary to hang on to the concept of masculinity rather than, say, men's practices.

A whole thesis could of course be dedicated to understanding masculinity in relation to sexual violence. I highlight work on masculinity briefly here, to note first its popular and varying uses in the context of meaning-making about violence and rape culture, second, its potential to naturalise the idea of 'men' and, finally, the ambiguity around its application, whether to structures, practice, gaps and/or representations, for example. Whilst much criticism of work on masculinity could be read as a reaction against paradigms which centre 'representations' more than 'materiality', it is possible to combine these focuses, or rather, to recognise them as something of a false binary (Hearn, 2014; 2012; Marcus, 1992). Later in this thesis, I will argue that adopting the framework of discursive practices and scaffolding offers some critical synthesis and compromise.

Certainly, if these different uses of 'masculinity' are anything to go by, there are numerous possible approaches to conceptualising gender. For example, Judith Butler's (1990: 43) notion of gender as a 'set of repeated acts' which become stylised into the appearance of coherence can be compared with Iris Marion Young's (2005: 22) conceptualisation of gender as 'a particular form of social positioning of lived bodies in relation to one another within historically and socially specific institutions and processes'. Interestingly, Barbara J. Risman's (2004: 434) argues against 'theory slaying' in pursuit of a perfect and often simplistic mono-causal theory of gender and notes that most theories – whether, for example, individual or structuralist – still make some assumptions about other 'layers' of society.

It might be possible to draw on this idea and argue that even within a single piece of research, qualitative researchers often adopt a processual approach to gender, employing 'gender' at

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[12] Popular definitions struggle to account for 'masculinity' or transmasculinity in, about or for anyone other than cisgender men (see bklyn boihood collective, 2016; Heinz, 2016 for alternatives). Likewise, in 'reformulating' potentially useful parts of classic masculinity theories (i.e. that of 'hegemonic masculinity'), Raewyn Connell and James Messerschmitt (2005) continue to overlook women and to rely on implicit binaries of female/male and masculine/feminine, with only brief allusions to women adopting 'masculine' behaviours.

various levels and in different ways throughout a study. Sexual violence researchers may rely on people recognising themselves in and responding to participant recruitment materials as, for example, 'women', with researchers making subsequent inferences about and abstracting 'gender' from what they do or what they say. Even within what some participants 'say', gender may be articulated on multiple 'levels'. For example, in women's talk, 'men' might signify something insidious and even structural, to and from which the presentational cues used to identify and discuss specific individual men are both connected and removed (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2019).

This research is therefore interested in varied 'historically and socially specific' articulations of gendered sexual violence experience and the possibility of making knowledges on their subject work both pluralistically and for an understanding of MVAWG. Indeed, perhaps an unintended outcome of the necessary feminist significance given to people 'speaking for themselves' in research (Alcoff, 2009) is the idea that one's experience can only 'speak' for those of one's 'own gender' which contributes to the 'border wars' (Mackay, 2019; Halberstam, 1998) over who belongs where and can 'speak' on what. This study adopts a less monolithic but no less ethical approach to the research process.

2.3. Approaching the 'violence' in sexual violence

Just as establishing the 'sexual' in sexual violence research proves complex, so too does defining and approaching the term 'violence'. This section explores this complexity, demonstrating the significance of 'continuum-thinking' and 'the everyday' for grappling with the subject.

2.3.1. Approaching 'violence': Unwanted, intrusive and agentic

In the definition provided by Rape Crisis England and Wales with which this chapter opened, sexual violence as *unwanted* sexual experience centres victim-survivors' perceptions of what activities are welcomed and when. Accessible approaches are also evident in feminist research, where, for example, in their survey assessing changes in domestic violence, Kelly and Westmarland (2015: 18) provide the indicator 'made you do something sexual that you did not want to do'. These definitions not only include experiences which people may be unable or reluctant to frame as violence but perhaps also act in a consciousness-raising

capacity, by positioning sexual experiences as something that it is *possible* to not want. Research has certainly noted the normative expectation that women in relationships with men treat men's sexual wants as their own, whilst for men sex is posited as something *never not wanted* (see, for example, Gavey, 2019).

Despite this need for recognising situated and gendered rather than totalising approaches to sexual violence, there is nonetheless a wider – and legally enshrined – tendency to centre the *lack of consent* in approaches to, for example, rape or sexual assault. On the one hand, this perhaps represents a historic move away from the previous idea that men in the US, for example, might do what they like with their wives who are to all intents their property (Hasday, 2000), or that physical force and resistance are always necessary to evidence assault in Australia (see, Burgin (2019) for how this idea is still drawn upon). However, on the other hand, it fails of course to capture the range of practices, experiences, contexts and harms that sexual violence encompasses.

Alternatively, Vera-Gray (2016a: 15) backs:

> A return to the way [men's] practices were conceptualised in early work on violence against women – as intrusions [a term here] to refer to the deliberate act of putting oneself into a place or situation where one is uninvited, with disruptive effect.

Vera-Gray's (2016b: 6) work articulates the 'phenomenological texture' of fifty women's experiences of intrusion by unknown men in public space, intrusions including verbal interruptions, flashing and 'the gaze'. Vera-Gray (2016b: 64) argues that these create 'particular habitual dispositions for women' who anticipate and respond to these on a pre-reflective level. Highlighting the actions of an intruder allows a wide range of practices to be addressed – rather than being limited by abstract and often problematic notions of 'malicious intent' (see also Burgess-Jackson, 1996). Similarly, conceptualising intrusions as 'uninvited' rather than 'unwanted' allows exploration of what form this incident took and how it was experienced and defined.

Here then, the idea of sexual violence as solely 'unwanted experience' can be questioned. Indeed, research (Fagen and Anderson, 2012) has explored how men's reports of unwanted sexual activity from women can encompass both cases of victimisation *and* also cases where initiations of sex are seen as aggressive because the men *assume and require* that women be passive. Furthermore, Betsy Stanko notes that women might characterise intrusions as 'perfectly innocent' when there has 'been no trouble' from men (1985: 2), whilst Sandy

Welsh et al. (2006: 101) find that a care-giver's thoughts on the 'natural' nakedness of her employer around her, changes when she reflects on his always wearing clothes when he has a visitor. Methods relying on people recalling (rather than first recording) intrusions might exclude more ambiguous experiences and conceal subjective and gendered criteria for 'wants', 'natural' or 'no trouble' which shift with time and space. Interestingly, Vera-Gray's project relies on women *documenting* their experiences in notebooks over a period of time.

Whilst this thesis does not work explicitly with 'intrusions', the concept and Vera-Gray's project offer a useful framework for thinking here about how to manage a variety of research issues: how, for example, to encompass practices people are unable or unwilling to identify as abusive and also how to account for the different meanings actions take on in different contexts. Indeed, some intrusions may be experienced as horrific and/or racist in some contexts, but feel welcome or 'not so bad' in others. In responding to some of the ideas identified by Vera-Gray, my (2019: 2) previous research picked up:

> Explor[ing] experiences and definitions of intrusions occurring in online, digital and offline space … [and] focus[ing] on what a group of women encounter and report as men's intrusions into their bodily-selves rather than on behaviours related to specific men. Indeed, 'agents' of men's intrusions are not necessarily always identifiable, particularly where digital materials are created and distributed by unspecified individuals, institutions and algorithms. The research therefore starts with the concept 'men's intrusions' in order to enable participants to share the spaces, agents, materials and mediums which matter to them.

Certainly, since 'misogyny went viral' (Mantilla, 2015) as it were, awareness of intrusive practices involving and connecting multiple spaces and technologies has grown (see, for example, Henry et al., 2020; Powell and Henry, 2017). There is a clear necessity to 'join up some of the dots' between practices, people and places (Westmarland, 2015: xi; see also Fileborn, 2014). Indeed, much of the literature charting the re-emergence of a language of 'rape culture' connects it to a rising use of digital technologies and younger feminists' experiences and organising online (Keller, Mendes and Ringrose, 2018; Mendes, Ringrose and Keller, 2018; Rentschler, 2014). Here then, the term 'rape culture' articulates and organises an experienced *atmosphere* of hostility, as much as it refers to specific persons and practices. In this sense then, its study benefits from attention to both

description/documentation, and organisation/construction; the many layers to the question of how people *make* sense of sexual violence.

However, the question emerges here again, what 'dots' is research aiming to 'join'? Dots concerning relational dynamics between men and women, or dots concerning sexual violence, for example? Understandably, research draws boundaries around the phenomena it researches and Vera-Gray's work takes women's everyday experiences of public space as a starting point, as opposed to taking *anyone's* experiences of *sexual violence*. However, where much MVAWG writing and research like this is explicit in adopting a particular paradigm and thus making certain assumptions and omissions (see also, for example, Westmarland, 2015), some uses of 'rape culture' establish boundaries which read less easily, precisely because of their implicit rejection of radical feminist ideas or their claim to capture the whole atmosphere and causes of violence. Indeed, Burnett et al.'s (2009: 482) establishment (and omission) of what they call a 'same-sex rape culture' in their study obscures the interactions of many people, practices and places in a college context. It likewise contributes to the inside/outside reproduction of much theorising (Namaste, 1994), which makes it difficult to conceive of (never mind address) bisexual and pansexual people's experiences of sexual violence, for example.

2.3.2. Approaching 'violence': 'The continuum' and 'continuum-thinking'

It is here then where it is useful to return to the idea of a 'continuum' and to consider its role in defining 'violence' and approaching sense-making, everyday life and rape culture. There continue to be interesting debates about this concept in the area of sexual violence (see Boyle, 2019b; Phoenix, 2011), with, for example, criticisms of everyday sexism literature suggesting it fails to produce:

> A clear theory of the processes and mechanisms by which these [micro-sexisms] work, or any further analysis around the continuum between 'everyday' and more extreme forms (Phipps et al., 2017: 5 cited in Fileborn and Vera-Gray, 2017: 206).

Bianca Fileborn and Fiona Vera-Gray (2017: 206) respond that such a position:

> Misunderstands Kelly's (1988) continuum of sexual violence as something discrete categories of violence are located on, rather than providing a way of conceptualising

how they are experienced together, overlapping and infusing each other in such a way
as to complicate the very idea of a distance 'between' the everyday and the extreme.

This response is useful for considering the collapse of 'distance' at the level of experience. Indeed, the idea of 'a continuum' might prove helpful in understanding the lived experience of both sexual violence and rape culture, and in embedding the latter in the wider 'culture of violence' noted previously as being absent in many existing accounts. Interestingly, research by Ava Kanyeredzi (2018) identifies a 'continuum of oppression' in black women's lives, connecting violence to intergenerational trauma, racism, poverty, and migration. Moreover, Kanyeredzi (2018: 60) notes the significance of participants 'smuggling in' the experiences of others:

> In offering these accounts of abuse and violence experienced by relatives and friends, the women can be viewed as illustrating how a continuum of oppression is a phenomena requiring attention, is ongoing, and is not limited to their particular lived experiences. Through these accounts, they were exposing both the perpetration of violence and abuse and its impact on their relationships with their siblings and friends, perhaps seeking recognition for those who are not yet able to speak about past experiences.

Attention is evidently needed to how people live and make sense of violence and everyday life *relationally* and *collectively*. In my own work (2019: 8), I found that, for one participant, a derogatory *Facebook* image and post about a woman exercising was experienced together with how a particular man commented on her exercising in the street: 'both incidents took on a particular meaning and were experienced as harmful *in light of each other* [italics in original]'. Rather than focusing on the image as effecting her interpretation of the man's comment – an approach quite typical of 'media effects' research on sense-making (Young, 2014) – there is merit in centring a participant's experiences of media 'in situ' (Keller, Mendes and Ringrose, 2018). It is perhaps here then that contentions in literature around 'rape culture' can be better understood, as sometimes establishing ambiguous distinctions between, for example, sexual harassment and rape culture. This ambiguity raises questions of whether the distinction is, for example, experiential, causal and/or conceptual.

However, just as 'rape culture' has many meanings in many literatures, so too does the idea of a 'continuum'. It is therefore important to establish this thesis as working more with what Karen Boyle (2019b) calls 'continuum-thinking' than with Kelly's concept specifically.

Indeed, Boyle (2019b: 19) argues that continuum-thinking 'allows us to understand connections whilst nevertheless maintaining distinctions that are important conceptually, politically and legally'. For Boyle, it is important to explore connections without adopting an attitude of equivalences or analogies by which speech is simply equated with rape or everything and nothing is violence. Gavey (2019) also makes the point that attention to continuums should not obscure the normative cultures that sustain them.

Interestingly, Boyle identifies how abusive production practices of certain pornography might be positioned on a continuum of sexual violence in ways which may not make sense with a novel. However, Boyle (2019b: 29) also argues that particular audio and visually based pornography and E.L. James' *Fifty Shades* book series might exist on 'representational continuums' which provide a 'conducive contexts' for acts of sexual violence. Here then, nuanced distinctions are made which perhaps allow for attention to how normative 'culture' – as, for example, book writing and reading, and porn making and consuming – might both comprise violence and enable it. Indeed, Kelly's (2016) concept of 'conducive contexts'– much like some iterations of the idea of rape culture discussed earlier – calls for attention to the specificity of situations which are conducive to violence against women, citing the family home and residential institutions amongst others. Kelly (2016) also outlines the various ways in which these contexts can be in flux, transition or contestation, accounting for change whilst retaining a focus on power. In many senses then, the idea of a conducive context can help to understand context-specific discursive practices – relational practices between people, objects, space and time – which scaffold the possibility for violence against women.

2.3.3. Approaching 'violence': The everyday as domestic, street and/or institutional?

I now draw briefly on the observation made by Jo Phoenix (2011) that Kelly's idea of the continuum was originally developed to demonstrate links between a broad range of experiences in everyday life, rather than in relation to a specific set of activities, social relationships or social institutions. Phoenix's distinction can be used to introduce some of the complexity around defining 'violence' in the 'everyday'.

Indeed, despite the importance of 'the everyday' in much sexual violence and feminist research, definitions are often implicit or through such synonyms as 'ordinary', 'routine' and 'everywhere'. 'The everyday' thus tends to have a mixture of quite literal applications in much research – epitomised perhaps in the research question of 'what happens every day?' –

whilst also being loaded with considerable conceptual meaning – for example, 'what do you pass off as ordinary and unimportant?' In her analysis covering a range of European philosophical approaches, Naomi Schor (1992: 188) also notes different approaches to the everyday:

> One, which we might call the feminine or feminist, though it is not necessarily held by women or self-described feminists, links the everyday rituals of private life carried out within the domestic sphere traditionally presided over by women; the other, the masculine or masculinist, sites the everyday in the public spaces and spheres dominated especially, but not exclusively, in modern Western bourgeois societies by men.

Schor's (1992: 189) analysis is helpful for identifying how 'the street version of the everyday tends to prevail' in much social theory written by and for men (see also, Highmore, 2002). However, it is also interesting to consider how specifically 'feminist' attention to everyday life has perhaps changed since the time of Schor's writing in the early 1990s, with 'the everyday' coming increasingly to mean women's use of public space in the Global North and their subjection to 'public patriarchy' (Walby, 1990). Certainly, a wealth of work on street harassment (for example, Vera-Gray, 2016b; Fileborn, 2013; Kearl, 2010) might be read as indicative of such social changes,[13] as perhaps is increasing attention to harassment through digital and social media technologies (Henry et al., 2020; Powell and Henry, 2017).

Researchers have also begun to tackle the everyday nature of sexual violence in such institutions as universities (for example, Humphreys and Towl, 2020) and prisons (for example, O'Brien and King, 2021). This trend of attention can perhaps be understood as the emergence of the 'prison' or the 'carceral' as a focus for everyday life studies, particularly following the influential works of Erving Goffman (2007) and Foucault (1991). Such studies address the disciplining of subjects in certain institutions, with Goffman's (2007) classic concept '*total* institutions [emphasis added]' indicative perhaps of the extent to which institutional practices shape people and everyday lives. Whilst such works prove crucial in redressing normative assumptions about processes of institutionalisation or incarceration as being for the benefit of individuals, Schor (1992: 190-192) offers an intriguing criticism of this 'carcelarization' of everyday life study:

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[13] It is interesting to reflect here on whether the Covid-19 global pandemic has recentred the domestic sphere in many people's lives in unprecedented and unexpected ways.

> My concern here is not, as it has been for so many of Foucault's critics, with the essential conservatism of the disciplinary model, the fact that it seemingly allows no room for resistance, subversion, and change, though this is a legitimate criticism … What arouses my discomfort, my suspicions is, perhaps perversely, the enormous pleasure provided by such an obsessive, not to say paranoid explanatory model that leaves no residue, no excess, no waste, no detail, no small everyday gesture, however small and apparently insignificant, unaccounted for, unsaturated with dire meaning.

Indeed, Schor's comments are just one of many criticising the tendency in both Foucault's work and Foucauldian work more broadly to theorise disciplinary power so totally that the possibility for the non-discursive and resistance cannot be realised (for example, Ramazanoğlu, 1993; McNay, 1992). Whilst it is easy to caricaturise Foucault's work, Schor's (1992: 193) alternative attention to Parisian postcards as a 'lighter mode of social control' in the 1900s is certainly interesting and I highlight the point here to draw the reader's attention to the importance of addressing varied practices of communication and representation in everyday contexts. This then is not only to aid in continuum-thinking but also to hold space for 'lighter' practices and experiences and what falls outside.

Certainly, the overview of literature thus far establishes a need to understand the everyday and cultural as encompassing multiple materials, spaces and movements *through* space. This argument can of course be read next to wider challenges to the temporally and spatially bounded site as an ontological basis for research (see, for example, Urry, 2000). Indeed, Michael Burawoy (2003: 674) argues that the 'spatially bounded site, unconnected to other sites, is a fiction of the past'. The answer to Phoenix's criticism of the continuum is therefore perhaps to maintain useful distinctions between types of the space – the 'institutional' and 'public', for example – but not to the extent that they cannot allow for their simultaneous mobility and unboundedness.

This argument matters enormously when considering the role of organisational knowledges of sexual violence. Rape Crisis can be taken as an example (one developed in more detail in later sections). Whilst connected to an anti-sexual violence movement in the 1970s, individual Rape Crisis centres have evolved quite differently depending on their immediate climates and stake-holder relationships (Gornick, Burt and Pittman, 1985; Jones and Cook, 2008), as well as in response to the wider influences of Austerity (Ishkanian, 2014) and 'trauma talk' (Vera-Gray, 2020; Gavey and Schmidt, 2011). Indeed, Rape Crisis workers are

involved today in such practices as travelling to outreach projects, liaising with other services or answering questions for newspaper reports as much perhaps as providing direct survivor support. This range of sites and practices matter particularly when reflecting on the typical involvement of what is 'practitioner' perspectives on sexual violence in feminist research. This research rarely pays attention – or perhaps, more fairly, rarely has the space to pay attention – to the everyday practices and contexts which shape 'practitioner perspectives'. An approach to sexual violence sense-making is therefore needed which explores connections and meaningful distinctions between contexts, whether they be 'conducive' to violence or to tackling it. The following chapter explores how this approach can best be realised.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Foundations II: Scrapbooking the Everyday Scaffolding of Sexual Violence

3.1. Introduction

The previous chapter introduced particular understandings of sexual violence which pertain of course to wider questions about the purpose, inevitable compromises and onto-epistemological foundations of research. This chapter therefore outlines the foundations of this research by tracing the boundary-making and compromise-reaching process undertaken to arrive at its two key concepts: 'everyday scaffolding', building on the ideas outlined by Gavey (2019) and wider work on discursive practices, and 'scrapbooking'. Indeed, critical attention to 'discursive practices' in everyday life will be shown to necessitate a research approach comprising everyday scaffolds, 'scraps' and scrapbooking.

3.2. Sexual violence and the material-discursive

With sexual violence routinely denied as a fact in women's lives and women's own testimonies often posited as unreliable, feminists have long countered with attention to its reality and horror. Inevitably then, increasing trends towards poststructuralism within late twentieth century feminism have been met with some trepidation, with fears that a focus on difference, language and constructions of 'truth' will undermine recognition of the shared and material reality of women's experiences (see Alcoff, 2018; Alcoff and Gray, 1993; Marcus, 1992). After all, sexual violence has so often been treated as misinterpretation or simply 'her word against his' that the idea that feminists consider it subjective and constructed sounds uncomfortably familiar.

However, Sharon Marcus' (1992) influential text *Fighting Bodies, Fighting Words: A Theory and Politics of Rape Prevention* was one which called into question this simplified picture of postmodernist and poststructuralist thinking,[14] countering it with a dissertation on the 'gendered grammar' of violence and rape:

> Many current theories of rape present rape as an inevitable material fact of life and
> assume that a rapist's ability to physically overcome his target is the foundation of rape

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[14] There is much that can be said here about trends in feminist and wider social theory towards poststructuralism and its implication for sexual violence research (see Gavey, 2019 for a constructive overview). See also Agger (1991) for a differentiation between poststructuralism and postmodernism. However, I focus here primarily on charting the significance of 'scripts' and Marcus' work, given the ongoing influence it has.

> … In its efforts to convey the horror and iniquity of rape, such a view often concurs with masculinist culture in its designation of rape as a fate worse than, or tantamount to, death … Another way to refuse to recognise rape as the real fact of our lives is to treat it as a *linguistic* fact: to ask how the violence of rape is enabled by narratives, complexes, and institutions which derive their strength not from outright, immutable, unbeatable force but rather from their power to structure our lives as imposing cultural scripts. To understand rape in this way is to understand it as subject to change (Marcus, 1992: 387-9 [italics in original]).

Marcus' arguments centre the seriousness of sexual violence and the need for action, whilst also exploring how constructions of rape shape its possibility and nature. For instance, Marcus (1992: 393) highlights the influence of men's *belief* in their superior strength, supported by rape 'culture's techniques of feminization' which encourage women's passivity during a 'rape attempt'. Whilst specific strategies for 'transforming rape' are perhaps less extractable from her overall argument, Marcus' point that 'rape scripts' shape women into rape-able and men into rape-capable subject positions which are neither natural nor inevitable is highly influential.

Indeed, 'rape scripts' has become a useful term to signal what experiences of sexual violence are articulatable and recognisable – what might be called 'hegemonic' (Loney-Howes, 2018) or 'typical' scripts (Mortimer, Powell and Sandy, 2019) – in such contexts as the legal and therapeutic. Indeed, Bryana H. French (2013: 48) finds that the 'Jezebel' sexual script of black women as 'sexually promiscuous and unscathed by rape' keeps black girls in a 'culture of silence' (French, 2013: 47). However, much like those literatures grouped as 'sexual script theory',[15] literatures on 'rape scripts' vary in the extent to which they treat 'scripts' as ideas people take in and act out, or as reciprocal, that is co-constitutive.[16]

In reflecting back on her earlier arguments, Marcus (2019: 417) suggests that:

> It is no longer especially controversial to suggest that we cannot separate representation from reality. By that I do not mean that representations are as true as reality. I mean that we recognize more readily today that if we want to change reality, we need to change

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[15] Whilst sexual script theory generally reflects a focus on the development of people's understandings of sexuality with resources in their environments, there are notable differences and nuances within the theory, which Vera-Gray et al. (2021) provide a useful overview of.

[16] There has been a quite considerable rejection of certain models of media and culture 'effects' – for example, media as impacting viewers in simplistic mono-directional ways – within media studies and cultural criminology (see, for example, Young, 2014).

how we represent it; that we need phrases, narratives, and images that show reality from many points of view.

Marcus' comments here are suitably broad for a retrospective which encompasses a variety of ways in which sexual violence 'representations' have been addressed in the intervening years. Indeed, Marcus' point here speaks well to Boyle's exploration of 'representational continuums' in the previous chapter. Marcus herself cites work (Oliver, 2016) on characters in such film and book series as *The Hunger Games* which argues that these women's physical capability and superhuman strength should not be expected of women in 'real life'. Whilst the idea of 'representation' might indeed suggest content analysis of the subject in films and television shows (for example, Projansky, 2001), I would add that it also finds expression in much empirical work on 'rape myths', such as asking victim-survivors how they experience and are impacted by the subject in the news (for example, Royal, 2018) or measuring rape myth acceptance for scenarios involving victim-survivors and/or perpetrators in wheelchairs (Dalton et al., 2021).

There is evidently considerable variation in how one might approach the relationship between 'reality' and 'representation', and Marcus may underestimate the potential of her work on 'grammar' and 'scripts' to go beyond their easy differentiation. Indeed, her work perhaps acts more as a call to take sexual violence and the discursive seriously than as the provision of a precise set of tools with which to begin. In the following sections, I will explore how 'discursive practices' or perhaps 'material-discursive practices' offer useful tools for approaching sexual violence sense-making, whilst the thesis' unique concept of 'everyday scaffolding' translates these ideas (and more) into the specificity of research tackling everyday life and sexual violence.

3.3. Discursive practices

So what are these discursive practices here? They might be understood as ways in which knowledges are formed and enacted, the themes, patterns or grammar, as it were, which set certain rules or parameters for what can be done and understood about sexual violence in a rape culture. Inevitably then, discursive practices concern power and contestations over what 'can be taken seriously at any given historical moment' (McNay, 1992: 26).

Too often discourse is taken as synonymous with language or speech – a literal reading perhaps of Foucault's (1972: 54) idea that discourses 'systematically form the objects of which they speak'. However, Carol Bacchi and Jennifer Bonham (2014: 174) provide a useful contextualising definition in their paper *Reclaiming discursive practices* which highlights how politics is inevitably involved in the production of 'the real':

> The term "discursive practice/s" captures Foucault's central analytic point that discourses are *practices* or, more specifically, sets of practices. In Foucault the term "discourse" refers to knowledge, what is "within the true", rather than to language. His early project was to challenge the transcendental status of knowledge. To this end he showed how knowledge is formed in the interaction of plural and contingent practices within different sites, each of which involves the material and the symbolic. The term "discursive practice/s" describes those practices of knowledge formation by focusing on how specific knowledges ("discourses") operate and the work they do. Hence discursive practices are the practices of discourses—which is why they are called *discursive* practices—rather than language in use or how people "*practise* discourse", i.e.—write or speak [italics in original].

Here, knowledge formation is identified as the central focus of discursive practices in ways which suggest the potential for connecting up different, situated iterations of meaning. Formulating the question 'what discursive practices constitute sexual violence in participants' everyday lives?' thus allows for an open approach which is grounded in the varied sense-making sites of peoples' everyday lives and also attempts to identify a shared 'grammar' for how sexual violence is constituted.

However, just as Marcus was speaking about the importance of the discursive to an audience she saw as adopting a particular approach to 'material reality', so too have scholars concerned with the discursive highlighted the need for further attention to materiality. This argument is evident particularly in feminist responses to Foucault (see, for example, contributions to Ramazanoğlu, 1993) and also from within organisation and sense-making studies (for example, Orlikowski and Scott, 2015).

Indeed, the concept of 'material-discursive practices' has emerged largely in the latter contexts to capture (Orlikowski and Scott, 2015: 699) the 'entangled inseparability of discourse and materiality', with discourse not pre-existing its materialisation in particular times and places, like the material production of speech or blogs. Often this argument draws

on what is called new materialist thinking[17] and, more specifically, the work of Karen Barad on agential realism. Here, Barad identifies (2007) 'matter' not as static or separate, but as something produced dynamically in practice and only creating the effect of boundaries and fixity through stabilisation over time. Moreover, Barad (2007: 133) argues that attention to performativity is necessary to understand how these boundaries are constituted between material 'things':

> A performative understanding of discursive practices challenges the representationalist belief in the power of words to represent preexisting things. Unlike representationalism, which positions us above or outside the world we allegedly merely reflect on, a performative account insists on understanding thinking, observing, and theorizing as practices of engagement with, and as part of, the world in which we have our being.

> Performativity, properly construed, is not an invitation to turn everything (including material bodies) into words; on the contrary, performativity is precisely a contestation of the excessive power granted to language to determine what is real (Barad, 2003: 802).

Indeed, if our definitions of culture in the previous chapter include book writing or porn making, it is important to understand the various practices of research as part of the culture or 'rape culture' it intends to understand. It is certainly interesting to note that, in reflecting on her earlier work, Marcus (2019: 420) also argues for more time spent on connecting 'rape scripts' to theories of the performative:

> One meaning the performative evokes is that a doer never fully precedes a deed; instead, deeds create doers. That notion can help explain the idea that rape does not simply happen to beings already constituted as violent men and violated or violable women. Instead, rape is one of many ways that individuals embody and reproduce society's dictum that men be violent and women be violated.

The idea that doers and deeds do not 'precede each other' is an argument that has been extended beyond human subject positions to spaces, objects and other 'things'. Indeed, Barad

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[17]Loosely described here as an interdisciplinary field forming part of a 'post-constructionist' or 'material turn', and spearheaded by thinkers like Rosi Braidotti, Elizabeth Grosz and Karen Barad (see Alaimo and Hekman, 2008 for themes). New materialist attention to interdependence and to matter as exerting force, queries distinctions between the human and non-human that much social theory has previously relied on. Nevertheless, these are not 'new' ideas, as even the briefest attention to Kim TallBear's (2015) work with indigenous views of the non-human as agential will show. 'New' is more used perhaps to distinguish it from 'historical materialisms', the definition of and distinction between which is addressed more in Lettow (2016).

(2003: 812) asks why do we assume the existence of relations requires relata? Here, Barad (2007: 141) replaces the idea of interaction – often treated as a key 'site' for meaning-making – with intra-action, namely an understanding of agency not as the inherent property of individuals to be exercised (or not) in action with each other, but as a dynamism of forces, within which 'all designated 'things' are constantly exchanging and diffracting, influencing and working inseparably'. For Barad (2003: 821-2), this means that:

> Discursive practices are specific material (re)configurings of the world through which local determinations of boundaries, properties, and meanings are differentially enacted.

Or, to put it differently, practices are performative and establish the boundaries of 'things' as much as 'ideas'. Various scholars have taken up Barad's ideas, highlighting how working with the concept of material-discursive practices:

> Produce[s] an account of sensemaking that decenters the human actor as the locus and source of sensemaking, and foregrounds the performativity of practices through which certain ways of acting become enacted as sensible. This allows us to propose an alternative to the traditional view of sensemaking as episodic, cognitive-discursive practices enacted within and between separate human actors (Hultin and Mähring, 2017: 566).

Using this lens, Jessica Ringrose and Victoria Rawlings (2015) find that spaces, objects and temporality all shape events of gendered and sexual bullying. For example, they (2015: 19) pay particular attention to how skirts – for example, whether worn with tights or not, what they cover or not, where they are worn – transform and materialise the boundaries and properties of 'appropriate girls'. Similarly, Ringrose and Rawlings (2019: 5) explore how hair, in its long and swinging glossiness, constitutes the 'wrong kind of boy' or in its absence – articulated in the interviewed girls' visceral reactions of gasping – constitutes a 'lesbian' subjectivity (Ringrose and Rawlings, 2015: 21). Their (2019: 11) attention to hair and skirts as material agents is not an argument that:

> Bullying matters are non-human, or that human psychological motivations are irrelevant, rather we are shifting emphasis to show how the individual intentioned human agent is only one part of the performative intra-actions of what becomes known as bullying phenomena.

Ringrose and Rawlings' work might be read as offering a door to 'post-humanist' ideas to feminists for whom the idea of not centring humans (for example, victim-survivors) understandably rings certain alarm bells. Indeed, in another interesting example, Kate Lockwood Harris, Megan McFarlane and Valerie Wieskamp (2019) draw on metaphors of movement to explore agency in organisational approaches – namely, the military and universities – to sexual violence. They (2019: 672-3) find that ideas of 'inert' agency as exclusive to human behaviour and decision-making prevent organisations from recognising sexual violence as the outcome of organisational systems, but that also:

> Ambiguities about who or what can enact and respond to violence have the potential to absolve the organization of the need to do something different … when an individual harassing agent was unclear, the trainer suggested that no formal organizational response was required … [this] demonstrate[s] the persistence of cuts that suture agency to individual humans. Under this sedimented approach to agency, when a perpetrator is not blamed, a target is [often the victim of sexual violence], and the organizational dynamics that support violence remain unchanged.

Here then, is attention to how different 'cuts' in the flow of agency hold organisations and/or perpetrators to varying degrees of account. Indeed, a key question of feminist new materialist thought might be said to be 'which cuts are made, when, and for whom?' (van der Tuin, 2011a: 37). It is certainly interesting to read the practice of 'cutting' next to work on 'situated agency' as the positioning of bodily-selves in contexts which make some choices possible and others not (Vera-Gray, 2016c). Indeed, political attempts to position women as all powerful or weak in the face of, for example, racism, patriarchy or neoliberalism have been noted (see, Chen, 2013 for overview). Such attempts might be understood as reflecting different ways in which women are unhelpfully 'cut out' of intra-action or situation to establish either their lack or an excess of agency. Likewise, Patricia Hill Collins' (2019) reflections on intersectionality's use as a metaphor[18] might be read as a critique of the research 'cuts' regularly made between, for example, race, gender, dis/ability and class.

This small but growing body of work is critical then in highlighting the need for an approach to sense-making around sexual violence which encompasses (and simultaneously also

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[18] Indeed, Kimberlé Crenshaw (in Guidroz and Berger, 2009: 26) reflects on her initial use of intersectionality as 'just a metaphor' for the overlap of systems of oppression, whilst Collins (2019: 49) locates the important role of 'metaphor' in intersectionality's 'cognitive architecture' (also including the heuristic and paradigmatic). This thesis works with Collins' (2019: 30) reclaiming of the 'metaphor' as a prompt to go beyond gender-only or race-only approaches to inequality, and to 'correspond' between them.

questions the boundaries drawn around) bodies, objects, spaces, and any amount of 'non-human' 'matter'.

3.4. Scaffolds, boundaries and compromises

Whilst Foucauldian ideas of 'discursive practices' or Baradian notions of 'material-discursive practices' provide solid theoretical foundations,[19] this thesis also adopts the language and approach of 'everyday scaffolding'. This term highlights the thesis' critical focus on everyday practices relating specifically to sexual violence and the boundaries and compromises it makes as a result. Indeed, the term necessarily connects up different sites into scaffolds in order to communicate constructively with the diverse body of feminist work concerned with the cultural constitution of sexual violence introduced previously.

One such example of this work is that of Gavey (2019: 2-3), which has generally helped to orientate this project and whose use of 'cultural scaffolding' inspired the thesis' concept of 'everyday scaffolding':

> Everyday taken-for-granted normative forms of heterosexuality work as cultural scaffolding for rape. That is not to say that these normative forms of sex *are* rape or that they are the same as rape … I am interested in unpacking what could be called the cultural scaffolding of rape, that is the discourses of sex and gender that produce forms of heterosex that set up the preconditions of rape – women's passive, acquiescing (a)sexuality and men's forthright, urgent pursuit of sexual "release." These script a relational dynamic that arguably authorizes sexual encounters that are not always clearly distinguishable from rape. In this sense, it is about the construction of cultural norms and practices that support rape.

Gavey's definition of cultural scaffolding organises both theory and data, bending first to a critical focus on the rationale for and repercussions of ways in which rape has been constructed by feminist researchers and activists. Secondly, it addresses the many ways in which the scripts of normative heterosexuality or 'heterosex' create a 'scaffolding' that makes rape possible. For example, she explores how women may 'consent' to unwanted sex

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[19] Bacchi and Bonham (2014) suggest that Barad (like others) misunderstands Foucault on the subject of materiality. I am not concerned here with debating the differences in their work or terms (see Bacchi and Bonham (2014) for an overview), but rather with establishing that discursive practices here include 'the material'. However, given the aforementioned tendency to assume that they do not, I occasionally use 'material-discursive practices' as prompt to consider the materiality of the discursive practices discussed.

because they identify as someone who 'loves sex' or because they wish to 'avoid' being raped. She thus emphasises the complex ways in which discourses shape compliance and consent as well as enacting violence or force. In this way she recognises how women form part of these 'norms' and 'practices' of heterosexuality rather than being simply 'acted on'. Reading Gavey's work alongside the tool of 'continuum-thinking' introduced earlier highlights how 'consenting' to avoid 'rape' might be positioned on a continuum with contexts where women feel 'raped' or 'forced', whilst also suggesting that it might be on a continuum with forms of *wanted* heterosex. It is precisely through reckoning with multiple continuums and their points of connection that the 'cultural harm' (Vera-Gray et al., 2021) in being unable to determine what is and is not sexual violence can be appreciated.

However, feminists have long pointed to the politics of the researcher, highlighting the importance of articulating one's 'boundary-making', namely the ways in which research practices interact or intra-act *within* the world, cutting out distinct subjects or objects for research. For example, Gavey (2019: 92):

> Combin[es] a discursive reading of women's accounts with a realist reading of their accounts *as descriptions* of what actually happened in the sexual experiences they have told us about. This approach ironically relies on contradictory understandings of language … as constitutive on meaning, on the one hand, and … as a transparent medium of description on the other … this compromise of theoretical purity is necessary in order to be able to ask certain sorts of questions … [and] take account of broader notions of discourse (that include cultural practices, for instance) … [and] generat[e] a materially grounded understanding of how the discursive characteristics (meanings *and* practices) of gender and heterosexual sex can limit possibilities for women's agency in heterosexual encounters [italics in original].

Gavey thus engages with and 'compromises' in her focus on relational practices, taking these primarily as those between men and women in sexual contexts (as described later by women) and in spoken constructions of these contexts. My research focuses on everyday relational practices in the lives of gender diverse[20] adults and one Rape Crisis centre. In doing so, multi-sensorial documentation and participation in such contexts is also needed in order to locate the everyday and intra-relationships beyond participants' speech and text.

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[20] I use this term here to capture scrapbookers' varied forms of self-identification (see Section 4.2.3). I also refer to them throughout using the pronouns they suggest and prefer. These include they/them, she/her and he/his.

However, establishing the 'edges' of relevant discourses or scripts is complex when it comes to sense-making in everyday life and beyond specific sexual contexts. How do people decide what 'counts' in and across different contexts, moments and movements? It is here that the idea of 'scraps' proves useful for approaching 'everyday scaffolds', thus tying the research's theoretical foundations to its methodological approach.

Scraps are best understood by first highlighting again and building on the complexity of 'everyday life' as introduced at the beginning of this thesis:

> The everyday is the accumulation of 'small things' that constitute a more expansive but hard to register 'big thing'. But like fissures in a stream of constancy the everyday is also punctured by interruptions and irruptions … It is a field of experience constantly in flux … The everyday may be vague but it is not abstract. Abstractions, however, might allow some purchase on the amorphousness of what tends to pass, and what tends to get passed off in ordinary life. How could we say anything about the everyday that was both general and true without being fatuous, without resorting to platitudes? If everyday life is an endless field of singular moments held loosely in place by threads of the overarching (power, governance, etc.) then how would we talk about *this* everyday without excluding *that* one? (Highmore, 2010: 1 [italics in original])

Highmore's work highlights the strangeness, mundanity and even chaos of everyday life that somehow constitutes something bigger and somehow does not. Everyday life as 'an endless field of singular moments held loosely in place by the threads of the overarching' reflects wider arguments that treat it as beyond easy distinctions but nonetheless 'reverberating' with power and structure (Lefebvre, 2014). Highmore's question of *which* 'everyday' to address is reminiscent of the issues of where and how to approach 'assemblages', given the point that 'social formations are assemblages of other complex configurations, and they in turn play roles in other, more extended configurations' (Little, 2012). Certainly, the introductory chapter noted the many moments of an 'Indian Rape Culture's' 'becoming' (Patil and Purkayastha, 2018). Following these arguments, research on culture would seem to set up parameters, whilst everyday configurations mostly seem to defy them. What parameters are there then for the discursive practices relevant to sexual violence in everyday life?

Attention to popular and overlapping definitions of discourse and practice highlights their reliance on ideas on systematisation and routinisation:

> [Discourses are] systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of action, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak (Lessa, 2005: 285).

> A practice . . . is a routinized type of behaviour which consists of several elements, interconnected to one other: forms of bodily activities, forms of mental activities, 'things' and their use, a background knowledge in the form of understanding, know-how, states of emotion and motivational knowledge (Reckwitz, 2002: 249).

Furthermore, in their classic introduction to applying Foucault's ideas to research, Gavin Kendall and Gary Wickham (1999: 42) argue that it first requires 'the recognition of a discourse as a corpus of 'statements' whose organisation is regular and systematic'. One of the most popular examples from Foucault's (2001) work is 'psychiatry', whilst in Gavey's work (2019) it is the discourses of heterosexuality.

However, in the ephemeral and mundane nature of day-to-day existence, the practices of psychiatry and heterosexuality are routinised but also 'chaotic', and hard to 'evidence' as bounded and distinct from wider forms of, for example, gendered relating. Whilst this research design focuses on people's sense-making as a door into everyday multi-material contexts, even the idea of 'accompanying' participants through everyday life suggests a complex and messy terrain full also of 'non-discursive practices' (Foucault, 1972).

Although interpretations of the non-discursive in Foucault's work are varied (for example, Howarth, 2002), it is helpful to understand it here as practices not explicitly named as knowledge formations (see also Bacchi and Bonham, 2014), to aid in exploring their relationships to those formations which *are* named. Indeed, I draw on Bacchi and Bonham's (2014) point that the 'non-discursive' does not signal a space outside of discourse where 'real' material relations occur. This is because, as noted, the discursive refers not to language or speech but, rather, *knowledge*. Here then, involving victim-survivors is crucial, as a means of determining what is and is not relevant or named in their experience of life. It also signals the importance of bringing their scraps together w*ith each other* and *with other scraps of literature on the subject*, whether written by academics, activists or others. This then is a

moment to acknowledge the motivation of participants who share experiences in the hope they will be made use of to name and address sexual violence.[21]

In considering the 'non-discursive' it also is important to reflect further on the body and its place in discursive practices. As the previous definition from Andreas Reckwitz suggests, discursive practices involve routinised bodily activities outside of the language of 'cognition':

> 'The body' does not represent what it performs, it does not memorise the past, it enacts the past, bringing it back to life. What is 'learned by the body' is not something one has, like knowledge that can be brandished, but something that one is (Bourdieu, 1984: 88; see also Wehrle, 2021; Budgeon, 2003).

This definition points to the complex place bodily knowing or rather what one 'is' has in named knowledge formations. Indeed, studies (Vera-Gray, 2016b) highlight the absent language for those women's embodiments which anticipate men's intrusions in public space. Likewise, in work with women in the sex industry Maddy Coy finds that (2009: 64):

> In the narratives and life stories, inclusion of women's corporeal reality was characterized by the paradoxical 'absent presence' of their bodies. Like a shadow in the dialogue, the body was rarely the subject of explicit reference.

Evidently, forms of embodiment and bodily know-how are not always named explicitly, and research methods are needed to understand how it features as part of hegemonic constructions of experience. Coy (2009) encourages creative techniques to explore embodiment beyond talk and text, and I take up the challenge here then of attempting to understand how the discursive practices of rape culture require, are enacted and reformed by particular bodies in and across everyday life.

However, as before, 'the everyday' both signals routine and a degree of chaos. Thus accompanying Foucault's psychiatric out-patient, for example, might mean taking part in practices of consultation over a period of months, wherein the patient, psychiatrist (and researcher) become specific subject positions from which to make sense of the situation. There might be something 'obviously' routinised and standardised about these consultations. However, the everyday life of an out-patient might be complex network of interactions, also

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[21] That is not to adopt uncritical notions about participation in research, but rather to recognise the power one has as a researcher to organise and design research to particular ends, and to recognise (and thank) participants' trust that one will do so with similar motivations in mind.

including, for example, engaging with magazines in the waiting room, spraining an ankle on the way home, making phone calls with family about treatment programmes which reinforce or undermine the psychiatrist's concerns, an unexpected visit from a friend, negotiating with work for time off and reading a book about recovery.

Everyday life theorists like Walter Benjamin (1989) advocate a 'trash aesthetics' – calling for attention to what is rejected as important – or a 'rag-picking' through the mess of the everyday for traces or 'reverberations' of meanings and systems. With this lens, the magazines, conversations and accidents all take on a new significance in their situation. It is possible therefore to understand the relevance of 'rag-picking' to feminist research, which has long pointed to the importance of addressing what passes as trivial or mundane in everyday life, both in women's embodied experiences of violence (for example, Kelly, 1988 Stanko, 1985), and in women's art, craft and domestic work (Christensen, 2017; 2011).

These points guide this research in creating a methodology of scrapbooking, in which scaffolds or more specifically, *everyday scaffolds of sexual violence,* are understood as being comprised of 'scraps', the remnants or trash of 'everyday life' collected by participants and the research. Indeed, just as scaffolds are often visualised as comprising scrap metal and ragged bits of canvas, everyday scaffolds in this thesis are constituted through disparate scraps from participants' everyday life. Here then, the significance of the everyday is foregrounded, to better understand the sites in and tools with which this thesis establishes cultural scaffolds.

3.5. Scrapbooking scraps: A performative practice

It has been suggested elsewhere that scrapbooking involves more than the Oxford English Dictionary's definition of 'blank book[s] in which pictures, newspaper cuttings, and the like are pasted for preservation' (in Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020: 3). Indeed, in reflecting on the practical procedure of me giving participants a physical or digital scrapbook to document experiences of 'men's intrusions', I argued that scrapbooking is:

> A practical and conceptual process of saving, sharing, and making sense(s) of the everyday and ephemeral. [It] highlights both the contingency and partiality of the scraps themselves and its own performance of giving them form (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020: 3).

Engaging people in documenting and sharing in their everyday lives seems to be a particularly pragmatic and ethical approach here. Indeed, as previous sections have highlighted, people, particularly victim-survivors', everyday experiences are often trivialised, and feminists have long prioritised platforming victim-survivors' own identification of what is at stake. Indeed, if van der Tuin's question of 'cuts' was to be applied to the research here, I would say that, following a prioritisation of experiential knowledge in feminist and anti-oppressive work (for example, Harding, 2012), I am choosing to cut out a research focus on people – participants and those people that matter to them. However, as already addressed, it is essential to avoid an exclusively 'human' and 'cognitive' understanding of the discursive practices of sense-making as constituted between people in possession (or not) of agency. This research therefore necessitates attention to the spaces, objects and materials that are all involved in the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence.

Indeed, this research grapples with a seemingly contradictory focus – much like that adopted by Gavey – of asking participants to collect and share 'scraps', thus, on the one hand, 'evidencing' their everyday lives and discursive practices therein through attention to the many moments, materials, contexts and encounters which comprise them. On the other hand, the research is also interested in how the boundaries they establish through defining, collecting and presenting 'scraps' are themselves discursive practices which constitute 'everyday life'.

This latter idea can be read next to research on scrapbooking as a leisure activity which highlights its role as a rhetoric artifact, arguing that:

> A close reading of the scrapbook as an assembled "text of identity" […] has convinced us that this mode of life-review is fundamentally rhetorical and performative in character (Katriel and Farrell, 1991: 2).

Indeed, researchers highlight how leisure scrapbookers themselves are 'culture-makers' (Ott, Tucker and Buckler, 2006), with scrapbooking shaping 'the life perfected' (Katriel and Farrell, 1991: 5). Moreover, Tamar Katriel and Thomas Farrell (1991: 5) found that for their participants scrapbooking involves three activities: 'saving' – saving items for the scrapbook – 'organizing' – working on the scrapbook and its items mostly to create visible order – and 'contemplating and sharing' – showing the scrapbook to chosen others. There is something appealing to me then in the proposition of engaging with people in what they have chosen to

'save' as significant from 'everyday life', how this is organised into meaning and how it is presented and in turn itself constitutes the 'everyday'.

This idea is not to suggest some epistemological privileging of items that are 'saved' as opposed to their construction in scrapbooking space. Rather these are different acts in the *same* performance. Certainly, I am arguing that everyday scaffolds are configurations of what can and cannot be made sensible or intelligible about sexual violence and these configurations involve the shaping of the boundaries and properties of 'things'. Scraps – whether a screenshot of a conversation on *WhatsApp* or a spoken reflection of that exchange – are a *research-specific animation of performative relations and configurations which extend beyond the research context*. There is thus a *continuation* between the conversation had via *WhatsApp* in one space and time and the way in which this conversation is bounded by and constituted within the scrapbooking research and thesis writing space here. This conceptualisation is possible where research practices are recognised as part of the world which they research, rather than attempts to represent the 'real' independently.

Therefore the idea of 'compromise' emerges less as recognition of two different and contradictory analytic lenses on 'data' – for example, realist and discursive – and more in terms of how language is at times necessarily adopted which 'cuts out' performances or suggests distinct 'things' pre-existing each other. However, I agree with Boyle (2019b: 32) in the reflections on feminist work on continuums:

> Obviously we need to be understood and… this sometimes means using language we are critical of as a starting point. However, these authors work hard to keep the contingency and limitations of the language in view even when they reproduce it in the interests of clarity. Sometimes we need to speak in two voices.

In speaking in two voices (or perhaps more), this thesis necessarily differentiates between different stages of the performance, as it were. This means that, although relations in different spaces and times are a continuation, this thesis signals certain distinctions between, for example, how people and practices are established at a sex party, and how people and practices are established at a sex party in the scrapbooking context and in relation to other scraps, literatures and the thesis' scaffolds. Similarly, although this thesis demonstrates that 'everyday scaffolding' provides a particularly comprehensive framework for research, it nevertheless signals where readers might connect scraps and scaffolds into an idea of 'rape culture' in their thinking and work.

3.6. Scrapbooking the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence: Summarising the research's foundations and focus

Discursive practices or material-discursive practices have been introduced to highlight the ways that knowledges are formed, and things becomes possible and intelligible through situated practices or configurations. However, this research uses 'everyday scaffolding' to signal its specific and bounded focus on the constitution of sexual violence within everyday life and its place in combining literatures and paradigms to 'speak back' to a body of feminist work on the subject. It is thus deemed necessary – both pragmatically and ethically – to retain a focus on people, victim-survivors and/or practitioners particularly, whilst also addressing the objects, spaces and temporal dimensions involved in making sense of sexual violence.

'Scraps' refers to the thesis' innovative means of engaging participants in their everyday lives through asking them to document and share their everyday encounters, feelings and ideas. It encourages them to save, organise and present what passes as ordinary and also as unusual. In this sense the research is performative: it cuts out, for example, 'the everyday' and 'sexual violence' as bounded phenomena and asks that participants do the same. It likewise explores the discursive practices involved in establishing 'scraps' – both as participants' experiences and involvement in practices in one space and time, and as the continuation of these into the research context and constitution of scaffolds.

Chapter 4. Research Methods: Scrapbooking Design and Application

4.1. Introduction and overview of the methodological approach

The research design outlined in this chapter is intended to translate the previous chapter's ideas. Therefore, scrapbooking is not just a conceptual approach to research, sense-making and truth but also a research design comprising specific practices and tools. This design involved individual scrapbooking with twenty-three adults with unwanted sexual experiences and group scrapbooking with one UK Rape Crisis centre. Different approaches were needed for these different types of scrapbooking, but the overall research design prioritised participant safety, privacy, and empowerment.

For both groups, scrapbooking was an opportunity to save, organise and share what and how participants wanted, without them being encouraged into a fixed or final position on who they 'are' or what their experiences 'mean'. Classic feminist participatory models for facilitating non-hierarchical and non-manipulative research contexts were also drawn on here to help with this goal (for example, Reinharz, 1983). These models encourage an interactiveness which locates the researcher personally and reciprocally in the relationship; for example, offering support, answering questions, and sharing personal experiences, knowledges and ideas (Oakley, 1981). Finally, analysing 'scraps' across individual and group scrapbooking was a multi-layered process, closely connected to data presentation and the organisation of the following chapters into four scaffolds.

Whilst the previous chapter provided a substantial conceptual rationale for scrapbooking, the following section and, indeed, chapter further outline its origins, originality and benefits in more participant-facing and practical terms. Therefore, to better understand 'scrapbooking' as an original and applied onto/episte/methodology, I will use the remainder of this introduction and overview of the methodological approach to outline a brief history of my changing engagement with the term (see also Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020 and 2017 for these literature reviews and references in full).

Initially, I was attracted to the idea of designing a 'scrapbook' as a tool for data collection. As a researcher based in the UK and thus exposed to certain ideas about the medium, scrapbooks suggested to me a potential mobile tool for beginning where participants are in the world and accompanying them across multiple contexts of and materials for sense-making. In reviewing methodological literature to see if any other researchers had thought the same, I was surprised

to see terms like 'scrapbooking' and 'scrapbook' crop up rarely and almost always ambiguously. In fact, they were often used as if either self-explanatory or else synonymous with 'diaries', 'notebooks', or 'memory books'. I felt that assuming this synonymy missed an opportunity for a more focussed analysis and differentiation, not least because the latter three are typically text-based mediums organised chronologically.

Moreover, much of this literature could be categorised as part of a wider argument for visual and/or creative methods as means of increased access to the mundane, everyday and hidden (e.g., Pilcher et al., 2016: 682), but not necessarily as practices problematising the idea of access. Indeed, I was becoming increasingly critical of the particular promise that social science research could access participant 'voice' – voice as the singular truth of existence 'freed' through innovative qualitative methods (Jackson and Mazzei, 2009). Given that dominant discursive logics already require victim-survivors to describe experiences eloquently and coherently in order to be validated (Serisier, 2018), I wanted scrapbooking to act against the assumption that a natural and autobiographical coherence links 'scraps' together into a comprehensible and singular voice.

I discovered a small number of interesting reflections on scrapbooking as a genre, leisure activity and performance, mostly from within the humanities. It was precisely scrapbooking's potential to query form and voice that appeared promising in these reflections. As an example, Sophie Tamas' (2014: 88) particular conceptualisation of the medium was intriguing and helped to make clear its possible methodological opportunities with participants and difficult topics:

> the episodic, collage format of a scrapbook undermines narrative continuity and integrity and positions representation as a constructed, contingent work-in-progress.

I put this theory into practice in a study with eight women and digital and physical scrapbooks (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2017; 2019; 2020). This design was itself original – to my knowledge, producing the first methodological work that experiments with and evaluates digital and physical scrapbooking. However, this current research orientates more explicitly towards material-discursive practices and performativity, and away from certain ideas of representation and empiricism (see previous chapter). Conceptualising research *itself* as a series of material-discursive practices which create what they 'cut out', I began to design scrapbooking as a specific means of enacting ideas and sensibilities as diverse as post-structuralist, new materialist, post-humanist, post-qualitative and radical feminist (see

previous chapters). Moreover, I began to design scrapbooking as means of enacting everyday scaffolding.

To summarise this section then, scrapbooking is a unique onto/episte/methodology, both in terms of how I have brought together the theoretical foundations that underpin it – for example, sexual violence feminism and feminist new materialism – and also in terms of the practicalities of taking it up with twenty-three individual scrapbookers and one Rape Crisis centre with up to fifty staff, trustee and volunteer members. For example, this research is one of very few to use the social media platform *Tumblr* actually as a research tool and is the only academic study to work so extensively and creatively with a Rape Crisis centre.

This chapter therefore highlights innovative practice in the use of, amongst others, social media technologies as research tools and creative ethnographies in organisational space. It will now address, first, individual, then, group scrapbooking, subsequently highlighting the analysis tools used across both. The chapter ends with a reflection on the role of literature in the subsequent chapters and their writing style.

4.2. Individual scrapbooking

4.2.1. Participant recruitment

A pragmatic approach to participant engagement was adopted, resulting in twenty-three participants who identified with the idea of having had 'unwanted sexual experiences'. This approach took on 'adaptable and creative [strategies] aimed at being responsive to real-world conditions' (Coyne, 1997: 630). These strategies privileged the availability, enthusiasm, and capacity of participants and, whilst abstractions are made beyond the organisation of scraps into scaffolds, none are claims to any statistical representativeness.[22]

To begin with, a research call was disseminated by a variety of service-providers and gatekeepers, including local sexual violence services, women's centres and mental health services. Whilst this was not done to generate a specifically North-eastern group of scrapbookers in England, it enabled me to draw on established professional relationships and networks. This was felt to be particularly useful, given difficulties in recruitment and how few suggestions exist on how to encourage sexual violence victim-survivors to join longer

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[22] By now it should be clear that scrapbooking the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence is not an approach organised around statistical representativeness.

term research (see Campbell et al., 2010). These gatekeepers distributed the information to their service-users and/or colleagues via emails, in person and in the form of posters in shared spaces. Close attention was therefore paid to the risk of gatekeepers pressuring people to take part or identifying potential participants in research outputs.

This soft launch in late 2018 ensured that people's interest and subsequent involvement in the project was staggered, allowing time for detailed discussions and then scrapbooking with a small number of people at any one time. This approach enabled an exploration of what 'scrapbooking' initially meant to participants, an important process given its gendered associations and customary use in Global North contexts (see Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020). I could also pay better attention to participants' life situations and their pathways into the research. More targeted recruitment methods could then be adopted to encourage participant diversity.

In practice sixteen of the twenty-three participants were recruited using *Facebook*. I created a *Facebook* page for the research and shared the recruitment materials with a variety of public pages. With the permission of the organisers, I also joined private groups concerning, for example, sexual violence, domestic abuse and PTSD,[23] and shared the call with their members. Similarly, the materials were shared with related activist groups, on the understanding that these might represent interested groups of participants.

There are of course issues associated with engaging participants via *Facebook*. For example, activists bring particular politicised understandings of sexual violence with them, whilst the marginalisation of women of colour within organised feminist activism online has long been of concern (see, for example, Daniels, 2016; Loza, 2014). Likewise, UK *Facebook* users are considerably younger than the general population (see, for example, Statista, 2021; Mellon and Prosser, 2017). I therefore developed strategies to tackle this and, to address the issue of age, for example, I drew on a local service to help me recruit older participants. Nevertheless, I still struggled to involve people over the age of sixty-five, which contributes to a noted silence around older people's experiences of sexual violence (see, for example, Bows, 2018) and, indeed, sex (see, for example, Fileborn et al., 2017; Fileborn et al., 2015).

I also explored how best to frame the recruitment materials to varying audiences. Research has documented the situated, complex (and by no means end-orientated) processes by which people come to understand experiences as abusive (see, for example, Kelly, 1988). People

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[23] Post-traumatic stress disorder

responding to a research call may therefore already identify their experiences as both significant and problematic. For this reason, I used the language of 'unwanted sexual experiences' (rather than 'violence' or 'abuse') in recruitment materials to open the invitation to a wider variety of people. Whilst this attempts inclusivity, the particular language of 'unwanted experience' is not without issue (see again Chapter 2).

The resulting participant group certainly differed in their self-social understanding, with some positioning themselves as victims, survivors, neither and/or both. Moreover, these terms and positions in themselves changed over the course of scrapbooking, while some participants rarely referred to themselves as someone with any such unwanted experiences. In fact, a small number seemed more interested in the idea of exploring culture, feminism and art and being 'useful' than in attempting to understand their own subjectivity or to contribute knowledge to a particular 'victim', 'survivor' and/or 'victim-survivor' subjectivity. What makes this research particularly unique then is that participants identify with the idea of having had unwanted experiences and/or, more politically, sexual violence experiences. Through exploring their sense-making, it is possible to understand where and how experiences come to be understood as not only abusive (or not) but also as connected to a wider social problem (or not).

Moreover, scrapbooking itself shapes participants and subjectivities, not least because of the immersive practice of saving, organising and sharing what is significant in and across spaces and ongoing experiences. As section 4.4. explores in further detail, scrapbooking also refers to the material-discursive practices of this research, where participants' scraps are organised alongside scraps of literatures.

In view of this diversity in positionalities and the unique way in which scrapbooking itself positions participants and shapes subjectivities, I refer to them as 'scrapbookers' (as opposed to, for example, victim-survivors). However, I see value in abstracting findings in order to contribute to a common language around sexual violence and victim-survivorhood (see previous chapter) and speak back to existing literature, methodological or otherwise.

In view of a wish to engage a diversity of scrapbookers, I shared the materials with political, social and support groups relating to, for example, disability, and gender, sexual and relationship diversity (see Barker, 2019 for an overview of who this might include). For people who 'liked' my *Facebook* research post in these contexts, I often followed up with an open suggestion that they let me know if they were interested in getting involved. I found this

method to be highly useful for engaging participants who were interested but welcomed prompting and more personalised communication. Indeed, some reported that they had liked the post and wanted to contact me but had forgotten to get in touch. Likewise, I found that participants' recommendation of the project to their friends also increased ethnic and gender diversity within the group. As this section demonstrates, recruitment was an adaptive and creative strategy, resulting in a group of twenty-three participants based in England and Scotland and living in a variety of contexts, including cities, towns, villages and more remote locations. Eleven of these were in the North-East of England.

4.2.2. Participant demographics

Table 1 provides the outcomes of asking questions about scrapbookers' demographic information and organising it into charts. Some information which was provided by participants is not shared here, owing to lack of space. Whilst this tabularisation is a somewhat reductive approach to situating scrapbookers and scrapbooking, it nonetheless provides a point of departure from which to begin close engagement with scraps in subsequent sections.

Table 1: Demographic Information of 23 Individual Scrapbookers (P1-P-23)				
Disabilities, Neurodiversity and/or Health Conditions	Yes: 11	No: 6	*Missing: 6*	
Age	18-24: 4	25-34: 5	35-44: 8	45-54: 1	55-64: 3
	Missing: 2				
Sexuality	Bisexual: 5	Queer/ bi/ demisexual: 1	Heterosexual: 10	Pansexual & demisexual: 1	Queer: 1
	Lesbian: 2	*Missing: 3*			
Ethnicity	Caucasian: 2	White: 15	Mixed Race: 1	Asian: 1	Iraqi/ Middle East: 1

	White-West Indian: 1	*Missing: 2*			
Nationality	Scottish: 2	English: 1	UK: 1	British: 14	British but from Germany: 1
	South Africa: 1	Indian: 1	*Missing: 2*		
Class Background	Descended from aristocrats raised poor: 1	Middle Class: 4	Working Class: 10	Working Class/ Precariat: 1	Middle East: 1
	Socially middle class but grew up in relative poverty: 1	First-generation middle-class: 1	Upper working class/ borderline middle: 1	*Missing: 3*	
Current Class Status	Middle Class: 6	Working Class: 5	Working every hour god sends to pay the rent: 1	Not sure: 1	Precariat: 1
	Upper working class/ borderline middle: 2	Lumpen Proletariat: 1	New Affluent Workers: 1	*Missing: 5*	
Gender (specify if trans, cis and/or intersex please)	Cis Woman: 4	Female: 9	Cis Female: 2	Trans, non-binary, intersex: 1	Afab trans: 1
	Male: 2	Cis Male: 1	Autigender Woman: 1	Missing: 2	

Participants were asked questions and chose their own languages to respond, which I have tried to retain in Table 1. Whilst this is an inclusive practice, one participant reported not understanding what several of the questions meant and several participants were unsure how to answer questions on class background and current class status (see Table 1). This is perhaps in keeping with considerable and contested variations in how to define class over time (see, for example, Savage et al., 2013) and its uniqueness to a British context (Cannadine, 2000).

'Missing' refers to missing information. Indeed, participants were given the option not to answer all the questions and it was not always clear why omissions occurred. Omissions occurred even within their answers to the questions. One participant was explicit in her rejection of the use of 'cis' (an abbreviation of cisgender) to describe herself, whilst others omitted such information without explanation. Whilst these may be practices marking the 'taken for grantedness' of terms like 'cisgender' or 'heterosexual' (see, also Enke, 2013; Kitzinger and Wilkinson, 1993), I do not take omissions to mean these people identify as cisgender and/or heterosexual by default and act on what participants themselves have shared elsewhere throughout the scrapbooking project.

Nevertheless, it is worth drawing together and abstracting from the different participant information to characterise this scrapbooking group as largely white cisgender women from the UK with English as their first language. Participants' class background and status, along with sexuality, disability, neurodiversity and/or health conditions were more diverse, although the scrapbooking group remains mostly 44 years or under in age.

Throughout the thesis, it is inappropriate to share extensive demographic information for each participant and every scrap. Indeed, participants' gave lengthy answers to several questions concerning, for example, class and disability (see again Table 1). Moreover, several participants expressed concern about different demographic markers being used together to identify them. Therefore, I share only their (approximate) age, ethnicity and sexuality throughout (where appropriate). Participants' identified gender can be largely (but not always) surmised from the contents they share and from their names and pronouns. Certainly, with the exception of Kit, Oslo and Alex, seventeen participants understood themselves as female and/or women and used she/her pronouns and three used he/him pronouns and understood themselves as male and/or men.

I would like to thank my examiners here. They encouraged me to go beyond Table 1 and explore how to sensitively share demographic information throughout the thesis to help readers to better situate the participants and scraps in relation to each other.

4.2.3. Scrapbooking methods

Scrapbooking with individual participants was a flexible process of documenting and collating everyday encounters over a period of time and of also meeting to discuss these. For most participants, this process took place within the digital or hardcopy scrapbooks provided for four to eight weeks and involved conversing with me three times (at the start, halfway through and at the end). These meetings – an average of sixty minutes – took the form of an open 'sharing phase' in which participants discussed their scrapbooks and conversation was guided by their contents and by anything else they wanted to share. Indeed, these were often far-reaching conversations, taking in wider reflections, experiences and thoughts.

In my master's and pilot research (2017; also drawn upon in Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020; 2019), participants reported that one week was too short for their full immersion in the process. I therefore began with the suggested period of one month, which was felt to allow participants to fully engage with the process (and to envisage at the start what participation might involve), whilst also being flexible to the challenges of emotional and time commitment. In practice, most took part for at least six weeks and welcomed the intervening weeks to process their contributions and our discussions and to organise the next meetings.

During this scrapbooking time, participants were encouraged to share any materials, reflections and encounters however they chose or were able to. Nevertheless, the participant information sheet (see Appendix I) provided them with examples of how to do so. These examples were 'jotting thoughts down with pens, paints, using screenshots and uploaded or cut-out images and articles'. Indeed, the participant information sheet and my attitude throughout the project struck a balance between facilitating an open and participant-guided approach to scrapbooking, whilst also providing structure and support. This combination of clear parameters and self-determination was felt to be particularly important for participants who may be unaccustomed to receiving extended space in which to share feelings and thoughts on sexual violence and may be used to or anticipate considerable repercussions in doing so.

Indeed, the 'freedoms' of scrapbooking methodologically can in fact be 'their own constraint' (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020). Whilst this was highlighted previously with particular regard to how participants may feel pressured to be 'visual' or 'creative' (given that they have the opportunity), I extend the argument here to participants' feeling that anything might be relevant to the project. Indeed, just as the previous chapter detailed the complexities in drawing boundaries in work on everyday life, participants often wanted to check that what they were saving, organising and sharing was in fact 'useful' or 'counted'. Clear guidelines were felt to be particularly necessary for two autistic participants who, in the words of one, needed to be able to 'plan'. It was important then that scrapbooking did not become a stressful continuation of configurations in which they already felt they did not know the 'correct' rules of participation. This reflection supports existing methodological discussion within both feminist (Reinharz and Davidman, 1992) and neurodiversity studies (Fletcher-Watson et al., 2019) that working with participants to establish a degree of structure may be preferable to a totally open and therefore uncertain process.

I therefore centred the guidance around the idea of noting everyday encounters and also thinking about how they might effect participants' feelings about their experiences or vice versa. This framing of encounter and effect[24] was an invitation to locate experiences more socially and I offered examples (see Appendices, 1) to help them begin:

> Everyday life means your everyday life and I'm interested in anything and everything which you encounter which effects you. It may be that representations of relationships and sex feel particularly important: you might want to tell me about an advert on TV, a book where the main character is assaulted, a high-profile rape trial circling Facebook, a message you receive from an ex or a conversation with a health professional. Please share anything you think is relevant. There is no right way to take part in this research.

Participants were given the choice of an eight-inch by eight-inch brown spiral-bound scrapbook (see Figure 1), a private password-protected *Tumblr* page (see Figure 2) or creating a combined format together that worked best for them. As participants in my

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[24] My previous criticisms of particular approaches to 'representations' and 'media effects' are certainly not an argument against *asking* about representations or effects as an accessible point of departure for research into sense-making. More to the point here perhaps is that 'effect' is used as a call to *follow the feeling* or, what Maggie Maclure (2011: 1003-4) might call 'hot spots':

> moments of nausea, vertigo, disgust, embarrassment, guilt, fear, or fascination in the research process. These gut feelings point to the existence of embodied connections with others that are far more complex, and potentially more wondrous, than the static connections that we often assume between self and other, researcher and researched.

previous research (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2017) benefited from the option of both, I utilised both types. Whilst participants were welcome to use both the hardcopy and digital scrapbook – and indeed several began the process intending to – they all almost immediately committed to one or the other.

Figure 1: Example of a physical scrapbook

During the pilot study, an affordable scrapbook of brown paper had been sourced and tested. Interestingly, participants in a UK study on colour associations approached the colour brown with a degree of neutrality and non-interest (Clarke and Costall, 2007), establishing its association perhaps with the everyday and ordinary. I wondered if this association might also be created by participants and thus usefully discourage perfectionism.

Digital scrapbooks took the form of an individual password-protected *Tumblr* blog, which only the researcher and individual participants could view and edit. Platforms marketed specifically as digital scrapbooks (see, for example, smilebox.com; mixbook.com) can be costly to join and their privacy policies are rarely comprehensive. Likewise, their formats tend to be prescriptive, providing users with stylised designs for their personal images and text and placing particular emphasis on border decorations. Social media platforms, on the other hand, are free to sign up to and are generally designed to permit modes beyond just images and text. *Tumblr* offers many opportunities for employing different media (see Figure 2), more so perhaps than the primarily image-based *Pinterest* and *Instagram* or the character-limiting *Twitter*. It also offers an archiving format which positions individual posts or 'scraps' horizontally and as a whole, which helps to capture 'the episodic, collage … work-in-progress' aesthetic of scrapbooks discussed in much writing on the subject (Tamas, 2014: 88; see also, Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020).
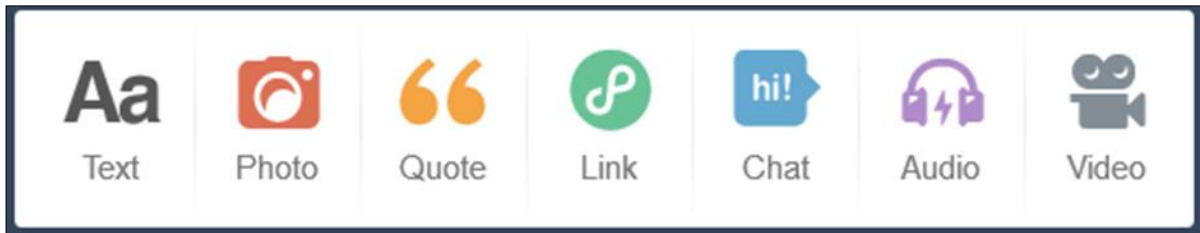
Figure 2: Toolbar for Tumblr featuring symbols for text, photo, quote, link, chat, audio and video

Meetings were informal and semi-structured, inevitably flexible to the materials and experiences which participants shared and also to our previous meetings. In most cases participants sent images of their scrapbooks in advance or I was able to access them online. This meant I could reflect on the contents and devise loose questions around them, thus establishing participants as experts on their own scrapbooks and inviting more detail and context about a scrap and why it had been saved and organised in particular ways. Here then is an example of how 'scraps' are situationally created in the scrapbooking context. The result is that their analysis is always and already in progress, as participants draw lines around what to 'save' and I respond by asking questions and gesturing to a 'hotspot' or distinctiveness which furthers the boundaries of these as 'scraps'.

Certainly, drawing again on scrapbooking literature, the discussion space can be seen as a 'performance' or a 'contemplating and sharing' phase of the process which acts as a necessary 'cutting out' and animation of configurations that participants have 'saved' from everyday life. As such, scraps shift and change with each new animation in ways which establish the possibility of change and even of meeting feminist goals for a positive empowerment approach to research (see Downes, Kelly and Westmarland, 2014).

Indeed, with the understanding that scrapbooking in this way might have both therapeutic and consciousness-raising potential (as found in my previous work and something most participants themselves commented on), meetings also allowed participants to further organise connections between experiences. This practice might be read alongside work discussed earlier on how the language of 'rape culture' aids feminists in both articulating and organising rape culture *in order to change it*. Several participants certainly took part in scrapbooking as a complement to therapeutic services they were involved in and to contribute to the goal of ending sexual violence, whilst another drew on it because 'it would be good to know what I want to do about the reporting'.

Although I privileged the privacy and depth afforded by individual scrapbooking, work on consciousness-raising highlights the political importance of group work for locating

experiences in a collective space and time (Firth and Robinson, 2016). Indeed, participants often wanted reassurance that they were not alone in experiencing or feeling what they had shared. Where appropriate then, I worked to reassure them and responded to their often quite direct requests for information on what existing research had found on a particular issue or how other participants were getting on. Although I did not explicitly discuss any of my own unwanted sexual experiences and was not asked about them either, there was a strong tacit sense of a shared understanding which greatly enriched our conversations and put participants at ease. On occasion, I used words like 'we' and 'us' and spoke about public misunderstandings of sexual violence as something that affected and frustrated me personally.

As noted, I was keen to create an inclusive and accessible format, best suited to each individual, and I was open to 'scrapbooking' being operationalised in a myriad of ways. For two participants this meant primarily meeting face-to-face to discuss the intervening weeks or subjects of interest without reference to any specific 'book'. One of these participants used *Facebook* messenger briefly to note down experiences because it was the only format that she felt would not be discovered by her partner or children. The other wanted to participate but felt that creating a physical or digital book was not in their capacity. During our face-to-face sessions, a series of images was shown to me on their phone and we discussed these in detail. Of the remaining twenty-one participants, twelve used the physical scrapbooks provided (though several stored additional items to show me on their phones or in Microsoft Word documents) and nine used the *Tumblr* digital scrapbook.

Most meetings for local participants took place in person over something to eat and/or drink, whilst others were over the phone. This decision was made owing to time, energy and finance, but in practice phone calls suited most participants as they could fit them more easily into their day and one commented that it was easier to concentrate and share when not visible. Another participant wanted to communicate exclusively with me via *Facebook* messenger but nonetheless take part in producing a physical scrapbook. She did not have the means to photograph and send the pages in advance of our chat online, so she typed out a brief description of what the pages included whilst I asked her questions in response. Several participants who committed to the physical scrapbook did not always have the time and/or technical expertise or resource to print out or save certain scraps. In some cases, I followed up on these and participants sent me screenshots or hyperlinks via *Facebook* messenger or email.

This overview of the process and practice of individual scrapbooking posits it as involving a variety of both supported and self-directed ethnographic methods for documenting and organising everyday life. This approach allowed the project to be flexible to participants' needs and situations, whilst generating a wide range of interesting scraps and maximising the therapeutic and politicised aspects of individual in-depth scrapbooking.

4.2.4. Ethical considerations

The previous sections have already touched upon certain ethical considerations for individual scrapbooking, which this section will now address in full. Ethical approval was granted by Durham University and a risk assessment was undertaken prior to participant recruitment and data collection. Nonetheless, ethical practice was also treated as ongoing and reflexive, rather than simply a matter of 'anticipatory regulatory regimes' (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007: 2223).

In order to facilitate informed participant consent, participants received detailed information sheets and the continued opportunity to pose questions. After they had signed a consent form (and kept a copy), consent was treated as an ongoing negotiable process, up until the commencement of data analysis. Here, participants were given a final opportunity to review, edit or retract what they had shared as 'only when a researcher or a participant knows what data have been gathered can consent be *fully* discussed [italics in original]' (Wills *et al*., 2016: 481). Of course, the concept here of 'fully' is somewhat misleading, given that research practices shape the boundaries of 'data' in varying ways after participants hand their books over. Thus, even with participants' reviewing and consenting to the use and dissemination of their scrapbooks, careful consideration has been given to anonymity: whether and when 'too much' is revealed in images and text, for example (Muir and Mason, 2012). Much has therefore been edited or excluded from the research output where it identifies participants or others. Participants were also given the chance to choose pseudonyms.

Participants were fully informed about the possible limits of confidentiality – where they or others were at risk of serious harm – to maximise their safety throughout the process (see also Downes, Kelly and Westmarland, 2014). They were likewise notified about my obligation to report any internet hate crime content witnessed and evidenced by them in their scrapbooks

(see True Vision, 2017 for definitions and procedures), though this could be reported anonymously and without their involvement. (In practice, no such content was included.)

Recruitment through friendship networks meant that a small number of participants were known to each other. Therefore, extra care has been taken to anonymise these participants from each other in this write-up. However, there are of course limitations to this anonymisation, given that this strategy enabled me to involve participants who are particularly marginalised (along ethnic and gendered lines) and therefore identifiable to each other perhaps by even the most minute attention to their situation. It is here that the necessary opportunity for participants to review their scrapbooks and participation at the conclusion of the project proves useful and where the importance of my situated judgement – situated also in wider supervisory expertise – about revealing 'too much' is critical.

The limits on anonymisation are also evident in the case of a couple[25] who contacted me individually about participating in the project but who, in practice, met me together in a restaurant and then in their home in order to discuss their scrapbooks. Whilst attention was paid to exploring the individual scrapbooks of the two women, conversations were inevitably shaped by the presence of their partner and were reportedly 'deepened' through their shared remembering, analysing and support.

In regards to security, all phase one participants signed up to take responsibility for ensuring their scrapbooks were kept safe and secure until the beginning of data analysis. I used this as an opportunity to encourage them to reflect on how openly they might take part in the process – that is, how much input from immediate family, friends or acquaintances they would be comfortable with. In that regard, I highlighted the often more visible nature of using a physical scrapbook and associated creative tools.

In my previous research, participants were keen to share some of their scrapbook contents with others. Sharing proved useful in having participants' experiences validated and also in prompting their immediate networks to engage critically and reflexively with the subject and share some of their own experiences. The engagement of non-participant others is therefore not unwelcome and was in fact found to be pedagogically and politically important. Nonetheless, these others could of course be unsupportive or even use participants'

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[25] It is important to note that, at the time of writing and through ongoing communication, I have learnt that they are now separated. I share this in order to acknowledge to both women that I have registered the difficulties of their separation and to highlight to other readers how much can change in participants' lives between scrapbooking and thesis writing.

scrapbooks against them. As always needs highlighting, scrapbooking is a practice *in* the world. Likewise, it is not possible to guarantee the ongoing 'absence' of a continuum of abusive, intrusive and/or unwanted experiences in participants' lives, given this research's understanding of their prevalence, and everyday nature. Care was nonetheless paid to ensure participants' safety by means of discussions prior to participation, in the induction to scrapbooking and through ongoing check-ins. Similarly, the duration of phase one is in fact intended to remove any pressure on participants to contribute at length to the scrapbooks, allowing them to spread out and process their involvement as they go along. Likewise, they were made aware of the nature of the study from the outset, and that they were not expected to recount specific experiences or answer any questions they did not want to. They could likewise withdraw from the project any time up until data analysis, whilst information on support and advocacy services was made available to them throughout (See Appendix III).

Nonetheless, taking part in research into violence and abuse can actually be useful and empowering for participants (Downes, Kelly and Westmarland, 2014). Opportunities for producing positive experiences were therefore maximised and, as described, individual scrapbooking was designed with a view to be both therapeutic and consciousness-raising. Of course, these outcomes were not promised to participants, but inviting them to view the process in those terms empowered some to shape it as such. For example, one participant focused on 'positive' ways of communicating with men in her life, in order to set her up for the project's completion. Having spent the previous session exploring how one man's way of 'sexting' her made her feel uncomfortable, she felt it was important to 'focus on this is why I don't like this, it's because I like this' and she used her final session to do so. In a similar vein, and finding that participants were often reporting negative and stereotyped representational practices of sexual violence via streaming services and television, I encouraged them to reflect on what a 'good' and 'sensitive' practice might involve. I define and discuss this 'utopian tool' more in Section 4.3. but suffice it to note here that it offered an enjoyable and hopeful approach with which to bring the scrapbooking process to an end.

Following this empowerment approach, this research recognises that providing compensation explicitly recognises the *value* of participants' time and contribution. In view of the conflict that receiving money can cause for any benefits claims (Mann, Dayson and Bagnall, 2017),

participants were compensated with £30 worth of gift vouchers for places of their choice or vouchers which cover a range of high street shops.[26]

Whilst scrapbooking is a longitudinal and in-depth process, it was not intended to be intrusive. This aspiration is somewhat compromised by *Tumblr*'s format for introducing users to new materials in sidebars. The platform was contacted to see if it was possible to alter this for the research, but no reply was received. Whilst it is difficult to anticipate what subjects and materials might prove upsetting for different people and in different contexts, I ensured that *Tumblr* only made suggestions on the basis of, to my mind, 'non-sensitive' subjects such as 'nature', meaning that participants were mostly introduced to, for example, images of trees or mountains. What is more, I encouraged participants to reflect on the privacy and data ownership policies of *Tumblr* and ensured that they used it as anonymously as possible (with, for example, anonymous email addresses and limited account names). Those who responded to my *Facebook* recruitment calls were already using the platform. Moreover, the two who drew on *Facebook* messenger more substantially – as both digital scrapbooks and our means of communicating about the contents – seemed to prefer it for privacy and safety reasons and were actually using the platform anonymously.

Following data collection, individual hardcopy scrapbooks were stored in a safe at my private address (until offered back to participants at the end of the research). Similarly, passwords for digital scrapbooks were (temporarily) changed during data analysis and the writing of the thesis. Audio files of our conversations and their transcriptions were stowed securely in a password protected folder on a password-protected laptop and, again, stored at my private address.

Finally, auto-scrapbooking was incorporated into the research design for the purposes of reflexivity and ethical practice. Taking part in the process of saving things and adding them to a book gives the researcher a sense of what participants are experiencing and therefore what methodological and/or ethical issues might be emerging. For example, during auto-scrapbooking, I sometimes felt I needed to contribute something of interest, in order to make participating 'worthwhile'. This experience helped me to approach scrapbooking contributions' varying and sometimes fleeting significance. This insight was particularly helpful in view of Schor's (1992: 190-192) concern from earlier in the thesis – a concern, that

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[26] These are the multi-store vouchers called *Love2shop* and *One4all*. Fortunately, these were funded through my ESRC doctoral scholarship, something which would not be an option for all researchers.

is, about models which leave no details or gesture 'however small and apparently insignificant, unaccounted for, unsaturated with dire meaning'.

It is useful here to reflect more broadly on my appearance, attitude and positionality, all of which shape interactions and participants' perception of shared or differing points of reference. This is not an easy section to write. I experience myself as being in a continual state of flux and very often *who* I am feels fluid and highly relational to *where* I am and *who* or *what* I am with.

Nevertheless, I am unambiguously white – a whiteness mediated by a kind of mainstream English received pronunciation which only loosely links me to the Northeast region. My English grandparents were socially mobile during their lifetimes, and I am second generation middle class. However, I am also half-German, connected to a country, culture and language marked very differently by ideas of class. Whilst I feel German-European and proudly embody my different grandparents' and parents' pasts, it is important to recognise that I may nonetheless be experienced by others as part of an alienating intersection of white British middle or even upper classness.

As someone who is both a woman and decidedly not (see also Tudor, 2019), I occupy a pluralistically gendered position from which I could relate to both Kit, Oslo and Alex but also the many women in this study (this point applies also to section 4.3.). There is not the space here to do justice to standpoints of both/neither, but I felt well-placed to understand and interrogate gendered assumptions and meanings in particularly unique ways. Likewise, with experiences of queerness, neurodiversity and disability, I was not only able to access the numerous *Facebook* groups I drew on for recruitment, but also to relate to and reassure participants in especially helpful ways.

Whilst writing about myself in this format feels somewhat uncomfortable, it is important to give the reader tools – however reductive these may be or however much they might shift or have already shifted from the time of participating – with which to make sense of my interactions with participants in later chapters. Moreover, if participants were expected to share themselves in this way, I too should do the same.

4.3. Group scrapbooking with a Rape Crisis centre

4.3.1. Participant recruitment and demographics

Just as the first section on Individual Scrapbooking opened with attention to recruitment strategies and certain demographic information about participants, this section provides some brief and contextualising insight into the group scrapbookers. This section is written using existing literature on Rape Crisis and information compiled by the centre's lead. It should be first noted – though not for the last time – that my position as a volunteer for the centre for several years allowed me numerous opportunities. Therefore, group scrapbooking is part of a continuing relationship between myself and the organisation.

To begin then, the organisation is one of thirty-nine autonomous member centres of the national umbrella organisation Rape Crisis England and Wales. This means that it adheres to National Service Standards, the award of which:

> Demonstrates quality and specialism in every aspect of a specialist Rape Crisis Centre's service provision, including Independent Sexual Violence Advocacy (ISVA) services, emotional support and therapeutic services (Rape Crisis England and Wales, 2021).

Rape Crisis centres emerged out of the wider Women's Movement of the 1970s and the Rape Crisis Movement more specifically. The latter movement was particularly strong in North America and radical and feminist in its centring of women's experiences and in its aims to dismantle the current social order of pervasive sexual violence, shaming and disbelief (Collins and Whalen, 1989). Helen Jones and Kate Cook (2008) note how women initially joined together to create small collectives to campaign against sexual violence, facilitate consciousness-raising and support survivors in practical and non-directional ways. Evolving with the skills of members and the urgent needs of survivors, it seems collectives began to seek out funding to sustain themselves and gradually their structures changed (Jones and Cook, 2008; see also Campbell, Baker and Mazurek, 1998 for US context). Since then, Rape Crisis services have become increasingly institutionalised and professionalised, and the grassroots radicalism of earlier inceptions has been largely replaced by liberal reformism and inter-agency cooperation (Collins and Whalen, 1989). Indeed, in their documentation of Rape Crisis in the UK, Jones and Cook (2008: 18) draw on the idea of a 'living dynamic' to describe 'the competing pressures between political activism and service provision' which shape life at centres. It is certainly telling that Jones and Cook (2008: xiii) open their history with the following insight:

Perhaps then the need for Rape Crisis groups is no longer real? Those working at the front line will tell you otherwise. Speak to Rape Crisis workers and they will be happy to tell you about the range of services they provide which are both unique and necessary. Happy, that is, if they are not too busy trying to provide frontline services, whilst constructing funding bids for grants to keep the centre running, holding recruitment and training sessions to maintain the number of volunteers required and attending inter-agency partnership meetings to try to influence practice and policy in local statutory agencies.

Whilst rape crisis centres provide critical and much needed support to victim-survivors, they are thus subject to considerable precarity. Indeed, precarity and competition with statutory health services for funding have increasingly subjected Rape Crisis centres to what is called 'trauma talk' (in, for example, Vera-Gray, 2020; see also Gavey and Schmidt, 2011), namely a form of individualised and medicalised discourse gaining traction in service provision. Whilst the language of trauma certainly offers a critical means of articulating experience, the treatment of sexual violence as always and inherently traumatising and the obscuring of its social causes and harms is a concerning discursive pattern. Indeed, Vera-Gray (2020: 69) establishes the importance of the original ethos and working practices of Rape Crisis models for combining individualised care:

> Grounded in an understanding of the self as relational, situated and intersectional [with an] understanding of the harms of rape that acknowledges these exist across four interlocking dimensions: personal, cultural, social and structural.

It seems Rape Crisis centres today thus represent complex dynamics and contexts. On the one hand, they provide survivors with critical support and empowerment (Westmarland and Alderson, 2013) and expertise on rape 'as a gendered, social and "whole person" issue' (Hester and Lilley, 2018: 314) while, on the other, they are in increasing danger of leaving some of their key working practices behind (Vera-Gray, 2020).

Whilst it is important to understand the wider context of the organisation, Rape Crisis centres do not fall neatly into types, but have:

> Developed to fit their communities, making choices about whom to serve, where to locate a service, how to work with other agencies in the community, how, when, and where to do community education, and how to establish financial security (Gornick, Burt and Pittman, 1985: 247; see also Jones and Cook, 2008 for UK examples).

Certainly, this is the case for the research's Rape Crisis centre which provides – in addition to its own counselling and helpline services and group support programmes – an external counselling service for a local Sexual Assault Referral Centre (SARC), university and criminal justice organisation. It also delivers an Independent Sexual Violence Advocate (ISVA) service funded by the Police, Crime and Victims Commissioner and a preventative programme in local school and community-based settings. Indeed, the centre's funding represents a variety of sources, including statutory services and charitable trusts and foundations.

The centre comprises a workforce of almost fifty people, approximately[27] 13% of whom are trustees, 33% paid staff, and 54% volunteers. It is not known the exact number that actually participated in this project. Whilst information on the demographic characteristics of these groups is restricted for reasons of data privacy, the CEO[28] described its workers as predominantly 'white British working-class women', reflecting in part its historically white and working-class region.

In 2019, during the majority of data collection, the number of people recorded as either receiving or waiting for services totalled almost one thousand (excluding those who call the helpline). With the monitoring information the organisation collects through questions asked of service-users on referral, these active cases are established as referring to approximately 90% 'female' service-users, 8% 'male', 0% 'trans', and 2% 'not stated'. Certainly, whilst Rape Crisis was historically a service led by women for women and girls, centres today vary considerably in their in-house approach, whilst contractual work elsewhere might involve work with men and non-binary victim-survivors and/or members of the public. Of the information recorded of these referred service-users, almost 70% concern people between 18 and 44 years old, approximately 90% of whom are 'White British', with 'White Irish' and 'White and Black African' ethnicities recorded as the next highest percentages at a 0.5% rate each. Excluding the majority of people where information was not provided or was omitted, approximately 24% report a disability, and approximately 42% identified as 'heterosexual', 4% 'bisexual', 2.5% 'lesbian', 0.6% 'other' and 0.4% 'gay man'.

Terms vary across literatures and contexts, and in reference to the different manifestations of Rape Crisis services and organising over the years. For the purposes of clarity in this thesis, 'offices' refers here to the physical space in which the centre's staff offices, helpline and

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[27] These figures are rounded up.
[28] Chief Executive Officer.

therapy/consultation rooms are located, whilst 'outreach' refers to a range of organisational work in which staff are contracted to work therapeutically and/or educationally at, amongst others, universities and schools. 'Multi-partner' and 'inter-agency' are used to describe working relationships between the organisation and, for example, the local police, social services and other charitable incorporated organisations.

4.3.2. Scrapbooking methods

Group scrapbooking took the form of one hardcopy scrapbook located in a shared physical space within the centre's offices (see Figure 3). Following an induction event, the brown spiral-bound thirteen-inch by thirteen-inch scrapbook remained there for approximately eight months. During this time, staff were encouraged to contribute as much as they liked and I visited periodically to explore the book and engage in discussion with anyone present. I also applied this creative ethnographic approach in a range of other organisational contexts, including staff training days. Therefore, whilst the sections on individual scrapbooking represent an extension and development of the methodology employed and explored in my previous research, group scrapbooking represented an original opportunity to adapt scrapbooking to an organisational context.

There are benefits to (and issues with) this methodological approach. Firstly, scrapbooking with a collaborating organisation offers a realistic and flexible response to the difficulties in engaging a large and disparate group of practitioners in longitudinal and creative research. As members of an organisation and with opportunities to both shape the project and benefit from it, practitioners had more incentive to participate and to continue to participate, despite the length of time (see,

Figure 3: Scrapbook on the scrapbooking table in the Rape Crisis centre.

van Wijk, 2014 for acute difficulties in retaining participants in qualitative longitudinal research). Likewise, as a known and trusted volunteer, my relationship with them provided a context for their interest and, again, motivation to take part.

Furthermore, an in-house scrapbook potentially requires less input from individual participants and includes a broader group than might respond to a request for individual interviews. As the scrapbook was available to all members in a shared space, they could contribute as little or as much as they wanted (and whenever they wanted). This allowed the project to establish a multi-faceted picture of the kinds of issues and contexts which shape sexual violence sense-making. The scrapbook contained, for example, song lyrics, numerous news articles, *Facebook* posts, *Pinterest* images, a still from a *YouTube* trailer and anecdotes.

Moreover, the longitudinal and in-house nature of the study offered the opportunity to understand organisational cultures of knowledge in practice and in process in the everyday (Smith, 1987). Indeed, scrapbooking here investigates how individual contributions progressively constitute an organisation's informal and formal positions on a subject. This enables insights into both what people establish as the issues of sexual violence elsewhere (or 'out there') and the extent to which (and how) they 'own rape' as an organisational duty (Martin, 2005).

With a broad group of potential contributors, the research could also therefore explore both the composition and conformity of the centre's ethos and dynamics, but also the dissonances of different contexts, practices and people which queery the coherence of an organisation in any monolithic sense (see, for example, Rumens, 2018). Indeed, the very discontinuity of participation and the more indirect nature of individual contributions might have encouraged more staff members to take part without reproducing the conformity typical of face-to-face research with pre-existing groups (see Abrams and Gaiser, 2008). For these reasons, the process here offers a useful balance of encouraging individual participation, whilst also locating it contextually and organisationally.

Indeed, through this methodological approach, attention was paid to the centre as both bounded and permeable, shaping and shaped by its practitioners who often have political and personal interests in sexual violence (see, for example, Houston-Kolnik et al., 2021; Dworkin et al., 2014). It is important to recognise that many practitioners will themselves have unwanted sexual experiences, just as three individual scrapbookers are themselves practitioners in the area of sexual violence. Far from confusing two distinct research

'populations', this overlap better integrates or 'queers' individual and group scrapbooking and the positions of victim-survivor and advocate.

There is not enough space here to do justice to feminist new materialist approaches to research – to diffractive methodologies in particular – but Harris, McFarlane and Wieskamp (2020) use the helpful image of a stone dropping into a pond and rippling out only to be joined nearby by another stone doing the same. Whilst traditional methods might generate information about the organisation or original 'stone', 'diffraction focuses instead on the relational process whereby the ripples meet [so] knowledge claims derive from different elements of the world co-mingling' (Harris, McFarlane and Wieskamp, 2020: 664). Whilst this thesis draws productively on varied paradigms, the image of ripples meeting proves useful in articulating the relationship between individual and group scrapbooking. This approach thus helps to locate professional experiences and expertise in group participants' everyday lives. Indeed, examples given to help the organisation begin scrapbooking included TV programmes they or their clients might have seen, social media messages from friends or experiences liaising with the police.

Furthermore, I was keen to collaborate with the organisation in a way which would prove useful for them. In its self-regulating inception, an in-house scrapbook is likely to be more appealing to members of a centre who can have continued access to the contributions (in my absence). Group work generally helps to 'increase the group's understanding of themselves' (David and Sutton, 2011: 134) and the scrapbook offers the centre a method for making the 'familiar strange' (Ybema and Kamsteeg, 2009). Thus, the scrapbooking process can perhaps act as a creative stimulus to practice and policy development and discussion. For example, one participant who attended a conference on Image-based Sexual Abuse reported back to her colleagues on the latest research and legal developments by sharing them in the scrapbook. In this format scrapbooking can perhaps illustrate people's practice-based knowledge and experience, whilst also indicating potential areas for growth and training. Likewise, its role might also be 'consciousness-raising', in that staff members are encouraged to reflect more on dominant and alternative frameworks for making sense of sexual violence.

An induction event introduced the project and the scrapbooking process to members of the organisation and explored any questions and concerns. It was particularly important that staff, volunteers, and trustees were all invited to better understand the research and its methodology, because scrapbooking was something which primarily their organisational lead

had consented to/collaborated in. I provided them with food and, after explaining the research so far, opened up the conversation to questions. As participants here were attending of their own volition and in their free time, I tried to make the day as engaging and enjoyable as possible. I therefore provided them with scraps, posters and creative tools to introduce them to the process of scrapbooking. These were scraps that I had actually saved from the preceding week, including articles, anecdotes, memes and images. Each table had a random group of scraps which they engaged with critically and reflectively however they chose on posters. Each group then engaged with each other's posters, adding to the scraps and previous comments. The day ended with a group discussion about some of the emerging similarities that people had identified across the posters.

With regard to the in-house scrapbooking, I visited the centre's offices and scrapbook on average once every three weeks during the eight-month period. I tried to vary the time of the visits as much as possible so as to increase the range of contexts and staff members I encountered. On these visits, I typically stayed for one-two hours to view the scrapbook contents and engage in informal discussion with staff present.

This approach extends the earlier rationale for scrapbooking 'contemplating and sharing' opportunities to group contexts. Indeed, these visits provided crucial insights into changing constitutions of scraps over time. As I was what might be called an insider/outsider researcher (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009; Acker, 2000) – that is, someone both of the organisation but also approaching it a little differently from previously – I considered ways in which to both grapple with and maximise my positioning. Michael Burawoy (2003) recommends taking time out and staggering one's re-visits, hence the intervals of three weeks, whilst Sierk Ybema and Frans Kamsteeg (2009: 116) suggest a range of tools to keep a 'wondering distance'. Indeed, where participants took it for granted that I understood certain idea or concepts, I typically asked for clarification, in order to elucidate my own assumptions as well as theirs.

I was also keen for practices of scrapbooking to be shaped by the centre, in view of the need to adapt to the complex and changing conditions of their work and time. Indeed, Susie Weller (2015) characterises qualitative longitudinal research as inevitably dynamic and evolving, whilst Janet Holland, Rachel Thomson and Sheila Henderson (2006) find that flexibility is key to its success. From my early visits to the centre, it was clear that only a minority of (mostly paid) workers were really contributing to the book and were available for discussion.

This was perhaps because their job required their daily physical presence in the centre's offices, more so than volunteers who come in for shorter periods primarily to provide counselling or answer the helpline. Whilst this was a valuable opportunity to explore how issues and experiences unfolded over the intervening weeks for those primary contributors, I was keen to broaden my approach and to take instruction from the centre's lead about how to do so.

Firstly, I extended the call for scrapbook contents to the organisational email and found that several people had scraps they wished me to include for them. I also made contact with counsellors working at outreach projects and therefore unlikely to visit the centre often. This draws on Ybema and Kamsteeg's (2009) suggestion that insider/outsider researchers visit different sites and study new situations within the familiar in order to challenge taken-for-granted understandings.

I also attended training events and the centre's annual strategy day. At one of the former events, I suggested people bring things to discuss in groups with me at lunch, whilst at the latter I organised an 'icebreaker' event both to introduce members to each other and also to maximise the opportunity of having the majority of members together. This forty-minute event centred around different groups addressing different sexual violence scenarios (see Appendix V for the topics) to decide how their particular scenario could be engaged with sensitively by a television or film production team.

As with individual scrapbooking, I am calling this method a 'utopian tool', in that asking participants to suggest ideal representational practices enables them to identify existing issues at the same time as envisaging alternatives. Likewise, dealing with the 'fictional' may free participants up to be creative and approach the task under less pressure. I found this tool a particularly helpful method for making the 'familiar strange' when working with a known group. Indeed, research practices previous to then established how typical it is for practitioners to deal with problematic ideas about sexual violence, whether in the media, by other services or victim-survivors' families and friends, for example. The utopian tool posits this familiarity both differently and hopefully.[29] Of course, this tool represents one of many in a situated creative and ethnographic approach, but I highlight it here specifically as evidence of attempts to reckon with my own proximity to the organisation and of opportunities provided for participants' enjoyment and hopefulness.

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[29] This tool also generates practical guidance which I hope to cohere into a resource for production ventures at a later date.

Evidently, such in-depth exploration in phase two was possible through the many opportunities collaboration with the centre afforded me. Whilst I considered the benefits of employing the phase two approach with a range of organisations – and, indeed, I made contact with several groups – establishing multiple collaborative and trust-based relationships was beyond the reach of this thesis. Future research would do well to engage this scrapbooking approach with a variety of services, given the diversity of phase one participants and victim-survivors more broadly. For example, it would be crucial to engage services with expertise targeted specifically at, for example, LGBTQIA+ and/or BIPOC[30] victim-survivors. It might also be interesting to work with independent practitioners in order to reflect more on the specificity of organisationally framed expertise and experience.

On reflection, however, variations on collaboration might have been preferable (though not necessarily possible). For example, more participant involvement in designing the methodology might have helped to further democratise the research process and reduce the existing hierarchies of the centre (in line with the original Rape Crisis ethos described earlier). Then again, involvement in participatory research can be characterised by waning levels of interest and motivation and, of course, the reality of having a paid or voluntary job to uphold as well (see, for example, Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995: 1673). Indeed, fewer people attended the induction event than expected and, whilst people were interested and enthusiastic about their involvement, there appeared to be little general interest in shaping the overall project after the scrapbook was removed from the centre.

In conclusion then, phase two brought together a range of situated tools for exploring the everyday workings of the organisation and ongoing contributions to the scrapbook. It also allowed opportunities to generate specific content, in directly encouraging participants to bring in scraps, to respond to the scraps I brought to the induction event or to envisage utopian content. These tools thus engage with my responsibilities to the collaborating organisation, my insider/outsider positioning, and the importance of maintaining participant interest and motivation in longitudinal research. As this description indicates, scrapbooking with the organisation might well be understood as an ethnographic[31] methodology orientated

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[30] Black, Indigenous and People of Colour

[31] Whilst I tend to refer to group scrapbooking more in terms of the ethnographic, it is not necessarily more so than those practices of individual scrapbooking. Both might be understood as contributing to an ethnography of 'rape culture', given that the latter term itself has been established here as a means of connecting everyday contexts.

around the collaborative creation of a scrapbook. This approach therefore necessitated certain ethical considerations.

4.3.3. Ethical considerations

As before, ethical approval was granted by Durham University's Department of Sociology Research Ethics Committee and a risk assessment was undertaken prior to data collection. Given the nature of group scrapbooking, I prioritised situated rather than contractual approaches to ethical practice (Plankey-Videla, 2012).

The centre's members were provided with thorough information sheets (shared to all via email, at events and available inside the scrapbook itself). This explained why the centre had got involved in the research and the practical implications for individuals. Participants were informed that, whilst I would be making notes as I went along, they need not engage directly with the research if they did not want to (and could opt-out by not contributing to the scrapbook or conversation with me). It also informed them that they could review, remove and edit any of their contributions to the scrapbook up until its removal. They received a reminder to review and/or withdraw their contributions four weeks in advance of the removal date to allow them plenty of time for reflection. As previously, the opportunity to reflect on scrapbook creations with distance and in view of its overall appearance is important for participants' control over their contributions (see again, Wills et al., 2016).

I was particularly influenced by Elizabeth Murphy and Robert Dingwall's (2007: 2230) critique of the 'anticipatory regimes' expected of – but somewhat 'inimical' to – ethnographic research and their recommendation instead of 'ethical sensitivity and situational judgment'. Indeed, I drew on supervisory expertise and recommendations for where and when to solicit consent in casual encounters within organisations (see, for example, Plankey-Videla, 2012). Nancy Plankey-Videla (2012: 5) also describes how 'blending into the background' is often prioritised by ethnographers but that this may be premised on people 'forgetting or not knowing that they are being observed'. Whilst I was a participant rather than an 'observer' throughout group scrapbooking, I still wanted the context of the research to be foregrounded. Along with verbally reminding people, I therefore used visual cues like a notebook and pen as much as possible to remind people that I was there for research purposes.

Providing information and dialogue (informational sheets, email updates and reminders, an induction event, inviting suggestions and in-person opportunities for questions), along with adopting both situational ethical judgement and an opt-out approach, was considered to be the most practical means of managing the reality of everyday life in an organisational context. At the centre, numerous people come and go unexpectedly, conversations overlap and are overheard, and most of the in-house scrapbook contributions occurred without my (or often anyone else) being able to identify the creator.

Indeed, it was precisely owing to the nature of life at the centre that attempting to distinguish between 'scrapbook' and 'non-scrapbook' conversations and observations proved difficult and often somewhat arbitrary. People themselves were eager to guide the conversation into the day's or week's events and would complain, for example, that I had not been there the day before to record 'a really interesting chat'. I was keen therefore to draw on participants' own ideas of what they wanted to share and solicited verbal consent before and after such conversations and took guidance on what participants wanted keeping private. Participants were typically explicit here, highlighting their awareness of professional politics and also organisational policies. Indeed, their own direction as to what was and was not private to the research is perhaps unsurprising given that, as practitioners, they are accustomed to dealing with issues of confidentiality, privacy and safeguarding in their work with service-users.

Nevertheless, I did not want to take their experience for granted and paid close attention to the scraps they were saving. Just as Coy (2006) found in a study as both a researcher and an outreach worker with women in the sex industry, this means that there are omissions which might have been of interest to this research. Likewise, some encounters involved people who were present only briefly or who were just quoted or referred to by others. I have therefore kept these participants anonymised not only of course from the reader but also as much as possible from each other. I have done this by sharing pseudonyms and limiting information on additional characteristics.

Of course, ethics is not simply a question of managing how the project is presented here. The danger of over-disclosing private and confidential material during research with pre-existing groups is well-known (Brannen and Pattman, 2005). As the scrapbook itself was shared and public, participants were inevitably aware of the public nature of their contributions. Likewise, as inducted and supervised members of the organisation, they were held to the policies and procedures of the organisation itself. Indeed, Coy (2006) describes how, as an

outreach worker and researcher, she conducted her interviews with women within the same parameters of her employment. Given that my research was taking place within and with the collaboration of the organisation, participants were held to account as members of staff to the centre's policies. Whilst the research information sheet did of course highlight the limits of confidentiality – in cases where they or somebody else was at risk of serious harm, for example – the fact that participants did not have to sign up to say they understood and agreed to this was mediated by the established and safe policies already in place *within* the organisation.

4.4. Analysing and organising scraps into scaffolds

4.4.1. Data analysis of individual and group scrapbooking

As previously noted, establishing the edges of 'scraps' and organising them into meaning is an ongoing relational practice in scrapbooking space. By this I mean that individual and group participants and I are working together to establish scraps, the hotspots, the things that matter. This practice might be read alongside Vera-Gray's description (2020: 63) of a research conversation with Rape Crisis workers as, all participants being active in the creation, movement and analysis of meaning rather than realising analysis as a separate event to follow. Nevertheless, a specific phase of multi-layered analysis was also built into the research, first using reflexive thematic analysis to further organise the scraps and then zooming in on specific situations, and 'plugging' in contextual, theoretical and research information. All parts of this were undertaken with the research questions and participants' motivations for taking part in mind.

A review of research employing scrapbooks as a method found little evidence of the actual data analysis tools operationalised. These omissions are particularly unhelpful, given the multi-media and multi-medium nature of digital and physical scrapbooking. Given its suitability for a range of questions and materials, thematic analysis was employed. More specifically, this thesis draws on what Virginia Braun and Victoria Clarke ([no date]) call *reflexive* thematic analysis. Building on their previous and popular work on thematic analysis (2006), they describe reflexive thematic analysis as 'theoretically-flexible' and applicable within different onto-epistemological frameworks, providing researchers are reflexive and consistent throughout the process. Indeed, they note the suitability of reflexive thematic

analysis for exploring people's experiences and perceptions, representations and also constructions of meaning.

Here then, I brought together the twenty-three individual and one group scrapbook, extensive audio recordings of meetings, transcripts of conversations and numerous notes made at the organisation and after meeting with individual participants. Maintaining and gaining a further familiarity with these in the form of multiple go-throughs was a time-consuming process, owing to their extensiveness. Following this stage, I used a coding software (ATLAS.ti 8) on text-based and scanned versions of the aforementioned list of scrapbooks, notes and transcripts in order to create both commonality and specificity. Rather than reducing the complexity of scrapbooking to context-free 'chunks' (Jackson and Mazzei, 2013), this coding built on and digitised the research practice of establishing 'scraps', by considering further what was being 'saved', 'organised' and 'shared' and how.

As an example then, a scrap saved by a participant concerning a 'sexual violence flowchart' found on the back of a college bathroom door and directing students in the event of an assault was read in multi-faceted terms: for example, why had she saved it, and how had she organised and shared it? Thus analysis highlighted the assumption that, after sexual violence, some action must be taken but ideally one within the university, which was experienced by her as 'minimising' the issue. This feeling of hers was also mediated by the sense that she should be grateful that the university was at least 'doing something'. It also highlighted how the participant used the flowchart as 'evidence' of a characteristic issue within the university context and how even spaces for seemingly routine and 'private' bodily practices are sites for meaning making around sexual violence.

These codes were collated into initial themes which were reviewed in terms of their relevance to the research questions and what was felt to be honest and holistic recollection of the significance of moments and encounters to participants. These final themes therefore received or maintained names which not only reflected the material-discursive quality at hand, but also sometimes quoted participants directly where their words or expressions seemed to possess, in feminist terms, a 'kernel' of the overall theme (Firth and Robinson, 2016). As an example here then of how the language of 'weaponisation' came to establish the fourth scaffold, an almost poetic transcript (see also Vera-Gray, 2014) of some of the verbs my participants used to describe everyday situations and practices can be shared:

Derailing, interjecting, detracting, competing, conflicting, dissecting, spearheading, diluting, distancing, interrupting, capitalising, destroying, defending, silencing, co-opting, arguing, mocking, adopting, side-lining, promoting, testing, interrupting, appropriating and strategising.

Vera-Gray (2014: 509-510) describes the hybrid poem composed of the experiences of fifty women as 'overwhelming, repetitive, shocking and exhausting … mirroring in the reader's emotional response, aspects of the lived experience itself'. In this research here, 'weaponisation' works to capture the atmosphere, organisation and experience of hostile environments and actions for both the reader and participants. (It is worth noting here then that following chapters feature explicit and/or potential distressing materials.)

However, it was necessary to then explore further the discursive practices animated in these scraps, or rather to go *back* to the specificity of each scrap from the position of being able to see how they might collectively constitute a scaffold. Indeed, this part of analysis might be understood as a loose answer to Adele E. Clarke's (2005: 85) key question of 'what is going on in this situation?' Answers to that question were both descriptive and analytical, combining, as it were, the rich description of ethnographic writing (Geertz, 1973), with critical attention to discursive formations, according to the theoretical foundations of the research (see previous chapter). As a reminder to the reader, these foundations concern, for example, how knowledge is formed and enacted and how particular situated subject positions are established. To answer these questions, it is necessary to bring scraps together and make sense of them simultaneously.

This practice applies also to contextual and theoretical factors which I have 'plugged into' the write-up (Mazzei and Jackson, 2013; 2012). For example then, where two participants establish celebrity Kim Kardashian West as a nexus of meanings and activities, I plug in Kardashian West's words and activities to read alongside these scraps and as part of the scaffolds. Drawing on Giles Deleuze and Félix Guattari's (1987) work on assemblages, Alecia Y. Jackson and Lisa A. Mazzei (2013: 262) describe their approach of 'plugging in':

> Plugging in to produce something new is a constant, continuous process of making and unmaking. An assemblage isn't a thing—it is the process of making and unmaking the thing. It is the process of arranging, organizing, fitting together. So to see it at work, we have to ask not only how things are connected but also what territory is claimed in that connection.

With this reading, it is possible to understand how Kim Kardashian West becomes established in the thesis, as opposed to the thesis being a claim to 'know' her in any ahistoric or singular sense. Indeed, Jackson and Mazzei (2013: 265) particularly characterise the importance of plugging texts and data into each other to indicate the 'suppleness' of each, and to disrupt 'the theory/practice binary by decentering each and instead showing how they constitute or make one another'. Not only is this approach in keeping then with the research's theoretical foundations, but it is also in keeping with its ethics, by not claiming some 'authority' on Kardashian West, for example.

4.4.2. Reading the scaffolds: Connecting data analysis to its presentation

Evidently then, data analysis and presentation methods interweave and writing and organising images are a key part of analysis. Just as Coy (2006: 422) suggests her research findings tell a 'story of their stories', this research offers a scrapbook of the participants' scrapbooks. Indeed, this image helps to explain the role of literatures in the following chapters as equivalents and accompaniments to participants' scraps (as opposed to mapping onto the exact same 'things' and 'ideas' at the exact same point of configurations). *Together* these form part of the scaffolds. As such, a style of writing is adopted that highlights the performative mechanics of bringing together and reading the scraps laterally or alongside each other. Similarly, language here such as 'constitutes' or 'establishes' is drawn upon to recognise scraps and the research as *making* scaffolds and discursive practices happen; writing as a continuation of configurations or different acts of the same performance. What is more, attention to time and place – as in a use of 'here' throughout the thesis – locates the thesis' nodal point where scraps, literatures and my reflections all come together to identify and outline discursive practices and scaffolds.

To understand the relevance of this writing and organisational style for feminist agendas of addressing violence, it is useful to consider Romito's (2008: 43) organisation of literature in the popular book *A Deafening Silence. Hidden Violence Against Women and Children*:

> I define 'strategies' as complex, articulated manoeuvres, general methods for hiding male violence and allowing the status quo, privileges and male domination to be maintained; by the term 'tactics' I mean tools that may be used across the board in various strategies without being specific to violence against women.

Romito (2008: 43) is somewhat critical of the terms 'tactic' and 'strategy', noting that they sound military and give 'the idea of an organised movement working together'. Her reflections are sensitive perhaps to perils of reproducing an imposing, instrumental and mono-directional power. However, I also read the ideas of 'working together' or 'tactics' as highlighting a need for a radical feminist language which intimates the entanglement of practices across contexts without suggesting the conscious, cognitive and collective action of actors.

Indeed, what is particularly important to note is that Romito's idea of 'tactics' and 'strategies' crosses a theory/data/practice divide and organises her review of literature into different ways that MVAWG is hidden and legitimated. It is done on the understanding that tactics like 'pathologizing' or 'dehumanizing' are not restricted or bounded to the phenomena of MVAWG. Whilst Romito's work is not claiming to be empirical (2008: 43), she grapples with the material-discursive – strategies and tactics as 'ways of seeing' 'behaviour', 'theories' and 'work practices'– through combining different research from within different paradigms in the *political, ethical, and intellectual* project of ending violence. Indeed, the idea of scrapbooking the everyday scaffolding as a performative research practice works with this radical feminist agenda in productive ways. Much like Romito's 'strategies' then, scaffolds in the following chapters are assembled out of scraps from individual and group scrapbooking, but also scraps of information and literature which are plugged or brought in alongside the former.[32]

It is important therefore to acknowledge, as Jamie Heckert (2010: 50) puts it, the 'miscellaneous movements of theory that have passed through me' and which feature throughout the thesis. Nevertheless, these movements are not perhaps as miscellaneous as I might hope for. Indeed, much of the readings covered here are not only based in the Global North and in Global North thinking, but are also, in fact, largely from within English-speaking contexts like the UK (where I have been educated and this research is situated).

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[32] In this sense then, the thesis might even be understood as what Elizabeth Adams St. Pierre (2021a; 2021b) describes as 'post-qualitative' or on its edge.

Chapter 5. Conflation & Marginalisation: The First Scaffold

5.1. Introduction

Drawing on the concept of everyday scaffolding then, this chapter outlines the relational discursive practices of conflation and marginalisation. These practices create boundaries and distinctions through which sexual violence becomes possible and intelligible. Certainly, the bringing together and confusing of often contentious matters (conflation) naturalises certain sexual activities, bodies and desires, and obscures the context for others. Therefore, drawing *other* often reactionary boundaries to cut sexual violence out (marginalisation) makes a different kind of sense. Nevertheless, this latter practice also has confusing and even concerning consequences here.

In terms of structure, this chapter addresses how conflation and marginalisation create first 'sacred sexuality' and then 'sexuality outside the sacred'. These relational concepts will be advanced as useful for understanding the positioning of some people and practices as seemingly beyond criticism (hence, 'sacred'). Whilst the concept of sacred sexuality takes some loose inspiration from Gayle Rubin's (1984) theorising on the 'charmed circle' (good sexuality) versus the 'outer limits' (bad sexuality), where Rubin focuses primarily on sexual acts,[33] 'sexuality' is deliberately used here in the broadest sense of the word to capture the 'slippery' (see again Jackson, 1999) and situated constitution of bodies, desires, orientations and spaces.

5.2. The creation of sacred sexuality

5.2.1. Conflating and separating sexual violence and sexual desire

Sydney, a counsellor at the Rape Crisis centre, saves a news report entitled '2 Men Cleared of Rape After Italian Court Ruled Woman "Too Masculine" To Be Attacked'. According to the report, the jury was provided with a photo of the woman to indicate that she was not 'pretty enough' to arouse sexual desire. Here then, the woman's desirability is constituted as self-evident through the discursive practice of choosing and presenting imagery to the jury. Moreover, this discursive practice positions 'femininity' as a necessary criterion both for a woman's desirability, and for men's sexual violence motivation.

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[33] See also Donna Haraway (2007) and Hazel V. Carby (1982) for a critique of Rubin's universalism.

With this constitution of sexual violence, Sydney's argument that attention to the woman's appearance ignores the fact that sexual violence is "about power, not desire"[34] is both relational and corrective. Indeed, this scrap might be read alongside feminist disavowals of the 'myth of sexual desire': the idea that men's sexual violence against women is the result of their uncontrollable lust which, once aroused, must be satisfied (for example, Rape Crisis, 2020; Jackson, 1978; Smart, 1976).

In another scrap, Celia (who is in her late teens, white and bisexual) articulates a similar corrective: "There's all this talk about the myth of sexual desire, it is actually about entitlement". However, elsewhere, she registers surprise at a personal experience of stranger verbal sexual harassment: "I was just walking back with a friend with some chips, like this is not sexual ... I literally had cheese and mayo down my chin."

These two scraps can be read together as rejecting the normative 'talk' of sexual desire as a causal explanation for sexual violence, whilst still foregrounding its significance. In the latter, 'the non-sexual' is established as the movement of two women through public space with food on their faces; harassment thus implicitly making *more* sense in alternative and 'sexual' contexts where the man's desire could be more *understandably* prompted.

Whilst these two different scraps from Celia's scrapbook establish relational practices of conflation and separation, in the following example, Rosalie 'switches' quickly between positions:

> "When it happened, I was like 'weird, this isn't sex, but it is the same action.' But I switch between thinking that people's thoughts on sex are inherently violent, to thinking sex is totally separate from that: being attracted to someone is lovely and chasing someone down the street is not sex." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

Interestingly, 'the street' also emerges here as a non-sexual sphere, dependent on Rosalie's 'switching'. In this scrap, distinctions between sex and violence are not fixed or certain, but neither is the relationship between 'thoughts', 'being attracted to someone', 'action' and 'chasing'. The following scrap likewise addresses distinctions, this time through a group conversation between three white women at the organisation:

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[34] I use *speech* quotation marks to distinguish participants talk and text from literatures cited. Following Harvard referencing styles, I place these as distinct paragraphs where they extend beyond two lines. Where I later reference these for the second time, I use general quotation marks.

Amber: "People are always saying 'where are the lines?' The lines have always been there, it's just you're not following them."

Adah: "You're the one that's drawing the line, you're the one that's in the sexual relationship, you can make it non-blurred if that's what you feel it is. Just talk, just ask."

Claire: "Well, of course, I believe that men know what they're doing is wrong and of course I believe that they know they are imposing themselves on women and that they do know the difference ... I firmly believe all that ... but you can see that if we don't clear up the confusion whether it exists or not ... we're just going to make the opportunity for someone to say 'that's always going to be there.'"

This scrap establishes a dialogue between the women and what 'people say'. Positions on 'lines' can thus be understood here as relational and situational rather than simply 'Amber always thinks this, whilst Adah always thinks that'. Indeed, the first position is that lines in a sexual relationship are clear and universal; the second that these are actually determined by people in situated contexts; and the third, that men 'do know the difference' between wrong/right and imposition/non-imposition but draw tactically on 'confusion'.

Interestingly, the third position establishes the women as a 'we' who are responsible for clearing up this confusion. It is telling perhaps that it is Claire who first uses this term, as someone older than and senior to the two other participants in this conversation and with many years work experience at the centre. With attention then to her repeated and weary 'of course', the certain or clear position *against* conflation can be understood as a necessary and exhausting part of a scripted public dialogue between the 'we' (or organisation) and 'someones'.

This establishment of an unambiguous position in relation to 'what people say' can be read next to Gavey's (2019) history of how feminist arguments separating rape from sex – 'rape is about power, not sex'– emerged as a counter-discourse in contexts where rape passed unnamed and minimised as 'just sex'. It can likewise be read alongside work by Tully O'Neill (2020) noting the appeal for victim-survivors of 'speaking in' to anticipated and closed audiences online. Using Gavey and O'Neill's literatures together as scraps, a distinction can be made here between 'speaking out' against conflation to general and hostile climates, and more nuanced, ambivalent 'speaking in' to like-minded advocates in safer contexts. Understanding this distinction helps both to identify the edges of the organisation

and 'rape culture' as enacted situationally, and also to articulate the lived experience of an exhausting and predictable set of conventions for tackling conflation.

5.2.2 What is sex? Silences on the physicality of sex

Despite extensive use of the word 'sex' throughout individual and the organisational scrapbook, it remains a largely unspecified term – sacred perhaps in its inarticulability. For example, in the following scraps (including Figure 4) Emery reflects on the show *Gilmore Girls*, which she has been watching on *Netflix* over the summer:
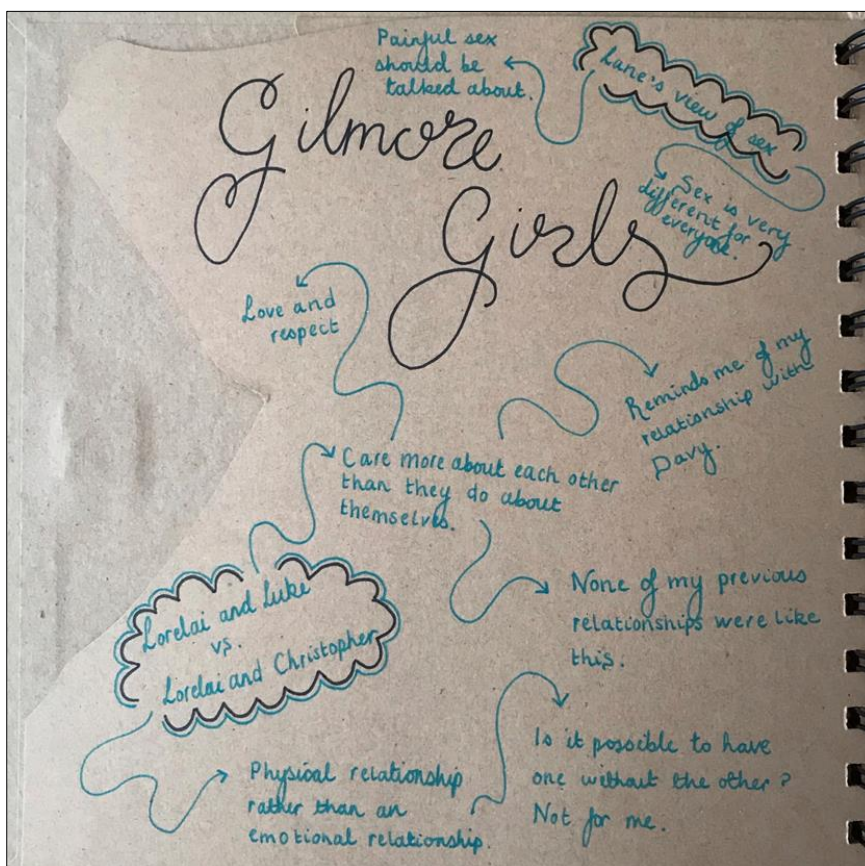
Figure 4: Page from Emery's scrapbook featuring handwritten reflections on Gilmore Girls in blue and black ink

"They got married and [Lane] comes back from the honeymoon and is like 'everything they say about sex is a lie, my mum was right' and Rory is like 'what are you on about, it's amazing'… I was like I can see where you're coming from. She doesn't talk about it being painful but in that moment I was like it's true that no one talks about this condition I have, when one in ten women have it, and it's shocking that it's not portrayed. And Lane is right that it is always portrayed as this amazing romantic

experience but that is not the case for everyone … They never talk about it again."
(Emery: 20s, white, heterosexual)

Neither the show, nor Emery herself establishes here what the 'sex' is that is so bad or painful. In fact, in positioning the articulation of unpleasant or even painful sex as going *against* the romanticism and 'amazingness' that is 'always portrayed', sex itself is constituted as a self-evident term. With this in mind, it is important to consider Abby's frustrated experience of various PTSD groups online for women who have experienced sexual violence:

> "All the posts are about how they get triggered when they have sex with their boyfriend and their boyfriends are getting bored now so they need to find something reliable that works." (Abby: 30s, lesbian)

In this scrap, the distress of triggering and the urgency of addressing it are identified in *interactive* contexts with bored partners, a factor which questions any individualistic approach to sexual health. Here, the option of not having 'sex' or the kinds of sex that are triggering or painful is not constituted as possible. Whilst Emery's first scrap positions sex as 'different for everyone', here it seems that for women victim-survivors not having sex poses very similar risks of disappointing or losing a boyfriend. Certainly, Louise expresses similar concern about her daughter who is fifteen:

> "[She] has a boyfriend who dumped her when she said she wouldn't kiss him because I said to her you never have to kiss a boy if you don't want to and she says 'I might lose a boyfriend' and I'm like 'I'm sorry to tell you, but you'll lose a few anyway.'"
> (Louise: 30s, heterosexual)

However, returning here to Emery, later in her scrapbook she goes on to share pages (Figure 5) that address more specifically what painful sex means to her. In this two-page spread, the necessity for separating out and adopting precise descriptions of specific sexual activities becomes clear, so as to best understand pain, fear and relationship difficulties. Indeed, this gives Emery language and imagery for her embodied experience of tensing up.

Figure 5: Two page spread from Emery's scrapbook on the subject of 'treatment for vaginismus' featuring handwritten text and drawings in black and purple ink with pink highlighter

Whilst the first page attends to 'vaginal penetration', the drawings of a penis (in the bottom left of second page) positions this as *penile*-vaginal penetration. Indeed, I ask Emery if the penile-vaginal penetration which she struggles with is important to her:

> "I feel an amount of closeness from that so in that sense it is important to me and to Andy otherwise it's not the only thing that's important. Actually, we do do other things, but we stopped for a long time because that was painful. I was getting upset and he was getting upset so we ended up not doing anything for a long time but since I've started seeing the therapist we've started again and it's reminded me that you can do other things in the meantime, all that sort of thing erm and that's been really nice for us."

Here, the closeness found in penile-vaginal penetration is not extended to the same extent to those 'other' unnamed 'things' done in the 'meantime'. It is interesting to read this constitution and marginalisation of 'other things' alongside extensive work on 'the coital imperative' that renders (cishetero)sex without penile-vaginal penetration unimaginable and unnameable (for example, Gavey, 2019).

Interestingly, however, in Aerin's scrap, both 'sex' and 'consensual sex' as penile-vaginal penetration are established through naming a *different* activity:

> "We didn't have sex on the first night because I turned it into a hand job because I couldn't literally do anything else in the physical position I was in, so I did that for safety but then other times we went on to have very consensual sex." (Aerin, 30s, white, bisexual)

Recent scholarship has investigated how women may adopt situated measures for safety. For example, Gavey describes how two women's struggle with saying no reflects their fear that it may have no effect. Gavey (2019: 148) understands their:

> Inability to say no as forms of strategic agency that prevented them from being "raped" but which were limited to the extent that they did not prevent them from being forced to have sex against their will.

Indeed, this scrap from Gavey can be organised alongside another from Aerin, as both establishing the significance of saying no or nothing:

> "There were two experiences where I felt a certain element of fear and didn't feel safe or in control and in the first one I said no and in the second one I did not which was a safety thing where if I thought if it's going to happen anyway and if I say no and it continues it is going to be worse."

To return to Aerin's first scrap, turning 'it into a hand job' is a measure to manage the situation and stop 'sex'. Research so far has not explicitly documented situated practices which attempt to change the actual sexual activity being enforced. Rather, it has focused on women's attempts to avoid rape attempts by, for example, fighting or screaming (see, Bart and O'Brien, 1984) or, more recently, looked at women's pre-reflective 'safety work' in public space (Vera-Gray and Kelly, 2020). A scrap from Abby's book (Figure 6) can be brought in here to determine how attention to such practices like 'turning it into a hand job' might easily lead to conflation:

Figure 6: Extract from a page in Abby's scrapbook handwritten blue-black ink on the subject of PTSD groups and flashbacks

Here then, situated and *relational* practices are misinterpreted and positioned by others as 'consent', a practice which cuts actions out of their *immediate and interactive* contexts and locates them in acontextual sexual scripts. Here then, conflation involves the legalised isolation of actions from varied meanings to enact the meanings of a silent hegemonic script: action is consent. In this particular scrap, Abby 'puts him' back in her vagina to stop anal rape, indicating the situated embodied meanings of the latter. Whilst this may be a pre-reflective action, interestingly, a scrap concerning a conversation between two older and established members of staff (and interrupted by a younger, junior member) can be brought in here to better understand its place in wider configurations:

> Kathryn: "I mean we can't be certain what the impact of porn is going to be."
>
> April: "Anal fissures in university campuses, have seen more injuries, more had to have more treatments for anal fissures, it's gone through the roof because young men think that, you know, women want to be anally penetrated and young women think that that's ok."
>
> Charlie: "I can assure you they don't."
>
> Kathryn: "Isn't that the worrying thing though because, if they don't, it's why they're consenting to it, so it's something about that you know 'I don't wanna do this but I don't want to disappoint my boyfriend or lose my boyfriend to somebody else.'"

Here then, anal penetration is established as risking injury and reflecting porn. It is important to read this scrap alongside research identifying increasing pressures on women by men to engage in anal penetration (for example, Marston and Lewis, 2014) and Salome's concerned reflections on changes to pornography over time:

> "Anal sex is run of the mill now for most straight girls and for porn too, most will have it. It used to be considered hardcore, it would be in a category." (Salome: 30s, white. bisexual)

Here then, Charlie's disgust and certainty that women do not 'want' anal penetration is relational to widespread conflation between what appears in porn and what women want. As is always a concern for feminists, what women 'want' must be contextualised here with what women feel they must do in order not to 'disappoint' or 'lose' men in the modern sexual 'marketplace' (Thompson, 2018). However, in separating these out to challenge the expectations of 'young women' who have sex with 'young men', the possibility of desiring

and enjoying anal penetration is rendered momentarily unimaginable. It is pushed outside the sacred as risky, inauthentic and abusive.

A later comment from Kathryn can be plugged in here to better understand anal penetration as something that is 'perceived' to be degrading and is thus reproduced as such:

> "If it's related to power and misogyny, it's about how much control you have over that woman because it is more in a sense perceived as being more degrading isn't it if you're being penetrated from through the anus than through the vagina."

This constitution of anal penetration works towards untangling sexual norms around power and control *without* reproducing sacred sexuality. Certainly, writers have suggested that people's particular abhorrence of anal rape may largely reflect their disgust at consensual anal penetration (Nussbaum, 2004; Rubin, 1984). Here then, situated expectations to engage in anal penetration need to be addressed, without accepting and thus reproducing anal penetration's negative associations as something to thus 'have control over that woman' with.

5.2.3. Conflating and marginalising bodies, roles and activities

Given the importance of naming and positioning bodily parts, this section addresses the significance attributed to certain bodily activities in further detail, by organising scraps into a conflation between genitalia, roles and activities:

> "I always put that I am trans on the dating app. A couple of my [trans] friends have reported corrective things: ex-partners or people saying you need to have sex like this because you have these genitals – so called normal practices … If someone has a vagina it is assumed, they will be bottom, submissive, PIV [penis is vagina], weirdly mis-directed misogyny in the equating on those body parts with sex roles. If they have a penis it is assumed they will be the top and dominant, this bleeding in of the heterosexual binary which is gross, especially when you're super gay and don't want these things coming in." (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

In this scrap, Oslo's 'heterosexual binary' means conflating possession of certain genitalia with assuming positions of, for example, 'top' and 'bottom'. Moreover, these assumptions are *actionable* through PIV, a discursive practice of conflation established here as oppositional to but 'bleeding' into and 'correcting' 'super gay' or trans contexts. This scrap can be organised

next to another from Alex, in which gender, gayness, dynamics and genitalia are separable from each other to different degrees and ends:

> "There are no very good places for trans guys to advertise. Even on sex work websites or porn or escort websites there is categories, it is always assuming you're a man using the website by the fact that categories are 'straight'. There is often a trans category which doesn't specify what trans is … As a result I have had clients who are bisexual or bi-curious: bi-curious gays and bi-curious straights, either usually heterosexual and want to try a different gender without changing the genitals they're used too or bi-curious gay men who want to try a different genitalia without losing the gay thing. Then there are clients who are like 'oh I'll try everything once … I'm just completing the set' … 'that's nice, that was my role in it, to complete the set'. A lot of heterosexual men who are just like looking for a vagina to put their dick into and are very clear they don't care about the dynamic or type, they're like 'I booked you because you're 2 minutes away.'" (Alex: white, queer)

In this scrap, the possibility of convenient penile-vaginal penetration for certain heterosexual men is distinguished from the positioning of genitalia in relation to varied 'dynamics' or 'types' for other 'curious' men. Here then, penile-vaginal penetration as an immediate maintenance of what one knows and likes, is differentiated from those bodily interactions which are an exploration or alternative to what one knows and likes *beyond* a two-minute radius.

Although convenience and curiosity are positioned to some extent here as oppositional, clients' curiosity is limited in this scrap to either experiencing a 'complete set', or as a gateway to a self-knowledge which is somewhat removed from Alex's own. Indeed, technologies which organise Alex according to ambiguous categories and physical proximity shape encounters with clients into a nexus of contested meanings and needs. These appear to either affirm or undermine Alex's gender identity depending on the clients' own curiosity (see also Capous-Desyllas and Loy, 2020 on trans sex workers experiences in this regard).

A scrap from Oslo can also be brought in here to further consider the conflations which link attraction and activity together along the lines of body parts, gender presentation and identity:

> "There is that assumption that people who are dom or the top are more masculine. I see that in a lot of normative kink, sort of mainstream kink, though that makes me sound like a hipster. Going into [kink] spaces and having all those expectations flipped and seeing

that people who are small and unimposing flogging people, those stereotypes breaking and the number of very submissive people I know who have a lot of control in their everyday lives and have access to roles where they give up all power and surrender to someone else. All the politics can stay outside, they do blend in of course, but letting go of binary ideas of top and bottom or dom and submissive. Straight people who might not be attracted to me on the basis of gender, might be attracted to me on the basis of the power dynamic I'm taking part in, so someone could be straight, but feel like 'I just want someone to be dominant, it can be any gender to fulfil those needs'. Kink and fetish are so much closer to how I understand bodies because it's not all about attraction and gender."

Rather than any 'body' naturally occupying a particular role across time and space, in this scrap 'bodies', 'gender' and 'roles' only make sense in interactive dynamics in particular and bounded spaces (see also, Bauer, 2014). Interestingly, Oslo's scrap establishes a distinction between the practices of kink and fetish spaces and those of 'everyday life', with the latter's politics 'blending' into the former. Indeed, whilst such spaces are constituted here as an alternative to the many contexts of everyday life, these boundaries are increasingly contested through the emergence of 'mainstream' or 'normative' kink and the threat of being seen as a 'hipster'. Here then, maintaining ethical and enjoyable 'power dynamics' is a practice of situating kink and fetish practices as both inside and outside wider and changing everyday configurations of meaning and inequality.

Using this scrap together with Alex's, sacred sexuality can be organised in this section as establishing and entrenching 'natural' associations between, for example, having a vagina, being a woman, being feminine, being heterosexual, pursuing sexual relationships with men and being submissive to men (both sexually and in 'everyday life'). With the discursive practice of conflation, there is no 'inside' and 'outside' of everyday life, no language of 'convenience', 'going into spaces', 'dynamics', 'clients' and 'roles'. Sacred sexuality just *is* sexuality, here and anywhere. A rape culture in participants' lives thus relies on the collapse of distance, space and time into a natural and immediate unfolding of the present.

Indeed, compared to Oslo's use of particular spaces, Aerin shares a sexually explicit scrap (Figure 7) in which Jason's arousal is increasingly centred around his 'cock' or aubergine emoji,[35] without any interaction from Aerin (the scrapbooker). When Aerin responds hours

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[35] A common practice for referring to penises and anything phallic in messaging apps (according to Gainsburg and Phillips, 2020).

later telling him that she does not have her "sex head on", he nonetheless replies with another picture and two further sexual messages. Aerin reflects that:

"I like sexting if it's a mutual exchange. I don't like a deluge like that. We had a conversation where I said I wasn't well and he sent me a dick pic and I was like seriously? I get very frustrated with men who forget I have a functioning brain, you feel like you've become something in their porn." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)
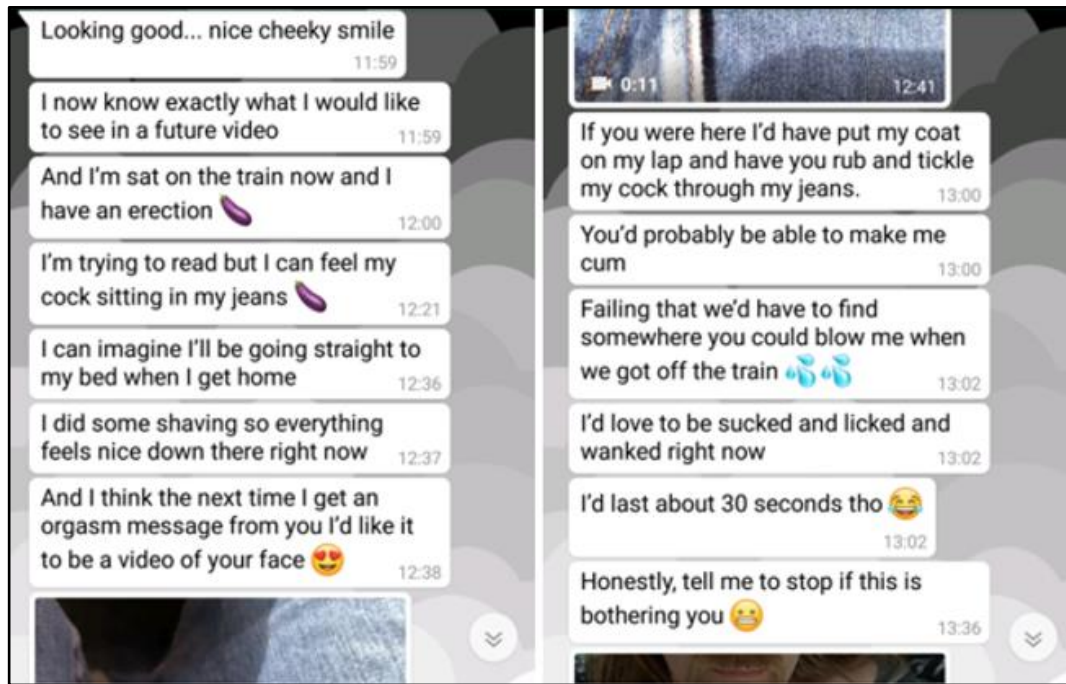
Figure 7: Screenshot from Aerin's scrapbook featuring an exchange between Aerin and Jason involving text, images and emojis

Jason's practice of sending a 'deluge' of sexual images and messages thus occurs irrespective of comments from Aerin or her 'brain'. Interestingly, the technology of *WhatsApp* here collapses the distance between them like in the constitution of 'convenience' in an earlier scrap. Indeed, understanding Aerin, as 'becoming something in his porn', means understanding his participation as *dependent* on her simultaneous passivity, immediacy and interchangeability (for someone else). As far as abstracting a 'sexual script' from this scrap goes, he needs only to know that there is some woman on the immediate end of his messages and images.

5.2.4. What is sex? 'Sexual relationships are elevated to the peak of all relationships'

The following section establishes sacred sexuality and its 'natural' associations in more detail. To begin, it is illuminating to consider the following scrap from Pam, a counsellor at the centre:

"The one girl I work with she really didn't want to have sex, she just really didn't but even her girlfriends were saying to her like 'what's the matter with you' … and I'm like do you not see that it's a precious gift that you've got and that you have the choice to give that away. I work differently with the younger girls to be fair and also we've I actually, bizarrely, whether it's right or wrong, coz it is about autonomy, is that I ask 'what would it be like to do dates'? What would dating be like? What would it be like if you got to know the boy before you let him? Like dating, I advocate it."

Here, sex is constituted as a gift given from girls to boys – in keeping with the reported treatment of virginity in the Global North (Friedman, 2014, for example). Whilst Pam's practice is a different way of 'working' with 'younger girls', it is helpful to understand the separation of girls from their 'gifts' alongside adult Gina's reflections on sex with her husband:

"If I had my wish I probably wouldn't have sexual relationship with him but he wants to and I love him and he loves me and I think it feeds into that whole 'women love your body, do what you want', the MeToo movement … and this for me is another nuance. I'm in a relationship that I committed to and that included sex and I love him, we had kids and raised them together so do I sacrifice well it's not really betraying do I sacrifice my body for the love of that even though it's against what my body wants and I don't really know what I want? I have said to him that I need to think about what I am to him and what I am prepared to do. I have done what is quite common; go ahead and not really want it or feel like it and then go along with it and it's not bad, sometimes it's alright and you think we should do this more but that is what everybody does, well, I don't know if it is but it's what a lot of people do." (Gina: 40s, white and heterosexual)

In this scrap, sex between Gina and her husband is positioned in relation to the MeToo movement, her marriage commitments, the raising of a family and what 'a lot of people do'. With the listing of these factors she becomes more and more weary, establishing the lived experience of this scaffold as one of managing a 'deluge' of competing ideas, to quote Aerin from earlier. It is interesting to note that she does not actually specify what a 'sexual

relationship' involves, other than 'giving' him her 'body'. Here then, a cut or distinction is created between the person who gives and the body that is given in receipt of 'sex'. The question then of agency – or perhaps 'women love your body, do what you want' – is reduced to whether or not the giver *chooses* to give.

This question can be read alongside literature on the conditioning of women into body-self divisions (for example, Young, 1980), and 'gift-giving' as a dominant discourse of sexual relating between men and women (for example, Braun, Gavey and McPhillips, 2003). Literatures vary here as to the direction and reciprocity of this gift-giving. For example, Jackie Gilfoyle, Jonathan Wilson and Brown (1992) note how in the 'pseudo-reciprocal gifting giving discourse' women give themselves or their bodies to men in exchange for an orgasm. They highlight (1992: 221) the *pseudo* reciprocity and equality of this practice because men emerge as active and technical providers of pleasure whilst women lose self-determination over their bodies and orgasm.

Indeed, this practice of gift-giving as presupposing distinct objects and skills to be exchanged, is illuminated by Rosalie's contrasting positioning of a sex which is creative, that is, a sex which generates *new* skills and subject positions:

> "A lot of people don't see sex as a shared communicative thing, they see it as an exploitative 'I'm going to get pleasure from you rather than we're going to do something together'. With this [other] idea of sex, it's this idea that you can do different things, try things out, you can't fail at it." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

Sex as active and exploratory communication is thus established here in relation and by contrast to sex as an exploitative extraction. Nevertheless, this 'openness' to define sex situationally reads differently when positioned next to other scraps:

> "I thought if I didn't want to have sex with this boy it's because I was gay and I was like, yeah, but the reality is its more complicated than that, there's more going on. It took a long time to unlearn the idea that sexual relationships are elevated to the peak of all relationships. I really pushed myself to hide my asexual-ness. I felt like I was broken. It was such a big thing to be like this is a positive label. I'm choosing the label and it's not a product of trauma." (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

Definitional practices which separate sex from discourses of exchange or extraction may nonetheless establish the *naturalness* of sex as a form (or the best, most fun, creative form) of

communication in a relationship. With Oslo's scrap it is possible to understand this 'elevation' of sexual relating to 'peak' significance in ways which naturalise sexual desire itself even if they denaturalise how that desire is acted on.[36] Indeed, like the taken-for-granted 'giving' of the body in relation to the complexity of meanings about sex and marriage in Gina's scrap, debating the different meanings of sex may itself take a sexualised positioning on and in the world for granted. It is possible to combine these two scraps then to understand this everyday scaffolding and, indeed, rape culture as entrenching certain sacred 'facts' even as meanings themselves and choices seem to pluralise and be contested. Separation – Oslo cutting themself out as 'asexual' *across* contexts and relationships – thus emerges here as a necessary practice to unlearn *general* expectations of engaging in and giving primacy to sex.

In the following scrap from L, he also seems to wrestle with the primacy given to sexual relating:

> "It was a costly relationship, draining, I felt a lot uglier probably due to the abuse where you're told you're hated and it has put me off a lot of stuff now, in a way for the better. I would probably have bounced back looking for someone and it's been liberating. I've had a lot of platonic friends. I like the idea of a companion I can travel with, not linked to the sexual thing, soul mates and friends and you go around together but still not that fix of the sexual thing, which is difficult, it feels exploitative to have a transactional thing with someone." (L: 30s, white, heterosexual)

L's position as someone who would 'normally' have tried to look for and 'bounce back' with a new partner can be read next to another scrap from a counsellor at the centre addressing the issue of how after abuse "families want you to move on, but they want you move on with someone … there is a lot of pressure to find someone". This widespread imperative to have an emotional, romantic, and sexual relationship is also established in the following excerpt from J, where she describes how her son has retreated into himself on finding out that his biological father was a rapist:

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[36]With much work on sexual and rape scripts marking the significance of desire as being not enough to elicit behaviour 'unless the actor is able to define the situation as one in which such conduct is appropriate' (Jackson, 1978: 30), it is important to ask if sexual desire itself is naturalised as a 'real' or 'material' fact. Indeed, Lena Gunnarsson (2013: 12) makes the point that although many feminists avoid appealing to 'human nature' they nonetheless rely on and reproduce humans as 'inescapably sexual'. Very little research on asexuality exists in the context of scripts, though Heather Mitchell and Gwen Hunnicutt (2019) provide work challenging scripts of sexual normalcy.

"He doesn't have a girlfriend anymore. I'm really worried about him, he's well rounded in other ways: he is a good uncle, works, takes on responsibility. He won't even have a relationship. It's fine if you don't have kids or live an alternative lifestyle with a same sex, I'm pro people, love who you love, the world is tough out there. I just want him to have someone to love, doesn't have to be a woman." (J: 50s, white, heterosexual)

It is important to recognise the love and worry that J has for her son here. Interestingly, however, it is not children or the gender of the partner that matters to J, just that he has 'someone to love'. Indeed, in establishing herself as open to the idea that it need not 'be a woman', the naturalness of having someone (and just one person) to love romantically and sexually is constituted. Certainly, these scraps can be read next to work on homonormativity as the acceptance of queer desire only where expressed as 'love' (for example, Duggan, 2003) or next to Elizabeth Brake's (2012: 88-9) work on 'amatonormativity':

> The assumption that a central, exclusive, amorous relationship is normal for humans, in that it is a universally shared goal and that such a relationship is normative, in that it *should* be aimed at in preference to other relationship types … [it] prompts the sacrifice of other relationships to romantic love and marriage and relegates friendship and solitudinousness to cultural invisibility.

With Brake's definition and L's troubled constitution of companionship without sex in mind, it is interesting to consider the following scraps in which friendship between women and men is established as a 'steppingstone' to sexual and romantic intimacy. Together these establish a rape culture that requires women's friendship intimacies with men do not foreclose the sexual and romantic. For example, Emery reflects on a *13 Reasons Why* storyline where a woman befriends a rapist, whilst Rosalie (Figure 8) and Celia share their personal experiences:

> "[Ani] is presented as the sort of pure character who can see past everything but then why isn't she just a friend to him, that would make sense. Why do they have to sleep together? But then to put herself in that position, unless it's trying to show how much she makes her own mind up about things and that he's changing, I don't know, I don't think it was really necessary to have sex with him." (Emery: 20s, white, heterosexual)

"I had a friend who used to try and start sexting with me every now and then and it is tiring that I had to explain that we don't do that … and having to remind people that being friends is fine." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)
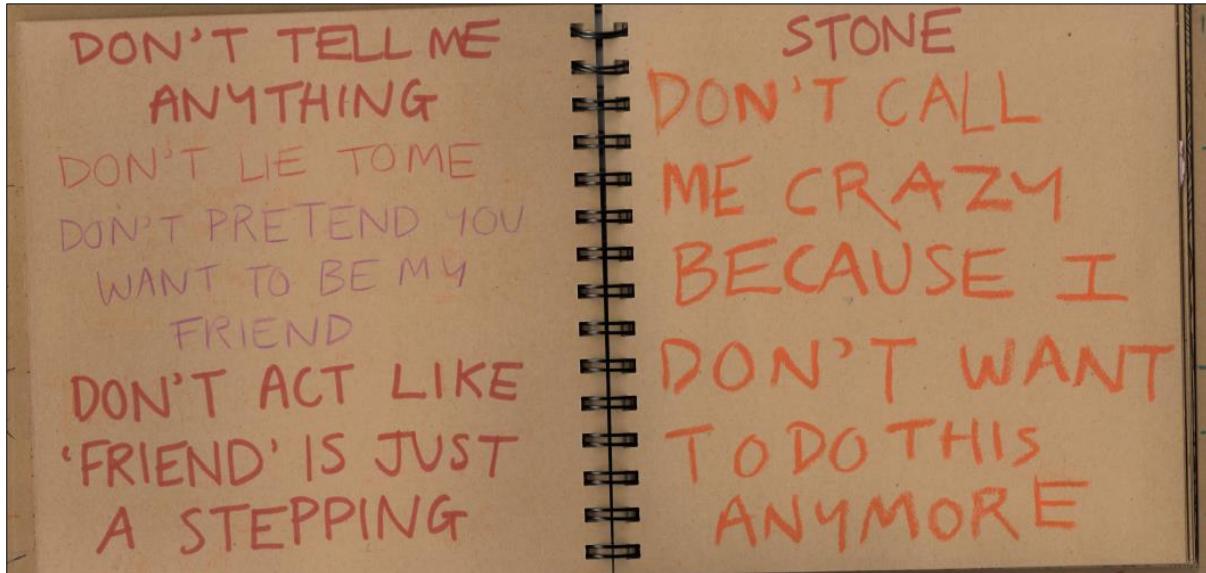
Figure 8: Two page spread from Rosalie's scrapbook featuring a list of DON'Ts written in varied colours

In Celia's scrap, the boundaries and properties of friendship are continually established and contested through the man's attempts at sexting. It is also interesting to consider Emery's scrap in more detail, by plugging in context about Ani as a black character and narrator. Emery's scrap thus concerns a wider configuration of practices in which black characters are written as 'magical' mirrors on and tools for the moral growth of white men (see also Glenn and Cunningham, 2009 Hughey, 2009). Sex here measures how much a white man can change and be trusted, as much as it furthers the porousness of friendship between men and women.

Interestingly, another scrap from Celia can be brought in here to explore such expectations of women in more detail and in different contexts:

"It's always a joke in the circles I'm in that women are not good at flirting with each other. It's because there's that comfort if a woman says 'you look nice' or 'I'm having a really nice time', whereas when a guy is like that then you then think he must want to sleep with you but if a girl does that then you're like maybe she just enjoys my company and it's just it makes it so hard because we've romanticised the wrong things for the wrong people and it's really weird, it's sexualising like affection … I read a study recently that men in straight relationships they transfer all their emotional needs

onto the woman … whereas women don't do that, woman have those emotional links with other women. If you're used to that model where you can have emotional needs with women and it's not necessarily sexual or romantic but if you have an emotional relationship with a man it's like the weird male friendship dynamic and it is quite odd and with women it's like this woman is trying to form an emotional connection with me which doesn't mean she's romantic or sexually interested in me and with men it's like generalised, you know, 'you will be my emotional crutch in a relationship.'"

Celia's reflections highlight the second-guessing that conflation requires from women. They also establish the unsettling sense that whilst her friendships with men need constant monitoring to keep them as such, those with women are difficult to transform through flirting because rape culture romanticises 'the wrong things for the wrong people'. Moreover, using this scrap, sex as necessary 'for the good of the relationship' in Gina's scrap or J's hope for her son to have a partner can be read as the amatonormative idea that one should be all things to one person and that the practice of 'sexualising of affection', to quote Celia again, is both natural and aspirational.

In these scraps thus far, sex is indeed imbued with the power to maintain and further emotional and/or romantic relationships, becoming a prerequisite for the most ideal form of intimacy. In this model, refusing a partner sex is not simply a situated communication – something you cannot 'fail' at like Rosalie says – but is more contentious and deeply disruptive. Indeed, in the light of one counsellor's understanding, 'I believe that when you have sex, two people form a soul tie', denying the tie means denying oneself in the spiritual world.

5.2.5. The Creation of sacred sexuality: Summary

In this first section, scraps have been organised as the relational conflating with *and* also separating of forms of sexuality from sexual violence. Conflation and Marginalisation are useful concepts for identifying everyday discursive practices which create exhaustion and confusion, such as, describing the desirability of a victim-survivor but also arguing that behavioural 'lines have always been there'. Indeed, conflation and marginalisation understand here how practices of, amongst others, news reporting, working with girls, sending a 'deluge' of sexts and dismissing anal penetration, scaffold everyday contexts in which sacred sexuality is hard to identify and contest. Without precise language for the

emotional, sexual, romantic and/or spiritual expectations and positions established in relational contexts, triggering, painful, coerced or even just unenthusiastic sexual relating is conflated here with, for example, achieving intimacy goals, recovering from PTSD and everyday relationship maintenance. Certainly, Kjell (heterosexual) expresses wider concerns about how language conflates and confuses: "snow happens to you, a traffic jam happens to you, but abuse is done to you intentionally".

5.3. Creating sexuality outside the sacred

Whilst the previous section addressed the constitution of sacred sexuality through the relational practices of conflation and marginalisation, attention is paid here to how these discursive practices also position forms of sexuality *outside* the sacred and, often, into uncritical categories of 'abuse' or 'disgusting'. These practices thus scaffold not only sexual violence then, but also, for example, homophobia.

5.3.1. Conflating sexual violence with 'gayness'

The first scrap (Figure 9) concerns a message exchange between me (in the blue bubbles on the right) and Susan (who is in her 60s and white) in the grey bubbles on the left. I ask her about representational practices. In this scrap, 'men' and 'women' are constituted as complementary positions in the context of sexual violence, where a man as a victim necessitates a woman as an abuser (and vice versa). Interestingly, in Susan's scrap these complimentary relational positions are marked as 'cultural', whilst the possibility of a 'gay man' introduces a different paradigm altogether.

A scrap from Oslo can be plugged in as a concise commentary on the practice here of conflating being gay with sexual violence: "the narrative is
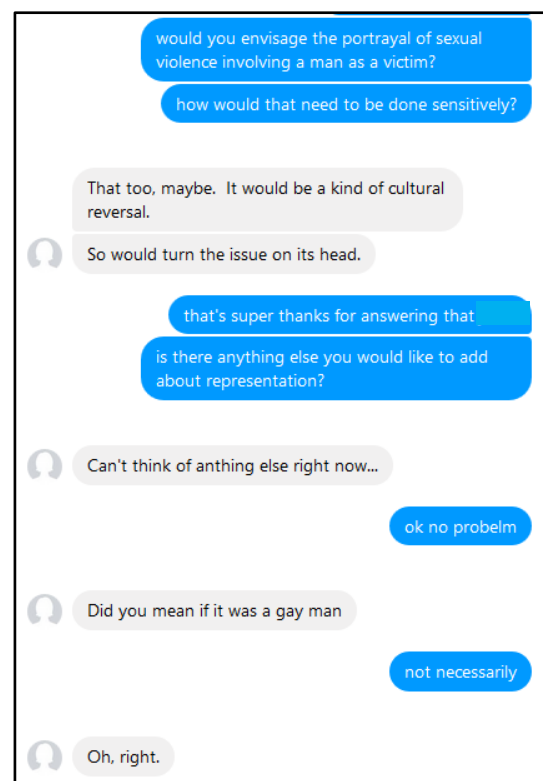
Figure 9: Screenshot of a Facebook message exchange between featuring grey and blue bubbles of text

that rape happens to women by men and sometimes by men to other men in prison and they're definitely all gay."

Indeed, it is possible to outline the following elements of conflation: a particular action and relational context (e.g. a man sexually abusing another man) is described in terms of a sexual identity (e.g. being gay) with the result that an abuser and/or their victim-survivor/s is positioned as a 'gay man' or the abuse itself is positioned as being 'gay' or 'homosexual'. Other scraps can be brought in to better understand how this signification of 'gayness' – as integral to distinguishing the abuse from other ('typical', 'normal' or 'cultural') forms – opens a door for homophobic stigma (Sivakumaran, 2005) and a *causal* link between gayness and abuse:

> "In some ways it is in the mainstream. I have worked with men and boys abused by men and women abused by women and that idea that it was because the perpetrators were gay has got into their head." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

> "A few of the people were the football loving manly men. I'm not going to sugar coat it, they were incredibly homophobic so the concept of a guy being sexually assaulted by another guy was a subject of ridicule for them because they were like 'I would never of let that happen. Oh well, that makes you gay then, I guess'. I don't think the fact that it was a non-consensual violation of my consent ever came in for them." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

Here then, 'gayness' establishes both the assault and Trihan as comical, and obscures relational contexts of non-consent. Indeed, participants report having to manage people's negative perceptions of their sexualities when attempting to get help for sexual violence:

> "I can't report it, it would just get out. As soon as it went across Mandy's desk it would get out, my sexuality would play a role. She'd always said 'you're bisexual you're not gay'. The other guy always said I wasn't gay because I dated his son even though his son is now openly gay. It would be all about my queerness and not about what happened to that fifteen-year-old girl." (Kit, 20s, white, pansexual and demisexual)

Similar perceptions are addressed in the following conversation between two participants in a relationship:

> Bridget: "Who was it who asked you if you were attracted to women because you're scared of men?"

Abby: "Oh, Pauline, the sexual violence liaison officer"

Literature on homophobia in the police (for example, Maxwell, 2016) and troubling police responses to LGBTQIA+ victim-survivors (Butterworth, 2018) are particularly relevant here for establishing the cultures of law enforcement that marginalise participants and render 'queerness' profane. Practices of *separating* 'gayness' from violation must be therefore understood as relational and reactive to this wider discourse on 'queerness' as the product of violence and trauma.

However, participants' scraps can also be organised as more nuanced constitutions of sexuality, highlighting their need for sensitive exploration:

"There is an element where the victim might have some confusion or questions about their sexuality as a result of that happening. Even if it feels remotely pleasurable whilst it's happening, that can screw your head up." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

Indeed, whilst quick to refute the comments from Pauline the 'liaison officer' in the last scrap, Abby also shares with me:

"A friend's friend was abused by a woman this year. That's the first time I've really heard of a woman being an abuser as I feel so comfortable with women sexually. I think I'm attracted to them for that reason, rather than being bisexual."

Likewise, Rosalie talks about a woman[37] who sexually abused her:

"She has odd views about sexuality and has probably definitely been assaulted herself. It's also this queer thing where she has the patriarchal idea that all men want sex constantly so if a man doesn't want it with her that's rude, even if she doesn't want it, so she put that on me like, if I was gay, I would want her because she's a woman and an object. She very much made herself a sexual object." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

In these three scraps, sexuality is constituted as too multi-faceted – a complex mix of attraction, pleasure, comfort, ideas and self-objectification – to be simply unaffected by abusive relations, histories and contexts. Addressing homophobic conflation without marginalising the possibility that sexuality can change evidently requires distinguishing precisely between *aspects* of sexuality. This definitional practice reads very differently from sexuality's entrenched and 'common sense' definition as simply sexual orientation (Barker,

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[37] Rosalie is bisexual which the other woman does not recognise or validate.

2019; Sedgwick, 1993). Perhaps then, rape culture's reproduction requires that sexuality be understood primarily (if not wholly) in terms of the gender/s of object choice. It is only in addressing this conflation that sexual violence as 'changing' sexuality can be considered.

Precise definitional practices also challenge the positioning of 'gay' abuse as an entirely different kind of abusive experience (from 'normal') and therefore perhaps priority for anti-sexual violence work:

> "There's the idea that men want sex and are entitled to it but then that also fits into when people perpetrate against them. And there are weird permutations of that in queer settings, male to male, you know 'I want it and you want it', very sex-fuelled and, with women, it's the idea that women aren't violent or even sexual, but are just really good friends, you know, so close, and make bracelets together. Where women in relationships together take on some of those masculine ideas of taking something from someone. We might hate hearing 'who is the man?', but we have internalised a lot of that." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

Rosalie's language here of 'weird permutations' and the 'taking on' of 'masculine ideas' establishes commonalities or a continuum across contexts without furthering a reductive divide between the 'gay' and non-gay. Interestingly, Rosalie seems to boil this masculine idea down to 'taking something from someone', an extractive practice which characterises not only MVAWG then but violence against varied people (see also Gavey, 2019). This scrap thus establishes the importance of involving sexually diverse participants to better understand how rape culture is constituted and experienced. Indeed, the following scrap positions lesbophobia as integral to Kit's experience of grooming from a man and the wider village and school silence on MVAWG:

> "I'd come out as a lesbian and she was the only other lesbian in the school. People would say 'are you with her', like no, but I wish I was. If she had been a student it would also be the case. It's small village politics and because of these rumours the school tried to keep us apart, but it meant I couldn't confide in her. They were living in the dark ages, didn't know what to do. They tried to minimise the rumour mill. I couldn't even speak to her in the corridor. I would have come forward a lot sooner if I had been able to confide in the one person I felt safe with." (Kit: 20s, white, pansexual and demisexual)

Rather than challenging the conflated supposition that the only (out) lesbians in the school would be 'with' each other, minimising the 'rumour mill' necessitates keeping Kit and the teacher physically apart. This discursive practice of enforcing distance thus separates Kit not only from positive mentorship and relational lesbian self-understanding but *also* from the chance to confide in a trustworthy person about the grooming. Kit's position as a student, and a student *subject* to rumours in the school, makes contesting this conflation and marginalisation challenging.

Conflation is, in fact, challenged in the following scrap of a short exchange between two members of staff at the organisation:

Kathryn: "There were allegations he was living with someone's male lover."

Ami: "That's not an allegation Kathryn."

Here conflation is quickly and lightly addressed, separating the language of wrong-doing from men who are intimate with other men. Evidently, such a challenge can occur in contexts where staff feel supported and confident to make them. Whilst Ami's position here as a member of staff is perhaps different from being a student in a school, like Kit she is, nonetheless, junior to and younger than Kathryn and the only (out) lesbian. Brief and somewhat easy though this exchange may have been, the work involved in changing organisational cultures is every day and extensive. Moreover, plugging in writings by Sara Ahmed (2012), this 'equality and diversity work' typically falls to those positioned to be most affected by its outcomes.

5.3.2. Conflating and marginalising sexual violence from BDSM[38], kink and multiple partnerships

In this section, scraps are organised into a focus on BDSM, kink and multiple partnerships. (Nevertheless, 'gayness' and 'queerness' remain an important nexus of meaning for approaching these.) An example here of conflation comes from the resource coordinator at the organisation, where she describes a training she delivered to university members of staff:

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[38]There are slight variations in the words typically comprising this acronym, so I provide multiple: bondage and discipline, domination and submission, and sadomasochism. I deliberately do not distinguish between these and kink, for example, because their uses vary for and across participants and contexts.

"Then in the next breath someone says about a dinner organised by young men and their tutors or professors and the young women served them in their underwear, then someone said 'there's an S&M group' and I said 'we're talking about a different thing here, we're talking about objectification and someone using male privilege'. There was a lot of tension in the room and someone said 'why is it not reported?'"

Here, the presence of an 'S&M group' at the university is mentioned as if its relevance to the issue of sexual violence is self-explanatory. This practice can be understood as conflation and April's response – 'we're talking about a different thing here' – necessarily separates S&M from 'objectification' and 'male privilege' in order to maintain a group focus on sexual violence. Interestingly, Mae, who engages in kink and BDSM, describes their community organising in ways which also challenge any self-evident abusiveness:

"People use kink as an excuse to do bad things to people, but the kink world is so built on consent and there are so many rules which can intimidate people to start with. For example, you don't interrupt a scene, you don't touch or speak to them because it is all about them having this special scene. It's why it is so friendship based. There are so many kinks and you don't have to share them, you can just be like 'no, that's not me' but you still see and support them at events. Lots of people on the kink scene are asexual and lots of people have kinks which aren't sexual. In general, it isn't sexual. The media likes to show very extreme things to make it all seem very strange." (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

It is important ask whether Mae's emphasis on the 'non-sexual' is partly an attempt at safety and respectability through desexualising what might be seen as 'deviant' practice? Or is she also pointing to the (asexual and friendship) groups *left out* of such attempts at the respectability of 'normal' sexual citizens? Nevertheless, in this scrap, the media position on kink is organised as extreme, strange and sexual next to the practice of people using kink 'to do bad things'. This proximity suggests that conflation between kink and 'badness' is harmful, both in enabling abuse and also in obscuring the significance of asexuality, friendship and consent in the 'kink world'. Oslo and Trihan also explore material resources involved in establishing ideas about BDSM and/or kink:

"The fifty shades of grey effect is that it is all abusive and rough and heartless. The least safe sex I have had has been outside of kinky BDSM spaces. All of the harmful

interactions have been outside of the spaces of strict protocols." (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

"Fifty shades of grey is terrible because it is not a good representation of a BDSM relationship and he is abusive and basically gets away with it because he's hot. If you swapped him for someone less attractive it wouldn't be. It is just an abusive asshole being a shit dominant." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

In both scraps, the influence of the fictional *Fifty Shades* series is established, against which, Oslo and Trihan separate and define a 'true' BDSM and/or kink. Interestingly, Meg-John Barker (2013: 896) also writes that, whilst the *Fifty Shades* trilogy has increased public awareness of BDSM to record levels:

> The understandings of consent depicted in the novels remain reflective of those prevalent in wider heteronormative culture. Responsibility for consenting is located within the individual (woman) and consent relates to sex rather than to the relationship as a whole.

Using Barker's work here as a scrap alongside those from Oslo and Trihan, a 'counter-discourse' on BDSM is created through separating and contrasting the 'fictional' or the 'perceived' from the 'real'. However, Mae's comment that 'people use kink as an excuse to do bad things' requires revisiting – especially in light of contemporary uses of a 'rough sex defence' and increasingly normative violence during casual sex (Bows and Herring, 2020; Walling-Wefelmeyer and O'Neill, 2021, for this topic in more detail). How people are *able* to use kink as an 'excuse' can perhaps be understood as part of the marginalised and criminalised history of BDSM, meaning that communities inevitably struggle with accusations of abuse because of the 'fear of giving fuel to the common accusation that 'BDSM is always abuse' (Barker, 2013: 902). Indeed, Barker (2013: 902) adds that:

> Ironically, such accusations seem to have resulted in communities where abuse may be more, rather than less, likely to occur because of the now dominant counter-discourse that 'kink is not abuse' […] meaning that potential perpetrators know that abuse will rarely be acknowledged'.

Here then, discursive practices of conflation and marginalisation work to obscure and excuse abusive practices, whilst also creating a guardedness around their conversation. Whilst Barker is referring specifically to Global North BDSM *community* organising, these practices

or 'excuses' form configurations with dyadic sex between men and women in everyday life (see Walling-Wefelmeyer and O'Neill, forthcoming for more details). Indeed, earlier in this chapter, Oslo described having to manage the boundaries and encroachments of 'mainstream' and 'normative' kink.

Other forms of group relating are talked about by participants in terms of polyamory. For example, in the following scraps (including Figure 10) Gina reflects on how men react to her being polyamorous:

"There's this whole sexist misogynistic thing that if you're a woman and polyamorous and you're even slightly attractive then you must be up for it. I've only just dipped my toe in and I'm only in small groups, but this is my experience. I don't know if it's a good thing, but it does feel disrespectful. I don't know if my experiences are typical." (Gina: 40s, white and heterosexual)
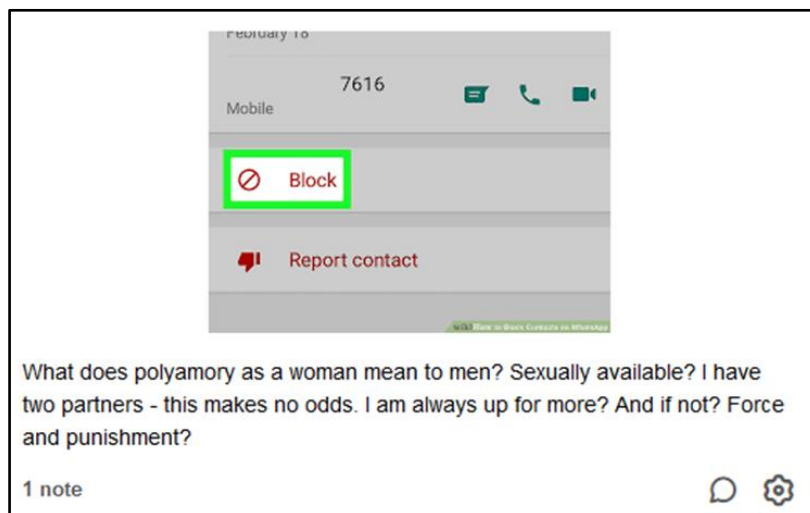
Figure 10: Page from Gina's scrapbook featuring a screenshot and typed text on the subject of polyamory

In this scrap, Gina explores abstracting from her experience in 'small groups' to general comments about how women positioned as polyamorous are responded to by men. Here, as an 'attractive' polyamorous woman, Gina is posited as being 'up for it', a conflation perhaps between having and acting on the capacity to be attracted to more than one man and *being available* to all men. Moreover, harassment acts as place-making here, by establishing these groups as being for men sexually accessing women rather than, for example, friendship and support. It seems that even spaces for creating 'alternative' intimacies – or 'anarchistic'

intimacies, as some participants call it – can be formed around the impossibility of heterosexual men's friendship with women noted in previous sections.

It is also really illuminating to position Gina's scrap alongside one from J, who is a teacher:

> "They make comments about girls who are promiscuous at work with damaged backgrounds and people are like 'she'll end up with a baby at 15, she's a slag'. We're meant to be professional people. I do challenge it. Women should be liberated to have sex whenever they want just like men and like every other species. But having multiple partners is a sign of low self-esteem. And the ironic thing is that where I work they think I'm proper, with high standards, but I had a baby when I was 15, but work doesn't know that. My grandma died and I had a complicated relationship with my mum and when my gran died I thought that's it and I didn't have multiple partners just one and got pregnant and my dad described it as being out of wedlock and me being a whore. All this time and people still think like that. Things you hear at work and see in the media, it's not that far different." (J: 50s, white, heterosexual)

This scrap addresses the complex and situational constitutions of conflation that both J and the girl at her school are subjected to. On the one hand, being liberated to have sex whenever is an aspirational and animal reality but, on the other, having multiple partners and at a certain age denote low self-esteem and whorishness. Indeed, J differentiates between her own pregnancy with 'just' one partner at 15, and the multiple partners and anticipated pregnancy of the girl at school.

Constitutions of sexuality outside the sacred vary considerably from situation to situation and from scrap to scrap. Moreover, practices of othering or hierarchising form integral aspects of sense-making on sexuality here, even as solidarity is simultaneously established. Nevertheless, both Gina and J's scraps can be read *together* as the constitution of women and girls who are sexually active with more than one man (or boy) as being *more* available to other men (or boys). This point of commonality is important to describe here as an entrenched and sexist conflation of sexual practices, morality and availability in varied situations across time and space. Evidently, certain expectations of women remain fully entrenched within rape culture, despite apparent and progressive changes (see also I Tripped on the (Polyamorous) Missing Stair, 2020). Certainly, these scraps tie together contemporary polyamory groups and school contexts on the one hand, with more conservative family values and practices on the other hand.

Alternatively, in the following scrap, sex outside the sacred seems to be any sex outside of the context of an intimate relationship:

> "I feel sick, it is disgusting to me just for having them for sex, my god is this really happening out there, especially when they are using women sometimes women are doing it to men, sometimes it is even men who get used. It is both sides. Sometimes I start doubting it, am I right in the way that I think? I am strong, I don't give in." (Noor: 20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern, heterosexual)

Scraps elsewhere understand abstaining from sex until marriage as important to Noor and the Koran, whilst in other scraps she is positioned as 'open' to the fact that people have different ideas about sex and religion. Indeed, she refers several times to the importance of "educating yourself", in relation to those Muslim acquaintances who she reports as not wanting children to have sex education, or as asking her "why are you reading about sexual stuff?". Like J then, Noor necessarily establishes a distinction between herself and others to better understand her own position and experience. When this practice is appreciated alongside literature on extensive and rising Islamophobia in the UK (Nazeer, 2020), subject positions of 'good Muslim' or 'good immigrant' (see varied articulations of this in Shukla, 2017) can be understood as necessitating she distinguish herself from 'bad Muslims' for her own safety. However, in her defence of sex education she adds "not encouraging, just educating", establishing her position on the subject as relational to multiple discourses and expectations. Like in Gina's earlier negotiations of marriage, self-love and MeToo, Noor's reflections here are characterised by a form of weariness.

5.3.3. Conflation and marginalisation as establishing a politics of disgust

The main focus of this following section is the previous scrap's constitution of 'just having someone for sex' as 'disgusting'. Interesting work has been done on the role of anger and disgust in judging and responding to sexual activities (for example, Nussbaum, 2004). In particular, I bring in here Roger Giner-Sorolla and Pascale S. Russell's (2009: 48) identification of disgust as a major obstacle to achieving justice for sexual violence victim-survivors:

In new situations anger is most likely to arise when an act is seen as harming someone or violating [their] rights, whereas sex acts that go against cultural and personal norms have the potential to be seen as disgusting, no matter the circumstances.

Here then, whilst moral anger may be easily elicited, it can easily change as people engage with more specific contextual information about the acts concerned (Giner-Sorolla and Russell, 2009). Disgust, on the other hand, remains inflexible and is not 'responsive to contextual cues, such as harm and intentionality' but is based instead on a categorisation of normal/abnormal (Giner-Sorolla and Russell, 2009: 51). Indeed, Giner-Sorolla and Russell's example of how framing men raping men as 'gay' or 'homosexual' transfers moral attention to the stigmatised identity (rather than to the violation of one man by another) is pertinent to those scraps on 'gayness' from earlier in the chapter.

The following scraps from Celia and Polly can also be brought in to understand the relevance of anger and disgust further:

"Her friends were trying to be supportive and sensitive, but they did not see her in the same way anymore, they didn't talk about guys they like with her. She feels like everything has changed. People trying to be supportive often do worse or make you feel like you're so different now. 'Poor you' is not a productive thing. She was less nervous about telling me because she knew I would be angry at him. That is more productive, be angry." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

"I've watched all the first season and read all of the [Game of Thrones] books. I heard about the Cerise rape scene with Jamie which was weird for them to make into a rape scene because in the book it is consensual. It is a particular scene in the tv show, it is rape which would totally ruin the dynamic between them totally but, then again, it was a sex scene between her and her twin brother which is already an odd situation to begin with … for ratings for shock tactics, just to be edgy. I can't think of any other reason, maybe they wanted to highlight it as an issue." (Polly: 20s, white, heterosexual)

In Celia's scrap, anger is directed at her friend's abuser and is positioned explicitly as 'productive', whilst Polly's scrap speaks more to the popularity of 'sibling incest' in fiction, as 'the disgust that fascinates' (Kokkola and Valovirta, 2017). Indeed, sex between the twins Cerise and Jamie as 'already an odd situation to begin with' is a good example of conflation in action: its logic meaning that, as the interaction is already 'odd', it is not a far leap to being 'rape'. This conflation must be positioned next to the dearth of information on sibling sexual

abuse that has been interpreted by Peter Yates (2016: 2482) as resulting from 'the existence of a sibling incest taboo and a prevailing belief that sibling sexual behaviour is largely harmless'. Together these scraps establish that an understanding of sexual behaviours between siblings – when, how and in what contexts behaviours are harmful and/or abusive – is needed to address *both* trivialisation and disgust. As with those scraps addressing BDSM, conflation obscures nuanced information and attention to situation. Here, it highlights the taboo of 'incest' and prompts people's avoidance or 'fascinated' distance. Indeed, according to Giner-Sorolla and Russell (2009), disgust politics result in the avoidance of all parties involved.

At the Rape Crisis centre, Charlie also shares an encounter resulting in avoidance. She describes receiving a phonecall to the helpline in which a woman, supported by her partner (who also joins in the conversation at one point), reports a shared experience of swinging with another couple. This woman was penetrated by the other man present in a way which she and her partner think may be assault. They want to know if the helpline answerer thinks so and Charlie reports having no idea what to do and saying that it was "odd". She tells them she does not know and they should ask the police. When asked what exactly was so strange about the phonecall, Charlie repeats that it was "just weird". This scrap can be read next to Giner-Sorolla and Russell's (2009) observation that people struggle to articulate the reasons for their moral disgust and rely heavily on tautology.

However, Charlie wonders at one point if the pair might be "getting off on it". Indeed, plugging in context about the organisation here, she has, along with other trainees, received training on how to manage if women's abusive partners come unexpectedly into the room or involve themselves in the phonecall. Equally, they have been instructed on how to deal with men who call up the helpline to harass – and masturbate to – the women answering the line. Indeed, the charge that feminists 'police' appropriate or sacred sexual behaviours – which Suzanna Danuta Walters (1996) notes as being sometimes levelled too quickly by queer theorists – can erase the complexity of women's practice-based expertise. Evidently, as before, dual attention to heteronormativity *and* male dominance (see again Jackson, 2001) is needed to understand the creation of sacred sexuality in women's workplaces.

Nevertheless, and echoing Giner-Sorolla and Russell's (2009) finding that disgust does not prompt people to want to understand the harm further, Charlie's certainty that it was 'just weird', coupled with her struggle to meet the callers' needs, and her bringing the call to an

end establishes the dangers of conflation. Evidently, clear integration of expertise on abuses occurring within group contexts is needed in training for answering the helpline.

A scrap (Figure 11) from Aerin can also be brought in here to further establish the importance of better understanding group sexual contexts. Aerin not only describes an incident of group sex followed by an abuse, but she describes the relational context in which she outlined this experience to a man online. When we discuss this experience further (as well as her sharing of it with a man who is interested in exploring group sex with her), she tells me the following:

> "With him and this group sex thing it was more about clarifying and saying I might be interested, but not now. But I do want to explore it, up until recently it's been a really big trigger but now I want to with someone who is safe. The association needs to be broken in a safe way … Now I have noticed that the issue is an association between those two, like when I was just like 'I don't feel safe around men' to breaking it down into specifics and realising if I was with this person it would be ok and once I've done it once it will be less of an issue." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)

In these scraps (see also Figure 11 on the next page), conflation as an unwanted association between consensual and safe group sex and being abused after an experience of group sex is established as needing to be broken. However, distinctions here between 'ok' group sex and sexual violence are ambiguous when the following material-discursive practices in Figure 11 are considered. First, the threesome of two women and one man positioned as an obvious gift for the latter; second, the unexpected presence of additional men during it; third, the presence of 'a lot' of alcohol and drugs; and fourth, her being left alone afterwards. And, finally, there is the 'persistence' of men online – read next to the numerous requests for threesomes that bisexual, pansexual and heteroflexible women report receiving elsewhere (DeCapua, 2017) – and the one man that she shares the experience with, in order to clarify her difficulties with the subject.

🔒 Private

Group sex

When I get chatting to men on dating apps, this is often a topic that comes up; am I willing to do threesomes or participate in group sex?

My OKC profile currently states that I am hetroflexible. It used to say that I am Bisexual. I changed it because I am somewhere between the two, but I'm not quite sure where I am on the spectrum.

So I'm not surprised that I get asked.

Usually I just say that it's something that interests me, but only with a partner I know very well.

One guy I've been chatting to has been quite persistent about it, so I decided to explain why I feel like I do. This is what I wrote:

OK.. As this is clearly something you're into I will clarify my reluctance.

My last group experience was during my final year at Uni.

It was my boyfriend's birthday, and as I was a broke student, I did what any sensible girl does and rather than buy a present, I invited a willing female friend up for a threesome. (This was a girl I'd similar things with before.)

So, there was a party, lots of booze, probably a fair amount of drugs (although that's never been my thing).

We found a room upstairs with a mattress on the floor. The 3 of us Had a bit of fun. A couple of other guys joined in, all fine. We all had a play for a bit, then everyone headed back downstairs to the party.

I was drunk and exhausted, so I stayed upstairs.

Which is where some other guy found me, and assumed that as I was drunk, and naked, I was fair game.

I remember saying no, and trying to sit up and push him off me, but that's very hard to do while on your back, drunk, with someone pinning you down by your thighs.

I remember his head between my legs, and his tongue. And I remember realising I wasn't going to be able to stop him, and giving up fighting.

I don't remember anything after that. There is a blank spot. I don't think it went much further, which I am eternally grateful for.
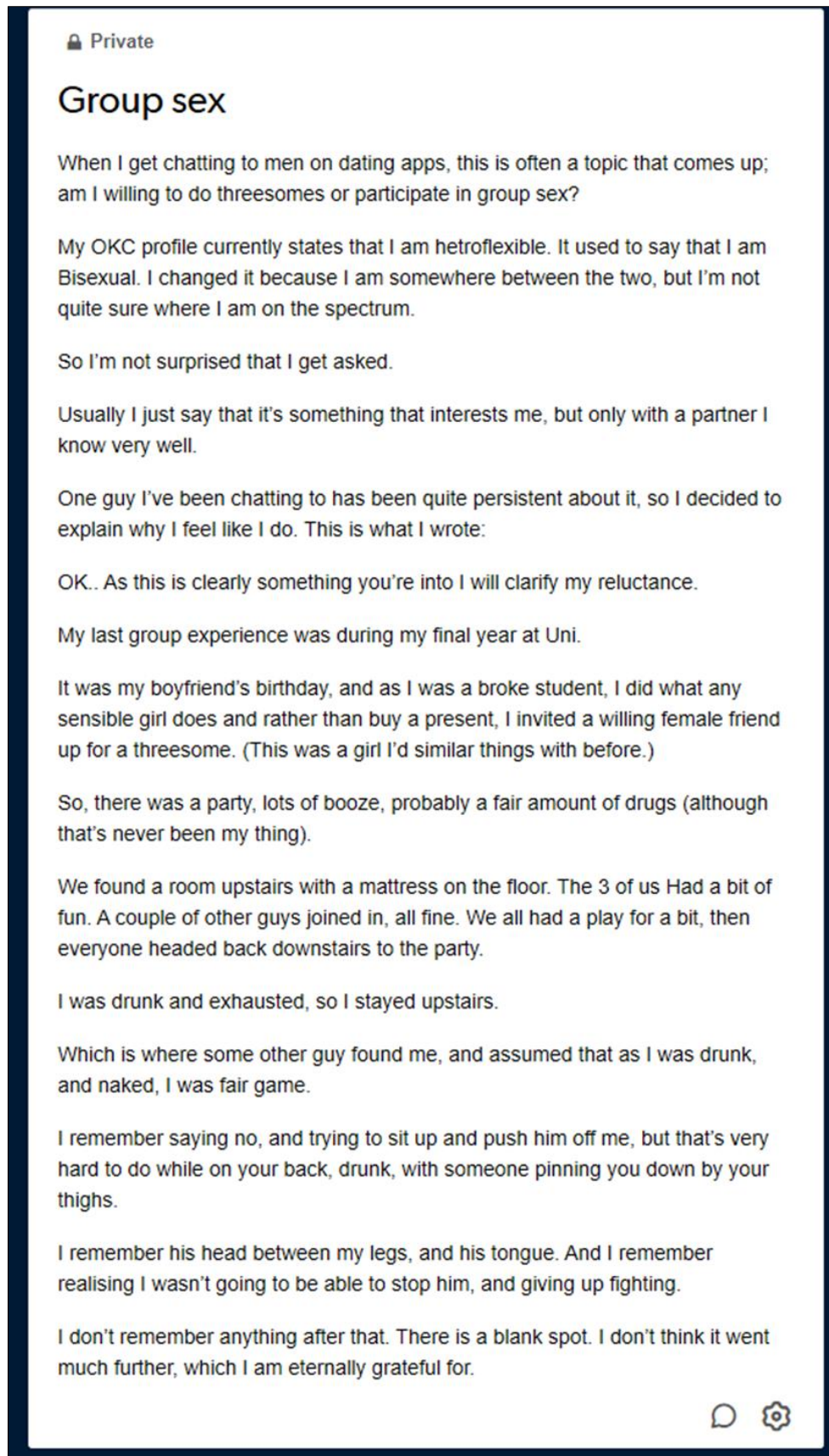
💬 ⚙️

Figure 11: Page from Aerin's scrapbook featuring typed text on an experience of group sex and sexual violence

Evidently, close attention is needed to a continuum of group sexual experiences and contexts, in order to better understand how different norms, dynamics, and ideas of consent are managed. Indeed, Aerin's scrap can be read next to the following from Mae, who describes an incident in group sex where she was penetrated without warning by her 'play partner':

> "He drilled me in the ass with no lubricant, without warning. Afterwards I told him I didn't like it, it was painful... and he did it again in front of four people … it being in front of people made me not want to say anything because I felt embarrassed like I'm being a prude or that I would embarrass him" (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

Not 'saying anything' here is explicitly related to the feared position of 'prude'. Where BDSM, kink and fetish communities provide systems of accountability in other scraps, in this case the group context facilitates silence and shame. Evidently, confusion around group sex and sexual violence is a two-fold problem: it stops Aerin from exploring and engaging in group sex, but it also obscures an understanding of the less than pleasant dimensions of apparently 'ok' sex. Such an investigation is needed to explore how, as with Mae, an avoidance of 'prudishness' can characterise women's apparently adventurous sexual interactions (see also Walling-Wefelmeyer and O'Neill, 2021).

5.3.4. Conflation and marginalisation as obscuring context and dividing lives

The following scrap establishes how central these practices of context omission are for conflation and marginalisation. Here, Mae describes taking part in (and being misrepresented by) a documentary:

> "[I] was on a documentary which [I] was set up for and the trolling afterwards was horrendous. I had no control over the edit, the way it was done did not portray what I was trying to go for. They set me up as a cougar really … It seemed like a good opportunity and people were like 'don't do it'. They contacted me to be involved about dating apps. I was interviewed for four hours and filmed putting on make-up. I discussed 'finding your tribe', 'alternatives practices', 'inclusion' but all they put was 'Mae uses apps for kinky sex'. It's easier to portray women as a laughingstock than to explain the context." (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

Editing practices obscure the 'context' of her use of apps, positioning it as furthering 'kinky sex' and 'cougar' desires. These practices highlight the business there is to be made from

positing women as 'laughingstocks' and from creating divisions between 'normal' and 'abnormal' sex centred around age. It is not surprising therefore that later in the scrapbooking process Mae, who is a mother and medical professional, describes the need to adopt different personas, in her case three:

"This persona is required contractually to have a very discreet existence in order to remain on the register, more so than doctors and police … has a very clean Facebook for religious family members and a militant ex-husband … One of them came from the swing scene many years ago and has written about it, a book and blog, and went on to become more than that, to be inclusive of different lifestyles. And is a dominant persona who worked as a pro dom in the past. They have different names, three people for me to be mindful of, three ways to dress, to speak to people."

In a similar vein, Aerin describes trying to integrate different parts of herself into her life:

"I'm trying to be out in the world as all of myself rather than filter a socially acceptable bit of me for each situation and that was getting exhausting. I give a lot of funny anecdotes to colleagues and confuse people by mentioning first dates and then a husband. I don't like having to filter and I don't do it well." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)

Here then, 'filtering' is 'exhausting' and, for Louise, keeping up with being two people gives her panic attacks:

"Watching on the street with my kids is intense, the panic attacks I have are intense. If I see a client, I'm worried they might recognise me and approach me, they're going to ruin my whole life. Twenty-four/seven I'm worried. You could be with friends who don't know, just having a coffee. I'm two people. It's not an easy way to live. It would be easier if I could just live one life and be one person … It's a grey area that brings so much stigma and means I have to live a second life. I could sleep with my husband and no one would say book about it but you're a sex worker and you even mention it to some folk and you'd get a battering for it and I think that stigma needs to stop for my mates and other working women. I think it's about time we stopped this … You can imagine a court deciding if I'm a fit parent or not and my daughter is 20 and no one has questioned it but if they knew where would I be if it came out? I wouldn't be at home with them." (Louise: 30s, heterosexual)

Critically, this scrap establishes the 'stigma' of being a sex worker as key to needing to live as two people (see also Weitzer, 2017; 2018; Pheterson, 1993). Indeed, unproblematic sex with a husband is positioned in relation to the 'battering' received just for mentioning you are a sex worker. Whilst Louise works to keep the two lives separate, the court is constituted here as conflating being a sex worker with being an unfit mother. Louise's stigma can also be addressed next to Aerin and Mae's scraps. All three establish how the conflation *and* marginalisation of stigmatised practices – whether it be sex work, polyamory, swing and/or BDSM – with/from expectations of mothers, colleagues and wives exhausts the women and limits their everyday lives. Here then, rape culture requires that they continually 'mind' themselves against a mythic ideal 'woman' in each new context.

Interestingly then, in the following scrap, separating sex outside the sacred from a propensity for 'oddness' protects a man from being held to account in court for raping Abby:

> "He said his girlfriend being pregnant and needing an abortion was causing him so much stress with his wife so 'I just couldn't help it, I was so stressed' … which is used to be like 'oh, that poor guy, no wonder he had sex with a vulnerable person.'" (Abby: 30s, lesbian)

Whether he is having an affair, or engaging in another relationship with his wife's knowledge, rather than these factors being seen as a logical step to his also being sexually abusive towards another woman (as the logic of conflation has so far been shown to operate), his defence receives sympathy. Indeed, this practice of separation can be contrasted with research where *more* blame is potentially attributed to women if their violation is seen as part of an affair (Viki and Abrams, 2002). Here then, conflation occurs within a broader context of victim-blaming and misogyny and establishes differing sexual standards for women and men (which effect everyone). Indeed, Giner-Sorolla and Russell (2009) find that disgust responses are often targeted at women and that ideals of women's chastity and virginity still greatly impact legal decisions over sexual violence (see also McGlynn, 2017; Muthy, 1991).

5.2.5 Creating sexuality outside the sacred: Summary

Scraps in this section have been organised to better understand situated constitutions of sexuality outside the sacred and to integrate it into conceptualisations of and responses to sexual violence. In so doing, it is possible to address disgust and avoidance without also

establishing new forms of sacredness or failing to account for social change. Conflation and marginalisation prove useful concepts then in making nuanced distinctions which go beyond, for example, the rhetoric of 'BDSM is abuse' versus 'BDSM is not (ever) abuse' (Barker, 2013). Meanwhile, the conflation that necessitates certain participants living different lives or adopting different personas does not appear to effect either heterosexual men and/or abusive men to the same degree. Indeed, this section ends with an example of practices outside of sacred sex which are treated sympathetically (rather than as proof someone is also 'weird' enough to be a rapist).

5.4. Conflation and marginalisation: Conclusion

In conclusion, I would like to reflect briefly on the usefulness of 'conflation' and 'marginalisation', constituted here as relational practices which both confuse and clarify what sexual violence is. Conflation organises scraps into a natural link between, for example, sex and romance, between being 'gay' and being abused or abusive, and between the 'oddness' of sexual intimacy between siblings and the abuse of one by another. Likewise, conflation shapes practices of avoidance through people's disgust or sense that certain matters only concern 'gay' people, or those who perhaps practice BDSM. Collectively then, these discursive practices constitute an everyday scaffolding where women's friendships with heterosexual men and nuanced conversations about sex, bodies and romance are difficult to come by, and avoiding conflict requires the exhausting process of 'filtering' oneself to each instantiation of rape culture.

In relation to prejudiced or acontextual ideas about women's sexual wants, the practice of separating all women from desiring anal penetration or swinging makes a different kind of sense. In understanding this marginalisation in context, separating practices which make some forms of anti-sexual violence work alienating and marginalising – particularly to LGBTQIA+ people – can be better addressed and understood. Combating conflation and reductive forms of separation thus requires more attention to situation and culture. For example, attention is needed to women's situated practices which attempt to change a sexual activity for safety, and to the embodied and wider configurations of meaning that make and reproduce some of these activities as more dangerous or degrading.

Chapter 6: Spectacularisation: The Second Scaffold

6.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the everyday scaffolding of spectacularisation. This term describes the discursive practices by which sexual violence comes to be constituted as a spectacle; as a vivid, dramatic and audience-orientated event. If the previous chapter discussed forms of separation in relation to conflation, this chapter addresses practices which separate sexual violence from the plurality and mundanity of everyday life.

To aid the reader, the first section can be best understood as establishing how the 'real' is rendered dramatic and the second section as establishing how cutting out a focus on specific 'representations' obscures the 'real'. Indeed, distinctions between the real and the representational are critical to spectacularisation. The first section therefore organises scraps into those discursive practices which fix and objectify both people and sexual violence. The second adopts a different approach, in focusing more on specific spectacles – for example, particular films and pornography – which are treated as not real and thus, implicitly, not abusive.

6.2.1. The spectacle of sexual violence: Appearance, objectification and commodification

In this first section, scraps establish sexual violence's constitution in everyday life through its appearance, objectification and commodification. Here, sexual violence is shown to be objectificatory practices through which people become aware of themselves in relation to particular audiences. However, experiences of sexual violence are also made sense of through being further objectified and commodified with certain audiences in mind. Specific academic uses of the word 'spectacle' – as objects representing sexual violence – are also briefly described in order to argue for more focus on those interactive practices which draw boundaries around and thus create 'things'.

6.2.1. Spectacularisation as practices of establishing sexual violence in relation to audiences

To begin then, individual scrapbooks are filled with accounts of sexual violence shared by a variety of news outlets (for example, Figure 12). Indeed, Yadira (30s, Asian, heterosexual)

spends considerable time in our meetings comparing a dramatic Bollywood film where "the film looked perfect because all the police were working to protect the girls" with a news article where the perpetrators were, in fact, police officers: "this article is the more realistic view of India". Titles saved by other scrapbookers such as 'Pope reveals the scandal of nuns used as sex slaves' and 'Sex fiend jailed after woman on Tube tails him' can be read alongside extensive literature on how sensationalist news reporting favours shock and excitement over accuracy and ethics (for example, Benedict, 1994; Soothill and Walby, 1991). Indeed, positioning these two newspaper titles next to reporting recommendations by the National Union of Journalists (2013) and feminist campaigns group Level Up (2018), recognises the latter paper's problematic treatment of sexual violence as 'sex', and its positioning of the 'fiend' as atypical.

Figure 12: Two extracts from Imogen's scrapbook featuring cut out newspaper extracts

These practices of news reporting can also be organised next to others concerning fictional accounts of sexual violence. In the following scrap, for example, Salome reports on watching the 2018 film *Red Sparrow*:

"It's hailed as a female empowerment film but is the most cinematically exploitative sensationalist representation of rape I have seen in my life. It is about a Russian spy whose training is 'you're going to get raped a lot so either you fight him off or pretend to enjoy it to seduce him', so it's just Jennifer Lawrence looking fucking amazing

getting raped for 2 hours. So that's your purpose, to be raped, so to be human is to be raped?" (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Here, rape is rendered highly visual. Indeed, what is particularly interesting is that the narrative's establishment of sexual violence as *inevitable* – 'you're going to get raped a lot' – foregrounds the importance of its *appearance* both to rapists in the film and to viewers of the film – 'pretend to enjoy it to seduce him' and 'it's just Jennifer Lawrence looking fucking amazing getting raped for 2 hours'.

This scrap might be understood next to the idea of a 'spectacle', a metaphor used in much academic research for representations of violence, suffering and pain which invite audiences to take pleasure in them as entertaining and exciting events (see, for example, Kaya, 2019; Dasgupta, 2011). Drawing on Linda Alcoff and Laura Gray's (1993) work, the 'spectacle' of sexual violence might refer to either an individual event – the victim-survivor 'speaking out' on a TV show, for example – or, more implicitly, to the general nature of mainstream representations of the subject: sexual violence as a sensationalist visual feast. Certainly, participants share numerous examples of how sexual violence is portrayed: "survivors either die or turn into these doomed things wreaking vengeance" (Kjell: heterosexual).

However, with the thesis' theoretical foundations in mind, it is interesting to consider those *practices* which draw boundaries around sexual violence as an audience-orientated spectacle and complicate distinctions between real and fictional. Indeed, scraps can be organised here to show how spectacularisation shapes not just fictional characters or women in news reports, but also participants themselves as spectacles:

"The daily mail made me sound like an idiot, desperate for sex, a crazy person. Nothing they actually wrote was incorrect, they quoted my diary and spun it to make it seem like I'm an idiot." (Abby: 30s, lesbian)

"I went on the Scot Pit march at Glasgow. It is a sex workers march for sex workers rights, and I took a big gamble because the media were there and I was so worried and my friends were like 'why aren't you aren't out and proud?' and I was like 'you didn't tell me how much coverage there would be'. I have a family to think about and one guy was in my face wanting to take my photo like 'come on doll' and he followed me for twenty-nine minutes saying 'you've come out, you must be proud' … I don't want this to be plastered everywhere and me be targeted. Why would I want my record

everywhere? I wouldn't be able to work anywhere. I'm all here for support and for other working women but don't want to lose my family." (Louise: 30s, heterosexual)

In the latter scrap, practices of spectacularisation jeopardise Louise's safety, family and capacity to work. In another scrap, J recounts a fear that she will appear in the tabloid press when a harassing letter from an ex-pupil at her school opens an investigation into whether or not she is a famous child murderer released from jail and living under a new name. Bringing these scraps together characterises spectacularisation as practices making the women aware of themselves as potential spectacles in everyday life.

Indeed, participants share the lived quality of this spectacularisation, what Sandra Bartky (1975: 434) might describe as the 'double ontological shock' of victimisation:

First, the realization that what is really happening is quite different from what appears to be happening and second, the frequent inability to tell what is really happening at all … a little like paranoia.

Indeed, Polly shares a confusing and "surreal" experience of reporting stranger sexual harassment to the police and the officer who turns up to take her statement is a well-known feature on the TV show *Police Interceptors*. Another participant who was victimised by a British celebrity[39] describes the strange and disturbing experience of seeing him unexpectedly on screen or hearing his catch phrases. She adds:

"He was actually a famous person so I could follow him and see what he's doing and whenever I was triggered I would go and look him up and it took me a while to realise that is what I was doing." (Bridget: 30s, white, lesbian)

In these scraps, policing and social media practices establish the boundaries between people *on* screen and people *viewing* screens as far more complex, situational and surreal than much literature on rape culture has acknowledged (see again Keller, Mendes and Ringrose, 2018 for a necessarily 'in situ' approach). Certainly, Bridget makes the point that her 'famous' abuser "said the papers would rip me to shreds" if she reported. In order to explore these varied material-discursive practices further, Guy Debord's radical and polemical collection of treatises published first in 1967 and titled *The Society of the Spectacle* (no date) can be usefully brought in here. Indeed, writing in the 1960s and against capitalism's tools for

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[39] I use 'celebrity' here as a shorthand, whilst recognising its limitations as a concept for capturing the range of ways that, for example, social media influencers are expanding categories of fame and influence (Khamis, Ang and Welling, 2016).

distracting and placating 'the masses', Debord's spectacle describes the degradation of social life:

> In societies where modern conditions of production prevail, all of life presents itself as an immense accumulation of spectacles. Everything that was directly lived has moved away into a representation … The Spectacle is not a collection of images, but a social relation among people, mediated by images … The spectacle cannot be understood as an abuse of the world of vision, as a product of the techniques of mass dissemination of images. It is, rather, a Weltanschauung ['worldview', my translation] which has become actual, materially translated. It is a world vision which has become objectified.

This constitution of the spectacle, not as a collection of images or representations but as social relations 'mediated by images' is particularly critical. It can certainly be read next to the following practice of, first, Mae (40s, white and bisexual) including in her scrapbook screenshots of the eGuide she has written on her experiences and, second, Noor (20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern and heterosexual) arranging her scrapbook (Figure 13) next to her handbag for a personal *Instagram* photo because "it's part of being a woman". She also asks my advice on how best to caption the image.
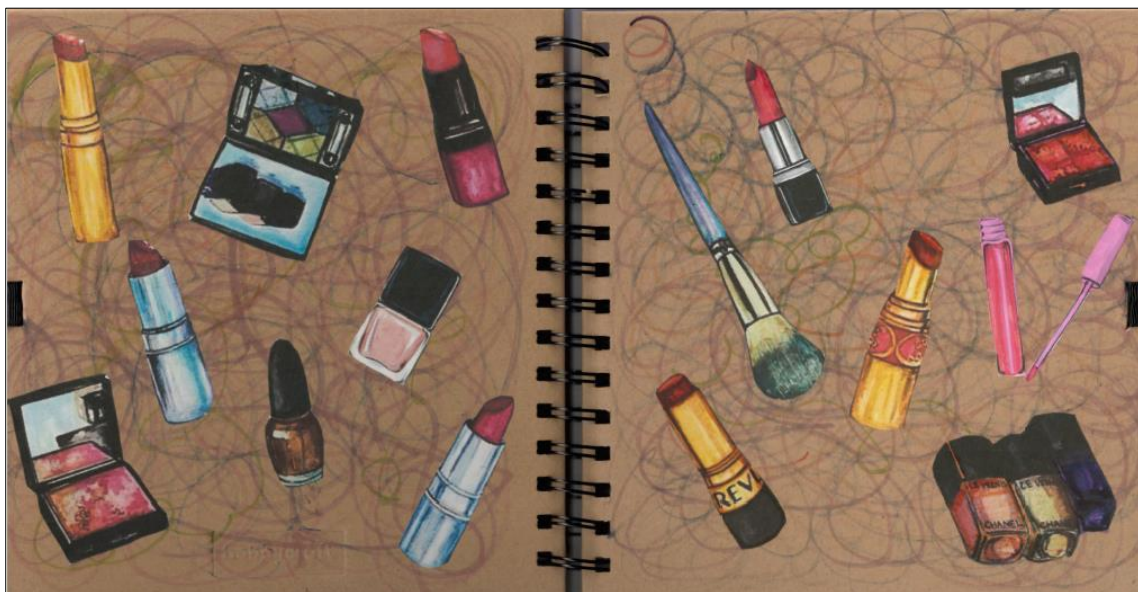
Figure 13: Front and back cover of Noor's scrapbook featuring cut out illustrations of makeup items and squiggly lines

In these scraps, experiences of sexual violence are established as both noteworthy and aesthetically pleasing through the organisation of materials. In Mae's scrap, sexual violence is positioned as part of a useful and interesting "guide", whilst Noor's image is established in relation to her followers and the rest of her art on *Instagram*. In many ways, these scraps

query a distinction between spectacularisation and more 'neutral' forms of aestheticisation. The point here perhaps is not that these practices are 'wrong' or 'harmful' but rather that making sense of sexual violence through its appearance to other people and through what might even be called beautifying practices is constrained by specific spectacular expectations or logics.

Indeed, some of these situated constraints might be understood through the following scraps. Here, Rosalie and Salome's abusers communicate with them through public posts which receive comments and 'likes':

> "Then she made this really passive Facebook post like 'oh if you're trying to include people in your life and they don't show up, they're toxic' all this stuff. It's interesting how all my stuff about not having her in my life, cutting people out is a similar narrative to her thing on Facebook, but in my case it feels like its valid." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

> "So now he is posting crap stuff about the 'female gaze' on Facebook and people were like 'you haven't even read Laura Mulvey'… he's engaging in this really passive way of challenging me and I'm just replying like really politely. He is using this to get at me." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Here, Salome and Rosalie identify abusers' public posting practices as a 'passive' way of communicating with and challenging them. In other words, communication between people is not simply a direct and targeted exchange *visible* to other users of *Facebook*, but actually *involves* any number of others and topics. Of course, scraps can also be organised as the take-up of particular technologies to more 'directly' intimidate women, as recent feminist research has discussed (for example, Powell and Henry, 2017). Indeed, in another scrap, J's much needed anonymity on *Facebook* is reported by a group of bullies, whilst Celia is accustomed to receiving harassing messages across numerous platforms 'because' she is bisexual:

> "I met him on Tinder. We never went out but he sends me messages through various mediums. He hasn't met me but I'm bisexual so obviously I'm interested … he pops up every now and then and starts off with something perfunctory like 'how are you?' and then asks if I want a threesome."

However, spectacularisation establishes sexual violence here not just as uses of technology in order to access and collapse the distance between people, but also *through its appearance to*

an audience. Indeed, in Rosalie's scrap, her abuser is positioned in interaction with *Facebook* followers and Rosalie herself as an authority on 'toxic' people, whilst Salome's abuser is established as an authority on the 'female gaze' in relation to audiences and the works of Laura Mulvey. These scraps can thus be read as abusers' involvement in and appropriation of particular self-care and feminist discourses (see Chapter 8). However, they also demonstrate the need for a language or 'scaffold' which articulates those harmful relational practices that take on a lived 'passive' quality and involving more subject positions than simply those of sender and receiver.

Whilst feminists are rightly concerned about the degendering of particular approaches to 'bullying' (see, for example, Coy and Garner, 2012), literature on children's bullying can be plugged in here to explore this audience-orientation and complexity further. Indeed, in the following example, even where a girl identifies an exchange as having a clear 'bully' and a 'victim' she herself feels like a 'clown' trying to keep all the 'balls' in the air:

> There is the obvious meaning here of juggling complicated options, leading to uncertainty and anxiety, but a more symbolic image is suggested … for Kate this social event is more of a circus: the central "entertainment" involves a bully and a victim; the support act is "the clown", the lonely and undignified defender. The show is cheered on by an "obnoxious" audience, who "think it's hilarious to watch people get knocked on their arses". Without the "performers", there would be no audience: and without the audience, perhaps the performers would drift off. Confusion and the sound of cruel laughter are what remain for this bystander (Hutchinson, 2012: 435).

For both Rosalie and Salome then, it is as if they are not only a targeted victim of the *Facebook* post but also an audience or bystander to them.

6.2.2. Spectacularisation as practices of objectification and commodification

With the importance of appearance and audienceship thus established, this section develops their relationship in terms of objectification and commodification, beginning with Kit's experience of being groomed as a child by a family friend. Together we sit swiping through a series of professional photographs taken by the brother-in-law of this family friend in his studio where Kit had been taken 'as a treat':

"They made comments about having shots of me in my underwear. They made me look really young, they touched me up to look younger. I'm not smiling in the photos, my body language looks uncomfortable, I felt uncomfortable. I knew I just needed to get through it. I was in the middle of nowhere, dependent on them to get to the train to get home. But who doesn't want a professional photo at that age?" (Kit: 20s, white, pansexual and demisexual)

In this scrap, the creation of photography isolates Kit in the audience of two men. Here, the making and viewing of photos establishes the correct boundaries and properties of Kit as a child – looking 'young' or as naturally wanting a 'professional photo', for example. Indeed, rather than understanding this photography as happening alongside Kit's grooming, the described relational practices of both objectification – posing a child, touching up images of them – and self-objectification – the body uncomfortable to be in and look at – occur here *through* photography as a material-discursive *practice*.

Yet, Kit barely considered these images to be relevant to the project or when thinking about reporting to the police. This apparent irrelevance might be understood together with a scrap where, when tasked with creating a sensitive storyline about grooming, one group of women at the Rape Crisis centre responded that the story needs to address "the naturalness of taking photographs … how normal it all seems". The importance of naturalisation as a *process* in grooming is noted in the following comments from Bridget:

"I think people don't get why you would be successfully manipulated. People look at it and think you would see that that is disgusting because they don't get the desensitisation that goes on. It's like hindsight or looking at it from outside." (Bridget: 30s, white, lesbian)

Interestingly, Natalie Bennett and William O'Donohue (2014) also describe desensitisation as a key aspect of grooming, a process which is difficult to 'look at from outside'. Moreover, it is precisely *because* it is a process here, that it is difficult to 'cut' out distinct evidence of it. Indeed, according to Bennett and O'Donohue (2014), grooming behaviours often appear as benign interactions, such as Kit's treat of a professional photoshoot. Spectacularisation thus constitutes a useful language for everyday apparently 'benign' forms of objectification – posing or touching up images, for example – which are both part of and conducive to grooming in their correcting the boundaries of a person in relation to an audience.

It is also interesting to read these objectificatory practices in Kit's experience next to a scrap where Salome reflects on recently watching the 1998 film *Wild Things*:

Figure 14: Plugged in still of a scene from Wild Things shared by Salome

"I didn't know how awful it was; Denise Richards' character is so sexualised when she says she was raped, there's a close up of her face looking glossy and beautiful … that's a schoolgirl." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

In fact, at the moment when Kelly van Ryan (Richards' character) first says 'I was raped', the camera delays on her wet open lips until her mother (who has not heard her) asks her to repeat herself. Her first disclosure is thus *for the audience* who can concentrate fully on Richards' mouth rather than on the relational context in which her words are expressed. Certainly, Jenny Kitzinger (2009: 83) notes that even media outlets apparently respecting sexual violence victims' experiences can objectify them through 'facial close ups to highlight emotion and intrusive questions to prompt details of an attack'. Here then, close-up techniques involve Salome in objectifying and 'sexualising' the moment of disclosure; a sexualisation of pain in the almost orgasmic rendition of the words 'I was raped'.

Practices of sexualisation – zooming in on a wet and open mouth, for example – thus establish sexual violence disclosure here as being *for an audience*, a moment of 'being-for-others', to plug in phenomenological concepts (from, for example, Vera-Gray, 2016b). Whilst disclosure is of course relational – one is after all disclosing somewhere and in intra-action with something – the emphasis here on appearance and even eroticism needs noting; the super real scripting to ask oneself, how does this look? how should this look? does this look real? Rather than simply being a scene that Salome watches elsewhere, it is helpful to position van Ryan's disclosure as part of the configurations of meaning – or scaffolding of

spectacularisation – involved in what Rachel Loney-Howes (2018) calls the scripts of 'coming out' as a rape victim.

These scripts and their spectacular logics are situated in specific everyday contexts. For example, Celia describes having to share her experience of sexual violence to sceptics of feminism: "You have to do it, but ideally there would not be the performance of trauma so people care and see the validity of feminism." For Celia here, the scripting of 'performance' as a means of validation emerges as something routine, self-aware and goal oriented. In another scrap she describes a different kind of self-consciousness: "when I talked about my experiences to people close to me and sort of opened up about it has been like 'haha this happened' and they're like 'no, not haha'".

This practice might be understood *in relation* to the performance of trauma – feeling that 'coming out' as a victim requires a dramatic scripting of 'trauma' (see also Loney-Howes, 2018) – which explains Celia's attempts to minimise and render it casual or amusing. The same issue seems to apply in the following scrap, suggesting that joking and casualisation are relational to the spectacular expectations of sexual violence disclosure:

"She said this to me face to face, kind of a joke, but you know when someone tells a joke and you're like is that a joke? … I just sort of laughed because I didn't know how to respond and she moved on very quickly. It felt unusually fast, the change, as if she felt 'oh, did I say that?' (Emery: 20s, white, heterosexual)

Like Salome's reflections on *Wild Things*, the following two scraps also establish the place of images of *other* people in spectacularisation. Firstly, Susan (in her 60s and white) reflects on how 'page 3' was used in the past to harass the women at her work, whilst Pam describes what the girls she works with are experiencing at school now:

"The boys are grabbing their vaginas, grabbing their boobs, erm all the up-skirting stuff and photographs … the boys at school take their mobiles. They've all got mobile phones, they're all like masturbating about the twice a day, looking at, watching porn on their mobiles and then just telling the girls 'I've just had a wank.'" (Pam)
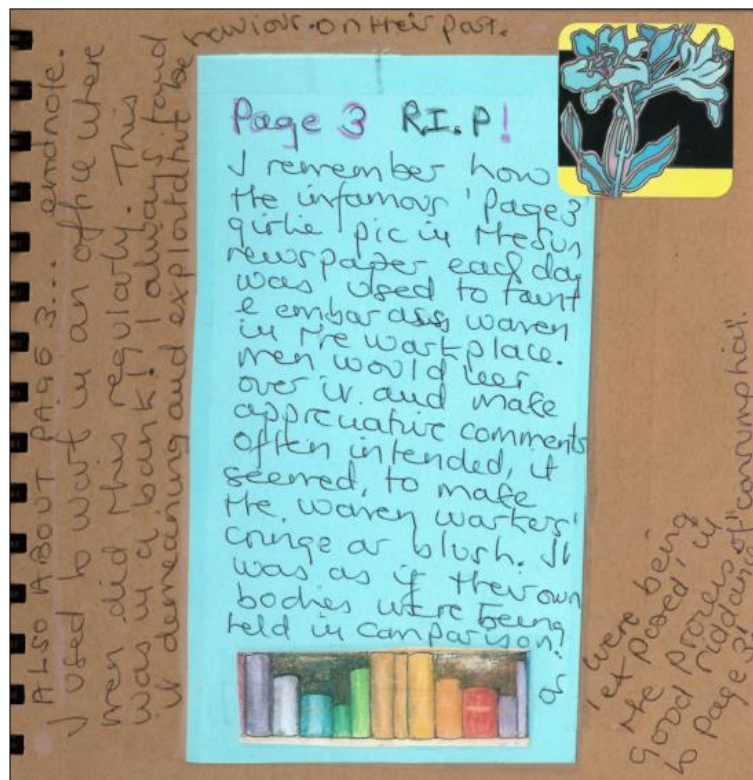
Figure 15: Page from Susan's scrapbook featuring handwritten text and stuck in papers on the subject of Page 3

Interactions here between people in office and school spaces position the women and girls present in relation to those photographed or filmed in sexual imagery. Compared to how taking and viewing images of Kit established *Kit* as a sexual object, here the proximity created between people in images and in person, makes the women and girls present aware of themselves as something gendered and sexual *for someone else*, making them 'cringe and blush' (see also, Bartky 1990). Interestingly, this attention to bodily cringing can be usefully extended to include how Celia feels in sharing her experiences with people she cares about, as she attempts to forge out authenticity within climates and scripts that have rendered 'coming out' spectacular. This cringing and sexual self-awareness then is a lived embodiment for participants within rape culture.

Moreover, Pam describes boys telling girls about watching porn in relation to the boys *making* 'upskirt' images of the girls. Certainly, these practices can be understood in the context of much contemporary work identifying a range of practices as image-based sexual abuse (IBSA) (for example, Henry et al., 2020). Whilst IBSA is established by Clare McGlynn, Erika Rackley and Ruth Houghton (2017) primarily as a focus on the non-consensual creation and distribution of 'private' sexual images of a person, they (2017: 36) also argue that:

> Image-based sexual abuse is on the continuum of sexual violence because it shares common characteristics with other forms of sexual violence … the abuse is sexualised, sexual imagery is the focus of the abuse, and women experience these phenomena as a form of sexual assault.

Plugging this literature then into the scaffold, spectacularisation encompasses practices which position women and girls in relation to each other – whether in person and/or in images – as sexual spectacles. The concept of spectacularisation is an illuminating complement to an understanding of IBSA because it locates such abuses in the everyday discursive practices of work and school, where creating and disseminating photos is 'natural', as is the organisation of people and experience in relation to existing or potential imagery. This organisation revolves around how people and experiences appear from 'the outside'.

6.2.3. Making 'victims' and 'abusers': Spectacularisation as everyday practices of objectification and dramatisation

Indeed, with this everyday scaffolding, objectification is not just something 'done' to victims, it is integral to the constitution of 'abusers' and the boundaries of abuse itself. Indeed, Pam, a white counsellor at the centre, describes the school where some of her younger clients are based. On two different occasions she refers to a group of boys who have harassed and/or sexually assaulted several of the girls:

> "The boys call it a series and they name their victims, like the 'sleeping ginger'. And they say there will be a series two."

> "The boys are making a series and have named an episode after each girl, 'unconscious ginger', like in 13 Reasons Why. The boys are wondering what the next episode is."

In this scrap, the boys are described as both creators of and audience to a form of entertainment. However, rather than being a single one-off event of sexual violence, practices of spectacularisation allow a meaningful link to be made here between different abuses of different girls. Indeed, each girl retains a distinct identity – 'unconscious ginger' – whilst also being subsumed into an overall series of 'victims' that gives them spectacular meaning. Interestingly, this differentiation between the girls through forms of objectification is relational to the *unification* of 'the boys'. This practice might be read next to detailed work

(Sanday, 2007) on the creation of men's group identity and belonging through carrying out sexual violence.

This discursive practice is also illuminated by work on the significance of rapists filming their assaults as 'trophies' (Penny, 2013). Alternatively, it is a kind of banal digitisation through which images of assault and torture become interchangeable with other records of life and thus 'everyday' rather than morally concerning (Butler, 2007). Indeed, this distinction between the 'trophy' and the banal is at the heart of spectacularisation here: a dual constitution of sexual violence as both the creation of bounded, dramatic and vivid events and the banal way these form the 'digitization of rape culture', to quote Alexa Dodge (2016). I make this connection here, despite the absence of actual photograph-taking in these scraps from Pam, because of the way in which the *Netflix* show *13 Reasons Why* and the vivid titles of the 'episodes' locate the boys practices within wider configurations of Debord's social life 'mediated by imagery'. This connection helps to understand spectacularisation as constituting imaginative life as much as physical practice within a rape culture.

With these contexts in mind, it is interesting to position the scraps from Pam in relation to one from Aerin, in order to better understand gendered and situated forms of aestheticisation that speak to the issue of spectacularisation:

> "I think I should write a book about this whole year of being poly and give each guy a chapter. I keep thinking it would be quite good fun. Each of the guys ends up with a nickname: 'Tallie', 'The Restaurant Guy', 'The Firefighter'… Because it helps me remember them. Even if it's just for me, I do think I have to think about that sometime." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)

The use of chapters and their titles as part of a 'book' gives Aerin's experiences coherence and intelligibility to the audience of herself and possible others. These scraps demonstrate again that participants not only identify particular representations and discuss their 'effects', but that their experiences are also constituted *through* spectacles (and for Aerin enjoyably so here). Indeed, it is interesting that Aerin's experience of 'being poly' and abusing girls in the boys' case are titled by performative descriptors of people, descriptors perhaps enacting explanatory stereotypes of (hunky) firefighters or (pale and pasty) ginger-haired girls.

However, Aerin's 'book' addresses a series of men with whom she has had dates, conversations and/or sexual exchanges over the past year. Some of these have involved harassment and abuse with, for example, one man messaging 'bye tits girl' after she tells him

she does not like how he communicates with her. I relate this context to understand Aerin's titles and organisation as *relational* to those objectification practices she is accustomed to experiencing *herself*, becoming 'tits girl' or something in Jamie's 'porn' in the previous chapter, for instance. Here then, spectacularisation also articulates the wider and harmful configuration of discursive practices in which Aerin's experiences are made sense of and aestheticised as empowering.

Another case (Figure 16) of how abuse itself is spectacularised comes from a scrapbook belonging to Imogen, who is in her 30s, white and lesbian. This scrap describes the practice of creating and disseminating t-shirts which read THIS B!TCH LYIN', mirroring the contents of a (since-deleted) tweet celebrity Chris Brown posted after an accusation of rape in 2019. It is interesting to zoom in at length on this scrap as making a spectacle of the accusation and accuser. With literature on the rise in accusations of celebrities in the Global North (see, for example, Boyle, 2019a), it is necessary to consider this scrap as part of wider configurations in which celebrities feel simultaneously distant and close.

Indeed, the t-shirts as a 'new low' in the article locates this practice in relation to previous accusations against Chris Brown (his highly publicised abuse of celebrity Rihanna, for example). Relative to his previous 'lows', the practice of making and disseminating t-shirts reads as an abuse of his accuser in spectacularisation's 'passive' and audience-orientated style noted earlier.

Figure 16: Extract from Imogen's scrapbook featuring a newspaper extract on Chris Brown

However, with Crenshaw's (1991) work on race and the attribution of responsibility for violence, it is worth noting that certain (raced) bodies are 'cut out' as agents of violence far more readily than others. In this scrap then, Chris Brown's actions as *creator* of the t-shirts are cut out from the complex interactions of advisors, designers and managers, amongst others, thus obscuring the everyday banality (see also Arendt, 1994) of sexual violence within marketisation and neoliberalism.

Indeed, it is also illuminating to consider the creation of the t-shirt relative to the complex configurations through which 'Chris Brown' as a nexus of meanings – concerning amongst

others, music, race, style and ownership of a clothing brand *Black Pyramid* – is continually coming to be. Indeed, the t-shirt making, buying and wearing occur within wider configurations where black men are both hypersexualised (see contributions to Slatton and Spates, 2014) and denied the space to contest accusations of crime in public and legal forums (Ghandnoosh, 2015). They also occur within configurations where 'dilettante' (Shelley in Elan, 2021) appropriation and consumption of 'blackness' and 'culture' is regularly reported (see Nugent, 2021 on latest case concerning Justin Bieber's hair).

To further understand these t-shirts, I bring in here Debord's definition of the spectacle as a 'world vision' in which life is lived *through* appearance. Indeed, his claim (1967) that life has moved 'away into a representation' charts the transition in capitalist societies, from *being*, to *having*, to *appearing*. Debord's claim that everyday life is thus lived through 'contemplation of the spectacle', through appearances, can be organised next to Salome's question for people wearing t-shirts of the music band *The Ramones:* "with Ramones t-shirts, how many people wearing them have listened to it". Using the logic of spectacularisation, you do not need to *be* a fan of the band to wear the shirt (which Salome suggests was the case in the past) and neither do you need to have even heard them play. Nevertheless, you can easily *appear* to have done so, to be the type of person who would, thereby tapping into and situating the aesthetic politics of both the band and the t-shirt. Using both Debord and Salome's ideas as scraps here then, the 'THIS B!TCH LYIN' t-shirts can situate wearers and Chris Brown as the 'kind' of person to be falsely accused of sexual violence, namely sexual, black and 'cool' (see hooks, 2003). These scraps are so interesting then in their constitution of rape culture as multiple competing and consumable discourses about race, sexuality and responsibility.

A final example of objectification, this time more specifically of the abuser themself, comes from Rosalie's scrapbook. Here she reports an experience of being sexually harassed by a woman who had also previously abused her:

> "We did life drawing with my friends, in a supportive and nice environment and she got involved so I backed out. At the end I asked to see my friend's drawing of her because she's [my friend] great and this woman was like 'oh I can just get naked if you want'…she very much made herself a sexual object." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

In this scrap, the woman herself is established as a spectacle – something to be looked at – thereby harassing Rosalie through sexualising Rosalie's interest in the drawing done of her. Indeed, Rosalie characterises this harassment along the 'patriarchal' lines of the woman's

self-objectification. Here then, the binary relational positions of victim and perpetrator or perhaps objectifier and objectified – so critical to much feminist work on interpersonal violence (see Donovan and Barnes, 2019; Donovan and Hester, 2015) – are difficult to establish. This could of course be read usefully as the difficulty of translating ideas of sexual violence scripts to women's abuse of other women (as in Malinen, 2012, for example). Another way of approaching these scraps is to explore how the harassment is made possible through the positioning of life drawing here as a *poor substitution for seeing the women naked*. Feminists rightly focus on holding individuals and their actions to account, but what follows is an attempt to also establish the discursive landscape which makes these actions possible.

Previously, the vivid titling of girls as 'episodes' in a series of abuses was understood in relation to the creation of specific photographs of sexual violence victim-survivors. With cultural criminologists' turn from images as objects to be deciphered to images as encounters full of situated and aesthetic politics (in Young, 2014), spectacularisation can be understood as a particular politics of imagery. These politics position imagery – from photography to life drawing – as a window on the 'real'. As windows, images might be literal – the photo shows it as *it is* – or as a 'representation' – a drawing attempting the 'likeness' of something.

It is precisely this situational claim to a 'likeness' which necessarily *thingifies* or 'cuts out' relata from relations. Here then, 'representations' are the cutting out of relata and the positioning of one – in this case the life drawing – in relation to the 'real' thing – in this case, the woman. With this relational position of 'real' versus 'representation', exploiting the failure of the latter (the drawing), and thus the need to see the 'real' nakedness, becomes possible and 'natural'. Whilst it might be argued that this practice of 'cutting out' is to some extent inherent to the activities of drawing, writers have argued that bodies positioned as female are cut out as 'things' more easily than others (Nussbaum, 1995). I, likewise, consider this practice in detail as way of establishing how time, space and matter all come together to create a script of objectification which scaffolds forms of seemingly invisible sexual harassment between women and in creative contexts. Certainly, it is the configurations of meaning that *include* the woman's prior assault on Rosalie that make sexual violence intelligible here. This inclusion highlights the need for working with women's experiences over time and across contexts to better understand what might pass unnamed. Indeed, whilst previously assaulting Rosalie, the woman tells her "It's ok, I don't mind", thereby positioning herself as the object 'done to' and thus inconceivable as an *agent* of abuse.

6.2.4. *The spectacle of sexual violence: Summary*

This section established spectacularisation as sexual violence through appearances, objectification and commodification. This includes practices in which people and experiences become bounded as things – 'lyin bitches' or 'sexy schoolgirls' – to be thus easily exchanged, sexualised and consumed. That overview is not to argue that 'thingification' through cutting practices is inherently bad, but rather to use spectacularisation as a more specific term here for understanding its reductive formations and its surreal and self-conscious experience. The language of spectacularisation is therefore useful for encompassing a variety of everyday activities – from making passive *Facebook* posts to photographing children or wearing t-shirts – which are conducive to abuse.

Indeed, this section has established several ways in which the concept of spectacularisation differs from and complements an understanding of IBSA. Firstly, it locates such abuses in the discursive practices of everyday life; in the routinisation of creating and disseminating photos and organising oneself and one's experiences or disclosures around how these will appear from 'the outside'. Secondly, it offers a broader understanding of abuse as mediated by 'imagery', whether that be digital photography or physical life drawings, and involving someone as an audience to themselves or others. Thirdly, spectacularisation is also shown to be at work in the constitution of the abuse itself, in that rather than abuse between people being mediated by images, image-making as an attempt to establish, objectify and fix a likeness or actuality, become integral to the abuse or 'series'. In this latter sense then, spectacularisation is also useful for reflecting on the creation of 'deepfakes' (Eaton and McGlynn, 2020; Chesney and Citron, 2019), which have been recently added to the range of abuses that McGlynn, Rackley and Houghton (2017: 40) anticipated in their 'flexible and future-proof' concepts.

6.3. Spectacularisation as distraction: Unreal representation and very real practices

This section attends in more detail to some of the issues concerning the 'real' and its representation raised by previous scraps. Attention is paid here to specific spectacles – examples from books, film and pornography – which are cut out of their relational context as not 'real' and therefore not abusive. This section argues that this focus obscures the abusive practices by which spectacles are formed. Certainly, one participant makes the point that:

"There are powerful processes at work which allow people to, for example, produce an objectifying billboard advert and feel disconnected from it." (Kjell: heterosexual)

6.3.1 The 'productivity' of spectacles

With the significance of representational practices already established here as material-discursive encounters or intra-actions, it is interesting to organise scraps in terms of how visibilising[40] acts of sexual violence occurs:

"Is it right to shy away from showing stuff like that, demonstrating how damaging that can be? It can be powerful if it's not just for entertainment effect, shock value … shock politics used to be more effective when there were things which had not yet been done before but now everything has been done and everyone's seen everything and we're all jaded and cynical so it doesn't work." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

"I don't need to see it to empathise with the character, to understand what they've been through but that's a personal thing, but maybe someone else needs to if they haven't experienced that or has a different emotional understanding of things … it does happen in Vikings. I get why they did that because historically that would have happened a lot and, if they include all the other types of violence, it would be weird not to include that. What's the purpose of it in other things then? If it is just for entertainment then I don't think that's right, but if they are trying to get a message across or something then yes." (Emery: 20s, white, heterosexual)

Here, acts of sexual violence can be shown in order to be historically accurate, or to facilitate empathy and insights. Sexual violence as visual acts having to *do* something, to be 'more than entertainment' is established in both scraps as a moral criterion for its inclusion in a range of contexts. Elsewhere, Celia repeatedly draws on the idea of 'productivity' to evaluate everyday conversations, resources and media materials: "It's not helping anyone. It's not productive" she argues, for example. Whilst this emphasis on productivity may be neoliberalism at the 'granular scale' of everyday life (Mirowski, 2013: 154), it also suggests Celia's positioning of everyday conversations or sharing media as *agents* of rape culture.

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[40] The language of 'visibilising' draws attention to *practices* of visuality as opposed to furthering an ableist supposition that visuality 'just is'. Indeed, spectacularisation as a focus on visual objects and mental images entrenches the normalcy and hegemony of the world as knowable visually.

Indeed, far from treating these as just neutral happenings or encounters, for Celia they *actively* enable sexual violence, thus requiring *active* challenges.

A number of participants are certainly critical of the apparent necessity for showing acts of sexual violence, whether 'real' or 'fictional', on screen. Staff member Claire expresses concern about the "visual exploitation" of child actors in sexual violence fiction, whilst Kendra suggests that the use of CCTV images in press reporting on sexual violence is largely "voyeuristic". Kjell seems to articulate similar concerns:

> "I worked with this group who were basically showing people videos of people being raped and they said they have to show them because it's the only time they'll believe. If someone needs to see it to believe it, are you engaging in the same process as the abuser?" (Kjell: heterosexual)

Here, practices of press reporting and video dissemination in activist and education work are established as both exploiting people and denying sexual violence. Indeed, in Kjell's scrap, spectacularising sexual violence – through a relational expectation that details of specific acts be given or shown in order to confirm they happened – is part of the 'process' an abuser engages in. This point is critical here, as it establishes spectacularisation as a scaffold connecting acts of sexual violence with the practices of its visual aestheticisation. Indeed, this chapter opened with Salome's attention to how centring the *inevitability* of rape as a storyline in *Red Sparrow* necessitates differentiation in its appearance *both* to rapists in the plot and for viewers of the film. It is up to the audience to thus determine how much the spy is 'pretending to enjoy it', just as it is for the rapists to interpret and project meanings onto her. However, in other scraps, the *necessity* for images of sexual violence is also established:

> "There's like CCTV evidence and it's still being debated … even something as sort of cut and dried as that." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

> "You have people there with evidence of a sexual crime against children and no prosecution. That's an image, how can you dispute it? The world's a bit muddled." (J: 50s, white, heterosexual)

Scrapbookers' description of CCTV[41] and images as 'cut and dried' or beyond 'dispute' can be read alongside Dawn Moore and Rashmee Singh's (2018: 119-120) identification of the belief that permeates criminal prosecution systems: 'visual evidence is meant to literally

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[41] Closed-circuit television

speak for itself, and … provide an undisputed truth of what happened'. Indeed, Moore and Singh (2018: 118) note how changes to domestic violence prosecutorial strategies, for example, increasingly privilege visual evidence of victim-survivors over in-person testimonies, linking the cultural assumption that 'seeing is believing [to] the construction of visual evidence as an objective and neutral truth teller in trials'. Despite this constitution, Celia and J confront both the unfairness and abstrusity of encounters between images, courts and juries, when even 'indisputable' images can still lead to 'no prosecution' (see also Centre for Women's Justice et al., 2020).

6.3.2. The hidden creation of spectacles

The question of in/disputability is one which can be asked of the following scraps. These focus on particular spectacles of violence or romance which are cut out of their material-discursive practices as 'not real' and thus supposedly 'not abuse'. To begin then, one of the first items to appear in the organisational scrapbook was a two page-spread (Figure 17) concerning the death of film director Bernando Bertolucci:
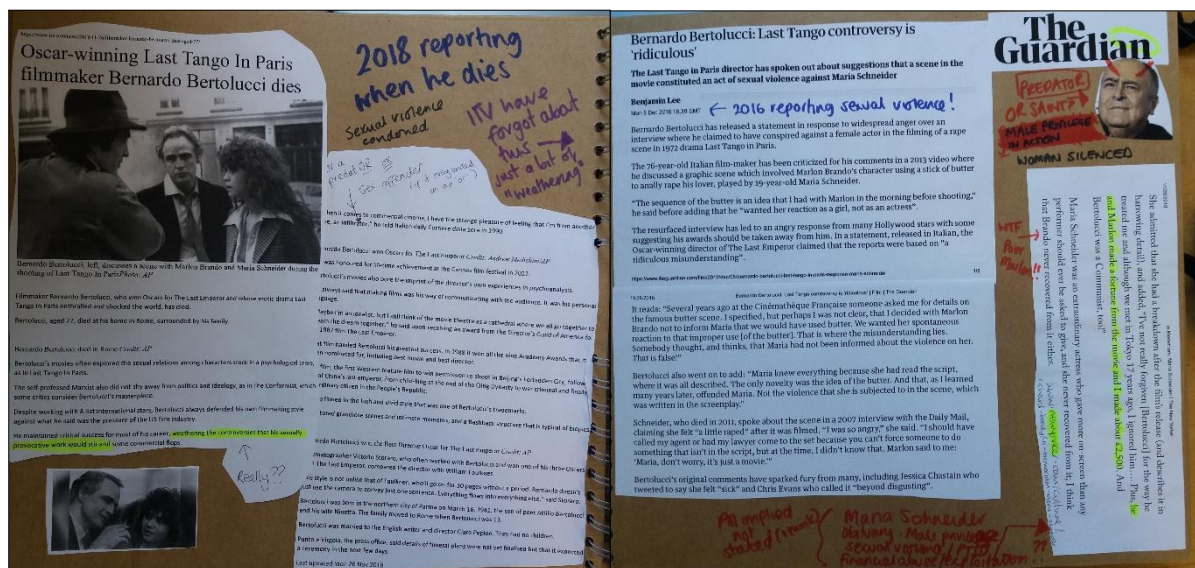
Figure 17: Two page spread from the group scrapbook on the subject of Bernardo Bertolucci and featuring handwritten text and newspaper extracts

Kendra annotates the articles she has stuck in as failing to acknowledge Bertolucci as a 'predator'. Indeed, the first page highlights how a 2018 *ITV* obituary of the director describes him as 'weathering … controversies' throughout his career. According to a 2016 *Guardian* article on the second page, sexual violence is what these 'controversies' concern and Kendra's pages bring these articles together in dialogue.

I plug in here relevant information from the articles featured and from Kendra's comments about the page. In filming the fictional *The Last Tango in Paris* (1973), director Bernando Bertolucci and actor Marlon Brando decide to use butter in the assault of Maria Schneider's character, in order to get Schneider's 'reaction as a girl, not as an actress'. What is treated as a simulated sexual assault is in fact a sexual assault – "you are watching her actually get assaulted" according to Kendra. Here then, the spectacle of simulated sexual violence in a fictional narrative obscures its exploitative constitution, one that left Schneider feeling, to quote the scrapbook, 'a little raped'. When taxed with this issue, the following statement released in 2018 by Bertolucci (and quoted in the scrapbook above) is interesting:

> Someone asked me for details on the famous butter scene. I specified, but perhaps I was not clear, that I decided with Marlon Brando not to inform Maria that we would have used butter. We wanted her spontaneous reaction to that improper use [of the butter]. That is where the misunderstanding lies. Somebody thought, and thinks, that Maria had not been informed about the violence on her. That is false! … Maria knew everything because she had read the script, where it was all described. The only novelty was the idea of the butter. And that, as I learned many years later, offended Maria. Not the violence that she is subjected to in the scene, which was written in the screenplay.

In this scrap, the 'improper use' of butter is constituted as distinct from 'violence' but also as necessary for the correct 'reaction'. Moreover, the emphasis on Maria's being informed about the scene obscures the contexts and processes by which one *comes* to 'be informed'. Indeed, this scrap can be read alongside another from an interview with Schneider: 'that scene wasn't in the original script … they only told me about it before we had to film the scene and I was so angry' (in Das, 2007).

Schneider, Brando and Bertolucci are here involved in a form of work which can be called *sexual work* (for this scene at least). In another scrap Alex describes sexual violence in the context their own sexual work:

> "Compared to experiences outside it, experiences of sexual assault within sex work are not out of the blue: every time I am with a client I'm aware there's this conflict between what I want and they want, a class conflict between workers and bosses. Bosses want you to work as much as possible for as little money as they can pay, whereas workers want to work as little for as much pay as possible and for bosses this sometimes means trying to not pay at all which I would consider as rape then essentially, but then also

trying to go over time or trying to get services which are not on offer or bully me into things I don't offer. I feel like that dynamic is already there from the moment we're in the room together. So a mutually enjoyable encounter is not really possible, the fundamental conflict of interests is already there. Don't tell the prohibitionists but I do feel like it is all low-level violence, the whole thing, but I think all work is low-level violence. I'm very anti-capitalist, it's like that with all work, it's the same coercion whatever we're doing but with sex it can sometimes make it more distressing or not depending on your relationship to sex. But to be clear my solution to that is not legalistic or prohibitionist, it is better wages, protection, adequate housing, etcetera."
Alex: white, queer)

In this scrap, the temporalities of violence are broader than in those previous: rape concerns the meeting of conditions – for example, the giving of payment – *after* physical interactions spectacularly bounded as 'sexual' have happened. Indeed, it is important to read this chapter together with the previous chapter as both addressing separating practices which bind the 'sexual' from the banality of everyday life and inter-personal relating. Indeed, in another scrap, Gina wonders if she was raped when it turns out a partner did not use a condom during penile-vaginal penetration, despite saying he would.

What is particularly important to highlight in Alex's experience is the relational dynamics of workers and bosses where there is coercion and a class 'conflict in interests'. Indeed, Alex's scrap might be used to read Schneider's position in the production of *Last Tango in Paris* as one subject to 'low-level violence'. This covers the pressure to consent to the scene minutes after reading its script, the unexpected use of butter and, as in second page of the scrapbook, the fact that she received only £2,500 for her part in the film compared to the 'fortune' Bertolucci and Brando made.

It is also helpful to position the Schneider scraps next to others establishing the 'unreality' of pornography. For example, in the previous chapter women at the organisation talked about anal penetration in porn as something women do not actually want in everyday life. Likewise, Aerin's comment here that "the problem with teenagers who watch porn, they don't get that porn isn't reality" might read as separating porn from sex and foregrounding the 'negative effects' of unreal pornography on teenagers' real sex (see also Vera-Gray and McGlynn, 2020 for reflections on this 'effects' preoccupation in debate and research). Here then, discursive practices of separating reality from representation make it possible to see (literally)

no problem with Schneider's abuse in *The Last Tango in Paris* or pornography *other than its effect on an audience*.

Indeed, Vera-Gray and McGlynn (2020: 481) call instead for attention to the contents of porn and 'how this content is situated by, and itself situates, the social context within which it is taken up by individuals and made meaningful'. An understanding of porn as part of material-discursive practices rather than just simply a representation makes it possible to approach Salome's scrap on pornography with attention to temporality:

> "I read an article on ex women from pornography which was saying that those videos where a woman looks so happy and says she's happy at the beginning and the end with a gang rape in the middle, you didn't really enjoy it. There isn't really ethical porn, I mean there is some out there but it's not like buying Fairtrade coffee. Women have been so visually commodified that no one thinks you should have to pay for it."
> (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Featuring an actor's 'happy' 'before' and 'after' situates porn users here as critical to the question of authenticity and enjoyment. In thus binding a simulated 'gang rape' with a 'real' before/after, realism itself is given centre stage in pleasurable and comforting ways which actually obscure the possible scripting of the happy *before/after* segments. Such encounters with porn establish a kind of 'super' or 'hyper' reality; a co-constitutive blending of real and simulation and a troubling experiential difficulty in distinguishing the difference (see also Baudrillard, 1994). Indeed, Salome brings in an article which expands the temporality of abuse, ethics and pleasure to include the subjectivities of actors who have 'exited' porn production. Challenging spectacularisation thus requires going beyond the edges of the very 'events' it creates and necessitates, namely, going beyond the gang rape and its before/after. Indeed, previously, Alex and Gina approached rape as encompassing the meeting of payment and contraceptive conditions after physical intimacy, whilst in Kelly's (1988: 41) definition which largely opened this thesis, it is possible to experience something 'at the time or later' as abusive. These scraps establish how important changing, situated and *collective* subjectivity is for understanding and defining abuse.

It is also interesting, however, to consider the 'exiting' of porn as a definitive event which 'frees' the actor to speak the 'truth' about it. This scripting is itself somewhat spectacular and can be read next to Alex's scrap on not 'choosing' to stop sex work:

"I actually got another job knowing that the other job wouldn't earn much. I never decided to stop sex work but as soon as I wasn't completely dependent on it financially I stopped picking up the phone and even now I still use the same phone and I get phone calls and I wonder if I will one day pick it up but I'm like no I can't hack it. I'm currently poor. One day my mental health might be good enough but for now I stare at it and am like not today and not today became two years. I never chose to stop." (Alex: white, queer)

Whilst positing an 'exit' from porn or sex work as a definitive one-off event may be very important for many people to mark a personal boundary and change, I share Alex's scrap to establish how 'exiting scripts' might render unintelligible those ongoing and everyday practices in relation to, for example, poverty, health and capitalism.

It is also illuminating to understand the spectacular logic of a before/after as binding a specific event *in the middle*, as in the following scrap from Imogen:

"I read her book and it blew my mind because her life was really quite privileged. She had travelled all over the world on her own and had felt safe to do that. It hadn't occurred to me that people would do that. So she then has this experience where she is raped by a man and everything goes to pot and it completely blew my mind that that wasn't her normal. It just hadn't occurred to me … She had this incident but then had all these people looking after her, so she has this 'before', there was a time before it happened. It's a clear break for her and then all this support, so it's amazing to think she had all this support, and was the 'right type' of victim, privileged, even with all that it was difficult which was really helpful because I can be like look at me, I'm doing good given how little how support I've had." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

In this scrap, story-telling practices establish the woman's experience of sexual violence as delineating a clear before and after. Indeed, her safety and privilege to travel all over the world are relational to a rape which turns everything 'to pot'. In scrapbooking space, the idea of there being a "time before it happened" is also a relational position with which Imogen clarifies her own "normal". Here then, in order for sexual violence to be intelligible (and, in this instance, sell), it must stand out vividly from everyday life as something notable; it must be a clearly delineated and bounded moment. This then, is the cutting out of sexual violence from its surroundings as distinct visual moments in time. As noted, these cutting practices

may be important for sense-making and even well-being, but in other iterations they render everyday life as unproblematic and 'safe'.

In the following scrap, L, a professional photographer, highlights the difficulties in circumscribing violence and abuse:

"For me, how would I represent domestic abuse as a photographer? I could accompany the police and potentially get good images? But abuse is the punch or the hit but that doesn't come from nowhere … it might take years, the unrealistic idea of a relationship in general might be adding strain, working over forty hours a week might be adding strain, not being able to provide for that family. It is the other factors I would need to discuss. I would have to start with the bits surrounding the notion of suffering, would have to start and the notion of what causes that would have to follow, then how or what can help with that." (L: 30s, white, heterosexual)

Here, L establishes the need to hold specific behaviours to account but also, for example, the 'forty-hour week'. However, his attempt to account for the 'bits surrounding' abuse, constitutes abuse here as necessarily physical and bounded behaviour – a 'punch' or a 'hit – which can be 'captured' in a photo. These actions must therefore somehow be made to sum up and signify all that is domestic violence. In the following scrap, Bridget also expresses a concern about 'representations':

"The problem is that it's a representation that people will take as the representation. There was a solider in Casualty many years ago that showed his flashbacks as holograms which makes people think it's literally like that. Very difficult to represent it and you could in great detail but I don't know that anyone would want to watch that and it's not a good story, it's not very entertaining." (Bridget: 30s, white, lesbian)

In this scrap, the plurality of representations and approaches are sacrificed to a fixed and single idea of flashbacks. Moreover, in establishing the need for sexual violence to constitute a 'good story', Bridget centres a key aspect of spectacularisation: sexual violence as entertainment and consumption. Indeed, participants struggle to talk about what Boyle (2019b) might call 'representational continuums' without incorporating wider capitalist and consumerist configurations. Whilst practices attempting to 'represent' sexual violence are often complex and nuanced, their productivity as entertainment is evidently foregrounded in much of the discussion and decision-making that occurs within participants' rape culture.

Another scrap which identifies a spectacle obscuring the material-discursive practices of its creation comes from Imogen's scrapbook. Here, she provides cut-out extracts (Figure 18) from *The Metro* which she reads almost daily on a slow-running train to work through old-industry and wilderness:

Figure 18: Newspaper extracts from Imogen's scrapbook on the WWII kiss and sailor

As with Kendra's scrapbook pages, the following section brings together various scraps from both within and outside Imogen's articles to better understand the practices at work here. The article on the left presents the 'vandalisation' of a statue with the spraying on of the words 'Me Too'. Both the article on the right and Imogen's comments note that the famous photo which inspired the statue has gone down in history as a romantic celebration of the end of World War II. What has been omitted from this narrative is that, far from being greeted by loved one with a kiss, according to the dental nurse pictured, 'suddenly I was grabbed by a sailor … it wasn't my choice to be kissed. The guy just came over and kissed or grabbed' (Veterans History Project, 2011). Indeed, according to Imogen:

> "One of the most famous images of the 20th century is basically a woman being assaulted …the public is more concerned about the damage done to the statue of the woman, but not the woman." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

Imogen's scraps tie together the creation of the photo, its memorialisation as a statue, the 'vandalisation' of this statue and the death of the sailor. Here then, the image and the statue are cut out of their creation as spectacles of romance to be enjoyed and, indeed, their social significance increasingly proceed what is for Imogen the realness of an assault (see also Baudrillard, 1994).

Interestingly, in the second article that Imogen shares, the death of the sailor concerned is commemorated. Not only is the abusive creation of the image not mentioned in this commemoration – an omission also in the *ITV* Bertoluccio obituary – but he is in fact pictured holding a framed copy "like he owns it, but that's the image of her assault", as Imogen puts it. Here then, the spectacularisation of death involves erasing human complexity and accountability. Indeed, it is interesting to plug in information on the writing conventions of obituaries 'where lives are quickly tidied up and summarized' (Butler, 2006: 32) in order to construct a 'publically grievable life' and to 'nation-build' (Butler, 2006: 34). Less work has focused explicitly on obituary practices in relation to how the finality attributed to the 'end' of life in many Global North contexts aids this 'tidying up' and outweighs the need for accountability of abuse and abusers *after* death. Indeed, the spectacularisation here of sexual violence closely ties to that of death and dying and establishes the importance once more of connecting up rape culture with wider configurations. In so doing, resistance to the discourse of a tidy death/life can be better recognised – as in how, for example, 'death paraphernalia' are used in Black Lives Matter movements (Brooks, 2018) or how Laotian and Cambodian emmigrants work with the wishes of their dead (Langford, 2013).

6.3.3. Spectacularisation as distraction: Exhaustion and escape from real life

Imogen's frustration with these articles can be positioned next to another scrap from Salome on the exhausting and seemingly endless circulation of visual narratives:

> "We need to move away from the rape narrative. We know what it looks like, we know how the women are supposed to act: we've seen retribution, her becoming stronger, it breaking her, the gratuitous rape scene, a cut camera with nothing shown. Can we just take a break and just not see it? Why can't we just show women enjoying sex? I'm exhausted by it. I don't think we can learn from it." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Certainly, a key experience of spectacularisation is exhaustion and participants report feeling "overwhelmed" or "swamped" by the many circulating images and narratives. Interestingly, the experience of being exhausted and distracted by spectacles was key to Debord's first conceptualisation of 'society as a spectacle' (1967). His work was also central to the 1950s-70s Situationist art and intellectual movement which tried to counteract the onslaught of capitalist 'marvels' by creating 'situations' in which people could awaken to 'reality' and their authentic desires (see Plant, 1992). One such tool was 'détournement' ('rerouting' or

'hijacking', my translation) in which the spectacle is turned in on itself. This practice often meant reordering slogans and advertising alongside revolutionary cartoons to illuminate and challenge the politics of the 'situation'.[42] Such practices might be useful in understanding participants' scrapbooks today where, in the case of the meme (Figure 19) shared here on *Twitter*, the discourse of women's over-emotionality is turned on its head.

Figure 19: Plugged in meme featuring two images and text shared by Imogen

Indeed, Polly describes "the whole meme culture [as] a really big coping mechanism" for what she understands as all "this doom and gloom now". This description links well to work here by feminists who describe how memes:

> Construct networks of feminist critique and response, mobilising the derisive laughter that energises current feminisms … creat[ing] online spaces of consciousness raising and community building (Rentschler and Thrift (2015: 329)

The encounter between the meme, Imogen and I was certainly a hotspot of shared laughter and enjoyment when she shared it. Looking at the discursive practices involved in our encounter, it is possible to understand the meme (and moment) as tying sexism to sexual violence denial with reference to the popularity of sexist memes which feature 'humorous' generalisations about women (see Siddiqi et al., 2018). One of the ways this practice perhaps works is through visually displaying two different famous cases[43] side by side, thereby establishing a *proximity* between them. Elsewhere in feminist work, aligning different

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[42] Kelly Baum (2008) provides an interesting exploration of the way in which situationist art often relied on images of women in various stages of undress, which reproduced the gender biases of their times, but were also an important comment on desire and consumerism.

[43] See Arwa Mahdawi (2018) on the trial of Brett Kavanaugh, and Laura Snapes (2019) on Gayle King's interview with R Kelly.

experiences means that both their commonality *and* specificity can be appreciated by an audience (see the poem in Vera-Gray, 2014). Using these works as scraps, it is possible to read the following bingo card (Figure 20) from Celia as another example of this:

Figure 20: Extract from Celia's scrapbook featuring a cut of page of black and white 'Female Protagonist Bingo'

Celia shares this bingo card with the written comment:

"This is why we need to be able to tell our own stories … ones where victim-survivor is not an absolute. Any immoveable label is a parody, and it belongs in the bingo card." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

Here, abuse-specific tropes – for example, 'becomes a hardcore badass (because of sexual assault)' – are established in relation to a wider female characterisation in and across narrative contexts. It is thus interesting to note that Rhiannon Firth and Andrew Robinson (2016) describe feminist consciousness-raising as altering space and time in order to root knowledge in affective experience rather than 'common sense'. Firth and Robinson (2016: 350) argue that consciousness-raising, as it was organised in feminist rap groups in the 1970s, situates experience:

In a longer duration of structural time than usually arises in spontaneous everyday discourse, that is, a type of temporality which is connected to large-scale geohistorical space.

Similarly, Bartky (1975: 26) describes how groups for women to share their experiences with others created an alternative world view or horizon through 'where we are in light of where we are not yet'. Indeed, these different works help to understand the consciousness-raising significance of aligning different images and tropes together. They likewise help to read the MeToo graffiti on the statue in Imogen's earlier scrap as locating the statue and its creation in relation to the large-scale reality and normalisation of sexual violence that is articulated through the MeToo movement (see also, Fileborn and Loney-Howes, 2019).

Whilst memes and the online sharing of politicised and humorous images or texts are popular with participants, it is interesting that Polly argues that:

> "You don't want to go too far down the rabbit hole with that, with people just sitting in their rooms making memes and not actually doing anything about it … Sharing and protesting, that has become the go-to process but is it actually doing much? You have to be careful of witch hunts and people share things, but we don't know the full story which can become so damaging… there was this thing where loads of people were commenting on this girl's post saying 'you're so brave' and she got back and was like 'I don't have cancer, I've just got a skinhead. Stop commenting on my post.'" (Polly: 20s, white, heterosexual)

On the one hand then, it seems then that memes are important but, on the other hand, their creators are "not actually doing anything about it". This scrap establishes a distinction between superficial levels and actual action, between the spectacular and 'real' action perhaps. This distinction is something that Carrie A. Rentschler and Samantha C. Thrift (2015: 350) also find where activists argue that 'Reblogging a meme is not enough. Make it count. Go vote'. Rentschler and Thrift (2015: 350):

> Interpret [this] call for action not as a challenge to the value of feminist memes for activism, but as a reminder that memes are 'not enough' politically, just as other forms of culture jamming are, on their own, insufficient for creating change.

Polly does not clarify what 'doing' something might mean, but the issue of 'sitting in one's room' positions action or 'doing' as being outside and possibly offline. Elsewhere, the distinction between types of engagement is indeed established around an online/offline division:

"There was terf stuff that happened at a Pride, some had a group alongside the groups … There are hundreds of them online, but they only got twenty to a massive pride. Seeing all that really gave me hope, really shaped how safe I felt … Online I now say my bit and then move on, but in the past I would refresh and refresh and check obsessively to see what people have said." (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

Figure 21: Extract from Salome's scrapbook on homophobia and the internet featuring white text on a black background

The distinctions here then between the online and in-person have different meanings for different people and, in the latter scrap, the internet is established next to 'irl' (typically 'in real life') and 'reality'. The language used here of 'safe' or 'punched in the stomach' establishes these divisions as hotspots around and through which much embodied experience and fear and hope is made sense of. Whilst some research might address the collapse of distinctions between spaces through technology (see, for example, Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2020), scrapbookers here draw boundaries between certain spaces as more real than others or as *respite* from others. If the everyday scaffolding of spectacularisation creates hostile contexts and exhausted bodily comportment, this boundary-making is understandable and important.

6.3.4 Spectacularisation as distraction: Summary

This section has focused in on certain spectacles to better understand the discursive practices which cut them out of relational contexts and broad temporal configurations. On the one hand, scraps have been organised here as everyday contexts where people are concerned with

the harmful effect of 'unreal' representations rather than their creation *through* 'real' harmful practices. On the other hand, this section outlined critical and consciousness-raising practices of organising, for example, different articles about statues or porn next to each other or creating and sharing memes to make connections between sexual violence and sexism. Nevertheless, distinctions between real, unreal, representation, online and in-person are positioned as necessary in many situations.

6.4. Spectacularisation: Conclusion

Whilst it is critical to examine, for example, particular filmic representations of sexual violence and people's opinions on these, this chapter has also examined processes by which and situations in which scrapbookers and their experiences and social lives become spectacularised. These practices scaffold sexual violence through naturalising objectification and commodification in answer to the enduring questions of: how do I know I'm living a good life? how do I know if this is real, or looks real?

Spectacularisation offers a useful language here in its encompassing both the delineating of sexual violence as a dramatic, vivid and audience-centred event and also the banal and everyday nature of such practices. Spectacularisation thus connects what might be called grand spectacles of sexual violence – such as famous cases in the news or famous rape scenes in films – to mundane ways in which the posing of life for its likeness or actuality in is naturalised. Indeed, in focusing on work around image-based sexual abuse and objectification, this chapter establishes spectacularisation as a complementary concept for articulating where abuse takes on the qualities of 'passivity', 'unreality' or 'surreality' in its likeness to *13 Reasons Why* or where police officers from reality TV shows turn up to take statements.

There is much that might be said by linking participants' scrapbooking to work by Guy Debord and the ideas of the Situationists. However, attention is also needed to the specific positions of certain bodies or 'things' created. Indeed, this chapter has established that some bodies are more subject to spectacularisation than others; that is, some are more readily cut of relational contexts as either agents of violence – Chris Brown, for example – or objects of it – Kit as a child, or Rosalie's abuser, for example.

Whilst this chapter establishes the harmful aspects of what might be seen as a particular form of aestheticisation (spectacularisation), sexual violence becomes intelligible and aesthetic through a variety of situated and positively experienced material-discursive practices – whether as a guidebook one writes, memes one creates and shares, or one's dreams of a book on being polyamorous. As such, more attention to the relationship between aestheticisation and spectacularisation is necessary to attend to the unreality or super reality of sexual violence in ways which do not reproduce simplistic ideas of the real – such as real sex versus unreal porn – which in themselves scaffold sexual violence.

Chapter 7. Catching Out: The Third Scaffold

7.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the everyday scaffold of 'catching out', namely discursive practices which claim to establish a 'truth' beneath a 'lie' in need of unmasking. An understanding of a range of noted meanings of the term 'catching out' is useful here for appreciating the complexity of this scaffold and for approaching this chapter: catching out can mean exposing a wrong-doing, tricking someone into making a mistake and/or taking someone unawares (Cambridge Dictionary, 2020; Merriam-Webster, 2020). This chapter covers these definitions through a structure which first identifies how catching out constitutes second-class citizens attempting to wear the 'human mask', but also abusers wearing the 'clever mask' to fool us all. In the second and final section, catching out will be seen to necessitate particular forms of vigilance and vigilantism.

7.2. Catching out the human mask

In this first section, scraps organise the everyday scaffolding of 'catching out' into the unmasking of certain people and groups for the 'truth' of who they are – namely, inferior and vulnerable. The logic here is that, though they might wear the human mask, underneath they are only 'women', 'perverts' or 'Indians', for example. Indeed, scraps show how the discursive practices of catching out presuppose notions of wrong-doing and trickery; in other words, the catcher out creates the very mask they denounce. In this section, abusers are also constituted as wearing a 'clever mask', thereby positing sexual violence as intelligible through ideas of genius and individual agency.

7.2.1. That image of you is fake, but this one shows us who you are

A number of participants describe everyday contexts where women and girls are exposed for not being what they appear to be:

> "People are always bringing up photographs of [the Kardashians] before they had surgery and saying how ugly they are, which is no surprise then that they get surgery. I have never seen someone share a 'before' photo of Kim and say she looks better, then it is a jealousy thing of 'if I had that money, I would look that good'. It is not trying to

understand why she has done that … Boys love saying 'you're catfishing me, you're a lie' and then it's horrible and girls do it to each other and women are looking at other women with the male gaze and it is sad but you catch yourself doing it." (Polly: 20s, white, heterosexual)

"Kim Kardashian is now training to be a civil rights lawyer and people were slating her and why? Why shouldn't she? Apparently she has a natural flare. Why can't she bring some positive stuff into the world alongside all that shit she puts out? It's like you can only be a strong clever woman or be like this plastic beauty queen, but you can't be both, but we never put men through that … They [Kardashians] are the new deity for the godless world, so any level of humanness when you get that big is what fuels paparazzi: 'we know that you're human and we're going to catch you out'. It's very predatory." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Here, Polly and Salome identify social media activities and even professions engaging in the discursive practice of catching out. In both their scraps, photos are ontologically flexible: on the one hand, able to falsify reality in the service of catfishing or deity worship, and, on the other, equally able to expose truth and humanness. Here, catching out is thus a particular relational practice between people and photography, where the 'false' image is cut out of the context of its creation – the 'why she has done that', according to Polly – and located in contrast with the 'truth' of another. Interestingly, this practice reads very differently from the organisation of images, tropes and examples side by side in the previous chapter.

Polly identifies herself as looking at women and parts of women in particular ways, characterising this practice as *involving* girls and women but not being wholly conscious or intentional – i.e. 'you catch yourself doing it'. In other words, she also divides herself here: the one using the 'male gaze' and the other turning up in time to 'catch' herself doing it.

Like Polly, Salome approaches celebrity Kim Kardashian West through oppositions and moves from a specific focus on Kim to expectations of women generally. It is as if for both participants, 'Kim Kardashian West', as a nexus of meanings and activities, is a marker of the state of the world. Academic literature has suggested something similar, highlighting Kim's unique influencer and endorser practices online (for example, Lueck, 2015). Moreover, Alexandra Sastre (2014) identifies Kim's appearance as a consistently contested site of realness and authenticity, and Kim's strategic employment of x-ray imagery to counter

rumours with what she calls the 'realness' of her 'Armenian ass' (Kardashian West in Sastre, 2014: 132).

Using this literature and Kardashian West's words and practices as additional scraps, the practice of catching out emerges as an on-going (rather than mono-directional or one-off) back and forth in the cutting out of imagery to establish true/false. Previously, Polly noted the omission of 'why Kim has done that' in the sharing of before/after cosmetic surgery images, attention perhaps to social expectations placed on women to look a certain way. Here, however, having easy access to x-ray technologies is critical to the establishment of real, as is Kim's white (but seemingly 'not white') ethnicity which can be drawn on to establish more racially mobile and fluid boundaries of 'real' than those afforded, for example, black celebrities (see again Sastre, 2014: 131). As always, what is cut out and included in scraps is critical to consider.

Certainly, this applies to L's reflections on the importance of photography for 'getting at truth':

> "I think that's why I ended up doing reportage candid photography, not marketable necessarily but human and it's not that I'm trying to catch anybody out but it's to capture people in their truths, in their moments … I did this project about men forcing other men to be men … after a rugby match where there is testosterone everywhere and it epitomises that stuff about being made to do things you don't want to because it's after a match … and the sadness of everyone and being made to do, to drink and putting a pint glass on their head whilst someone shouts at them. These are the epitome of what I want to photograph, more the truth behind this, the fear in this guy's eyes … I'd want to catch someone in the act of getting at the truth. I like to get people in the moment, that is what a photographer should do." (L: 30s, white, heterosexual)

L articulates catching out as a practice he does not want to participate in, but one which is necessary to 'epitomise' being made to be a man. This certainly suggests a more positive constitution of the practice, one necessary perhaps for drawing nuanced connections between the fear in one man's eyes and his apparent lack of agency and, more generally, the creation and hegemony of men. However, unlike Polly, L appears to cut out and position himself and his lens as an independent observer, an often 'ideal' subject position for men as 'knowers' according to Oakley (1998; 1997).

Here then, the creation and dissemination of imagery works to establish the correct properties and relations of 'man', and 'men', to 'photographer', just as in Salome's scrap it was 'deity' and 'Kardashian' to 'human'. It is interesting therefore that, in the previous chapter, Salome rhetorically asked Dominika Egorova (the spy raped multiple times in the film *Red Sparrow*) "so that's your purpose, to be raped, so to be human is to be raped?". Catching out, as the practice of creating and sharing before/after images, stalking celebrities or, indeed, raping someone, might thus be understood as a continuum of 'unmasking' them as human, or, to put it in another way, as vulnerable to unmasking.

7.2.2. Haha, gotcha: Announcing and denouncing the position of women

Whilst the previous discursive practices expose people as 'human', the following might be read as constituting others as *less than* human. Indeed, Mae's scrap (Figure 22) describes her ex-husband coercing her into sex in a way which highlights how a situational falsity is *assumed* by him in order for it to be exposed:

Here is a story

When I decided I wanted to leave my ex husband, I was sad and confused. He told me I had to have sex with him until he moved out. I didn't want to because I was sad, but he pushed himself on me anyway and the whole time all I could think about were images from the media I'd seen at various points of women and young girls tied to bamboo beds, forced to be sex slaves for white, western men.

When he finished, he gave a look of unpleasant triumph, and said, 'Ahhh' with satisfaction and a smile, 'I know you didn't enjoy that'.

Figure 22: Extract from Mae's scrapbook featuring typed text outlining an experience with her husband

The significance she gives here and in our conversation to his smile, triumphant look, words and tone are reminiscent of a conversation Celia reports having with an abusive ex. After telling her to forgive him for his abuses, he suddenly makes a sex joke. When she responds to it with "you don't get to make sex jokes with me", he replies "haha, too late".

Both ex-partners' comments read like the catchphrases of a TV show pranking members of the public with *you've been spoofed!* Catching out is thus not only the practice of creating and distributing certain images or coercing physical intimacy, it is also a practice here that

must be explicitly 'announced'. Certainly, this applies to Polly's scrap, where images are necessarily named 'before/after'.

The idea of an 'announcement' describes how, in stranger men's harassment of women, it is not enough for men to objectify women; women also need to *know* they are being objectified (Kotzin, 1993 in Vera-Gray, 2016b). Vera-Gray epitomises the lived experience of this objectification through Bartky's (1990: 27 in Vera-Gray 2016b: 81) words 'I must be made to know that I am a "nice piece of ass"; I must be made to see myself as they see me'.

Catching out as a performative discursive practice therefore does more than attempt to describe 'reality'; it also attempts to *reveal* it. In these scraps, the words expose the 'falsity' as being perhaps 'you thought I would pretend you enjoyed that' (Mae's ex-husband) or 'you thought you could set boundaries' (Celia's ex-partner). *Well, you were wrong! Haha, gotcha.* It might be useful therefore to adapt Bartky's words to fit these scraps: 'I must be made to see myself as they see me; *who I really am beneath the lie'.* Catching out thus *denounces* the falsity of outer appearances as much as it *announces* the truth beneath.

Indeed, participants articulate their lived experience of a sexual violence continuum in similar terms. Kit, for example, looks back on being groomed as a child, describing how "it snuck up on me". Alternatively, Mae describes the "slip in quietly", "stealth strategy" and "opportunistic insertions" she experienced from men at a poorly managed and unsafe sex party venue:

> "If you're busy at play with someone, your parts are exposed and you're distracted but they think they can get away with it so they have a go. They maybe wouldn't do it if they approached from the front … when I was dressed and having a drink they didn't try it, but when I was little clothed and in flagrante with a woman and didn't have my back covered then they did." (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

Here, Mae's position in relation to others in space – whether others can orientate towards her from the 'front' or 'back', for example – establish the different boundaries of her body. Moreover, her experiences confirm the need for understanding sexual scripts beyond wholly dyadic and private domestic contexts. Interestingly, dyadic relating retains an initial primacy in this scrap, given the intimacy between two women and its 'distractions'. However, this intimacy is not just in relation to each other, but to others present, with the wider space constituted here as an *opportunity* for men. This 'opportunity' can also be positioned in relation to literature arguing that women's public intimacies with other women are typically

treated as being *for* men (Fahs, 2009, for example). Whether the changing subject position for men here is one of 'passers-by' or perhaps 'permitted viewers' turned 'opportunist' participants requires insights into the design and rules of the sex party space.

Feeling caught out by men extends to a number of other contexts for participants, who report the embodiment of shock and surprise. Emery shares that, after helping a fellow staff member at a festival, his asking her to hang out "caught me off guard a bit" and gets her "panicked". Likewise, Louise feels panicked by a priest who she is consulting for guidance on her eating disorder and its effect on her future and that of her daughters':

> "The priest accidently freaked me out by asking to give me a hug before I went. I had a panic attack. He texts me afterwards to be like are you ok, and I was like no." (Louise: 30s, heterosexual)

In both scraps, the sudden change from one interactional form to another more intimate one surprises and disturbs the women. This is perhaps characteristic of everyday contexts in which women do not feel free to set the terms of their interactions with men (Vera-Gray, 2016b) and, in particular, to interact without expectation of further availability and intimacy. In these scraps, catching out thus reminds participants of the 'mistake' they made in assuming degrees of autonomy, certainty, and freedom in everyday contexts.

7.2.3. Catching out the true and terrible fe/male beneath

Contestations over authenticity and truth have been presented so far as integral to catching out. In the following section, an emotive and moral imperative to expose or correct inauthenticity or trickery is highlighted further. To begin, Alex writes that men purposely pick women to compliment whom they deem 'surprisingly pretty' or 'less conventionally attractive'. Alex had been planning to share this idea (in Figure 23) on Facebook:

> but then wondered if it would get difficult to explain that this happens to me in spite (and probably partly because of) the testosterone, and also worried I might look like I was showing off that someone had ever complimented me.
>
> Also I wanted to say that I feel like there's a similar thing going on sometimes when I've been sexually assaulted by heterosexual men, and they seem to think that I should be grateful because I'm not their ideal. Seemed maybe a bit dark to share with people on fb though so I thought I'd put it here first and see how I felt.
>
> Anyway, it has reminded me of that whole "take this sexual assault as a compliment" thing. I am often baffled by heterosexual men that they think everything is for their assessment, like everyone really cares about who turns them on. Particularly baffled that even though I clearly took testosterone on purpose that I should still be excited that they managed to "see past it" to impose themselves on me in whatever way (from unsolicited comments on my appearance, to rape).

Figure 23: Extract from Alex's scrapbook featuring typed text on the subject of harassment and compliments

Here, sexual assault and stranger harassment announce the 'truth' of Alex in spite of testosterone. Indeed, when I question Alex further about the meaning of 'in spite (and probably partly because of) the testosterone', they add:

> "Cis straight men don't think testosterone makes me more attractive but they think they can see past it to see that I'm a woman like because I don't pass as a biological male I look like a slightly testosteroney woman to them, so they think then that maybe no one else has noticed that I'm pretty because it's not obvious … like I have obscured my attractiveness. They think they should get a prize for seeing the femaleness about me." (Alex: white, queer)

The idea of catching out a 'femaleness' beneath testosterone is certainly illuminated by literature identifying 'corrective' sexual violence as its use by strangers and/or known others (usually men) to 'correct' those with non-conforming sexual and/or gender identities and/or presentations (see, for example, Di Silvio, 2011).[44] More specifically then, Alex is constituted in interaction with cis straight men as a visible user of testosterone but not as 'a biological male'. With this distinction, the 'compliments' Alex experiences can be positioned as relating to but differing from being mistaken for and harassed as an 'unconventional' woman. Certainly, these encounters 'correct' Alex's use of space without expectation of intimacy with men, as in Emery and Louise's scraps from the previous section. Here, however, the men Alex encounters might respond to the visible effects of testosterone, not just as Alex not

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[44] Whilst 'corrective' has become a popular term to describe sexual violence against LGBTQIA+ people, literature searches generate a number of papers focused on South Africa and specifically black lesbian women's experiences of violence from men (for example, Morrissey, 2013; Brown, 2012; Di Silvio, 2011). This history is important to note.

being properly 'female' or as 'obscuring' it – the men's 'truth' of Alex's body – but also as an attempt at 'maleness', a specific 'trickery' which needs catching out. Working with both aspects is necessary to understand these complex constitutions of Alex in interaction, without reifying the 'femaleness' as the sole and 'true' bodily inscription to which the men respond.

The idea of a deceitful truth beneath appearances is also evident in Oslo's encounter in queer nightclub space:

> "From experience of being a butch woman and getting hit on by a gay man and he acted really badly, and it was like all this gay panic as if like I had betrayed him or tricked him." (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

Oslo ties this experience to 'gay panic', what I understand as the highly contested but enduring practice of defence for the murder of sexual and/or gender minorities (Andresen, 2020). Whilst this typically concerns a heterosexual man claiming he panicked and killed a gay man who had supposedly made a sexual advance (Lee, 2008), the link Oslo makes expands the relational practice across contexts. Indeed, to abstract a loose 'script' from this scrap, the man positions Oslo into a particular erotic position, but, on closer proximity (and perhaps in light of Oslo's response), Oslo is positioned as 'falsely' occupying the erotic position. More specifically, Oslo is constituted by the man as deliberately and agentically occupying the desirous position – an attempt at catching him out – which prompts and 'justifies' his aggressive reactions and catching out of Oslo *first*.

Interestingly, Talia Mae Bettcher (2007: 43) argues that the idea of transgender people as 'deceivers' or 'make-believers' is based on a perceived contrast between 'gender presentation (appearance) and sexed body (concealed reality)'. She notes that the sexist and racist system by which gender presentation *must represent* genitals means that people who 'misalign' the two are treated as deceivers. Perhaps then, to 'deceive' a gay man into *desire* is to undermine or misalign his own constitution in space, to expose rape culture's illusion of masculine invulnerability or imperviousness. Bettcher also demonstrates how, even where journalists and key figures in the trial of men for the murder of Gwen Araujo in 2002 did not accept the 'trans panic' motive for her murder, they still viewed Araujo as a deceiver and wrong-doer who could *only* expect violent reactions and exposure. Using this case as an additional scrap, the logic of catching out means that, if Araujo was trying to catch the men out, it is only fair that they caught her out first.

In view of the need to situate scaffolds beyond an exclusively human relational practice, it is also important to note the context of a queer nightclub space in Oslo's scrap.[45] Here, for example, the darkness, music, Oslo's initial physical distance from the man and even the amount of time spent by the man watching, desiring and fantasising about Oslo might intra-act to constitute (and perhaps intensify) the erotic expectations of Oslo and subsequent feelings of betrayal. That is not to absolve the man here of actions and entitlements, as the very idea of Oslo as tricking him assumes 'everything is for his assessment', to rephrase Alex's earlier comment. Considering these situated elements is nonetheless necessary to understand how time, space and matter combine to constitute the practice of catching out as a *deep* betrayal which he feels 'justified' in acting on.

7.2.4. The significance of 'wrongdoing': Catching out 'perverts', 'paedos' and 'Indians'

Beyond these scraps, the existence and rights of trans people – trans women in particular – are established as an emotive and divisive topic by many participants. For example, several comment on proposed changes to the UK's Gender Recognition Act on gender self-identification and the public debate it has generated (see Murphy and Brooks, 2020 for updates on the Act). Oslo, who was relieved to find only 'twenty terfs' protesting at a Pride march in the previous chapter, notes how a friend from a men's fetish group was 'doxed' by this group when he attempted to move them along: "he got targeted, his face filmed, and his work was contacted to try and get him chucked out". According to Oslo, the doxing of trans people is commonplace but, also, "terfs seek out anyone visibly queer, working with children, anyone perverted."

Doxing has been described as the practice of 'compiling and releasing a dossier of personal information on someone' (Honan, 2014), usually publically connecting any of their activities or commitments, which might be private, political, taboo and/or illegal, with their legal name, location and job. With this definition and Oslo's scrap, doxing thus constitutes catching out in action, the linking up of actions and locations to unmask 'true' identities and wrong-doing. Whilst Oslo identifies it as a problematic practice, David M. Douglas' (2016: 206) conceptual work notes different types and also motivations for the practice, some of which might be 'justified':

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[45] I am plugging in my own and general descriptions (see, for example, Fileborn, 2016) of queer and general nightclub space as loud and dark.

> Deanonymizing doxing may be acceptable depending on the rationale for anonymity
> and if there is a compelling public interest justification for revealing someone's identity
> … delegitimizing doxing may be permissible if it exposes evidence of actual
> wrongdoing of public interest … targeting doxing is unjustifiable, as it deliberately
> increases the risk of physical harm to the subject [by taking away their obscurity].

Oslo's scrap and particular use[46] of the term 'perverted' is aligned here with Douglas'
concept of 'wrongdoing' to emphasise the diverse situational and political meanings of
'wrongdoing'. Certainly, the charge of 'trickery' is often levelled at persons whose sexual
practices and appearances are deemed different or perverted (see again, Bettcher, 2014) and
there are in fact echoes of the language used to describe trans woman Gwen Araujo with that
used in the news articles participants share on 'paedos' and with Susan's written reflections
here:

> "Paedophiles have no conscience, are blatantly narcissistic evil predators but likewise
> seem to "carry themselves highly" and mostly fool people into thinking they are
> harmless individuals much as Jimmy Saville did, for so many years … And it's
> sickening to think how well we were fooled and (much like Sarah Sande) tricked into
> trusting him by the façade he put up for public consumption." (Susan: 60s, white)

I bring together these scraps not to constitute critical concerns about child sexual abuse as
equivalent to bigoted concerns about the queer, trans and perverted (see, again, the chapter
concerning conflation). Rather it is done to indicate the reverberating concept of trickery in
different constitutions of sexual 'wrong-doing' across scraps and the deeply emotive and
even moral imperative thereby established for catching it out.

The everyday scaffolding of catching out thus necessarily relies on discursive practices
constituting someone or some action *as* wrong. What the previous sections have organised
'wrong' to be is, for example, women and trans masculine folks' everyday use of public
space, or their entering into interactions with men as seemingly agentic participants.
Likewise, in Oslo's most recent scrap, doxing targets a man (presumably in visible and
'perverted' fetish gear) where he was seen to be targeting the rights of the 'twenty terfs' to
protest at Pride.

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[46] A use I largely understand as reclaimed (see Stryker, 2006 on reclaiming).

Indeed, catching out might have a certain potency in a rape culture where people from particular groups apparently act on state-sanctioned freedoms. Interestingly, both Noor and Yadira's experiences of sexism and racism centre particularly on practices of employment and property use:

> "Last year when my house was flooded I was told by the property agent, I stayed in a hotel, and I got a phone call 'you can go to the house, you have the keys, go there after 10'. I waited for my friend to take me. The house was all wet and so cold, all the cold air was coming in. I was like I can't bring the children here. I called the property agent to explain so the builder who fixed the house came in and was like 'who told you to come in you can't come in you're only renting' and he was like 'you Indian'. My friend recorded that comment, she was so smart. We went straight to the property people and said 'this is so disgraceful' and now they no longer use that builder. She played them the video and they forwarded that link to the landlords and they took him to the court." (Yadira: 30s, Asian, heterosexual)

> "One time I called and he asked where I was from because of the accent he then said 'we don't have any jobs here' and he actually cut the phone on me and it kind of hurt my feelings … One time I applied somewhere and they were like bothered about my scarf because they were saying 'we're a modern place … into style and fashion' and I'm into style myself so what are you saying? You're saying I can't be modern with my scarf." (Noor: 20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern, heterosexual)

These interactions attempt to put the women in their 'place', as only a renter, an 'Indian', or a woman with an 'accent' and wearing an 'unmodern' headscarf. As in previous sections, the creation here of imagery by Yadira's friend is crucial to consider. Indeed, the builder is attempting to position Yadira as 'illegitimately' occupying and advocating on behalf of the house, to use a term from Douglas' work. Therefore, the friend's capturing of his racism on camera and sharing it with his employer in fact positions *him* as 'illegitimately' representing the latter.

I am creating a link here to Marcus' (1992: 397) argument that rape scripts position women as *objects* rather than *subjects* of violence: 'rapists do not beat women at the game of violence, but aim to exclude us from playing it altogether'. Here, Yadira's friend catches out the builder's attempt to render Yadira an Indian 'thing' and exclude her from participating in the conversation. Indeed, these scraps might be positioned next to much literature on racial

'micro-aggressions' (see, for example, Sue, 2010) and also Franz Fanon's (2008) detailed description of coloniser attempts to 'remind' the peoples of the Caribbean of their 'inferiority' by, for example, replying to them in 'pidgin'. In this spirit, Jemarah describes visiting Hobbycraft on her own and being passed by a man and woman:

> "He just said 'immigrant' and I said to myself 'Jemarah, just think of something that sounded like immigrant'. I wanted to wash it out of my brain because I wasn't going to play along with it." (Jemarah: 50s, mixed race, heterosexual).

It is clear then, that any approach to rape culture must connect up the different tools used and situated ways in which people are excluded from 'playing' at everyday contexts of mutual conversation, employment and renting.

7.2.5. Catching out the clever mask: Sexual violence as a trickster's game

So far, scraps have largely concerned the subordination of particular people for wearing a human mask illegitimately. In so doing, sexual violence as the logical exposure of and defence against such deceit has been noted.

However, in the following section, scraps focus on the constitution of 'abusers' and organise sexual violence as the action of clever, sometimes charismatic men whom no one would suspect, on the one hand, and, as socially enabled and multi-actor, on the other. Through these two relational positions, this section explores the aforementioned issue of 'trickery' in further detail. Firstly then, Susan shares her experience of watching the *ITV* documentary *The Other Side of Jimmy Savile*:
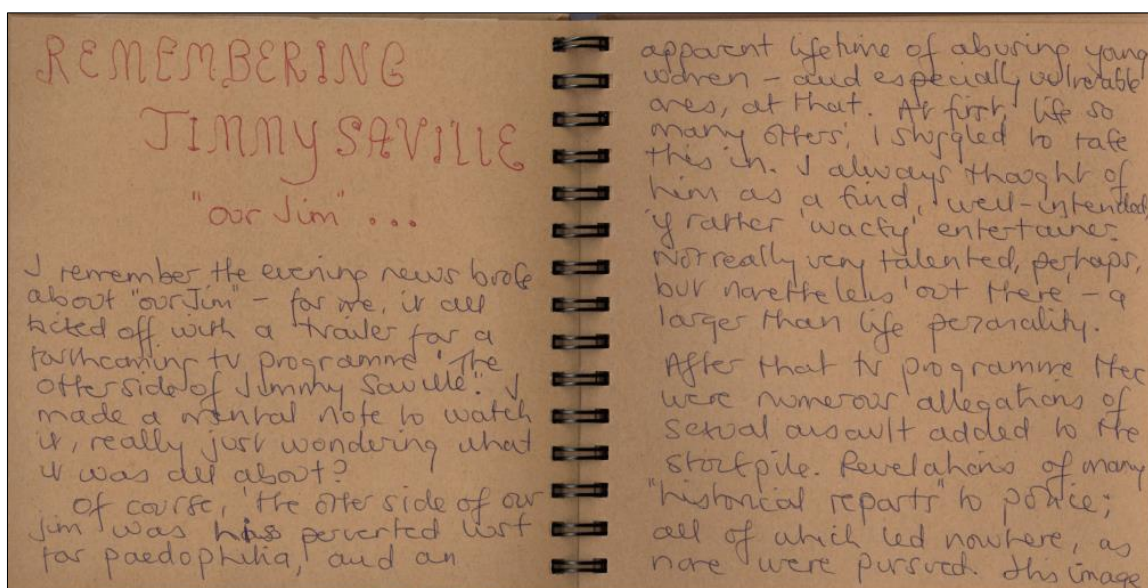

Figure 24: Two page spread from Susan's scrapbook featuring handwritten text on the subject of Jimmy Saville

Here, Susan (who is in her 60s and white) describes struggling to reconcile her idea of 'our Jim' as a 'well-intentioned' entertainer with his 'perverted lust for paedophilia' – in line with the documentary's own dualistic titling of Savile's 'lifetime of abusing' as 'the other side' of him. However, the discursive practice of constructing a shared definition and acceptance of that initial, and by implication, more *positive* 'side' of Savile, seems to be quite different from Imogen's thoughts on the matter:

> "No one was surprised with Jimmy Savile because we all fucking knew and the same with Michael Jackson. When I was at school in the 80s and people were talking about it, I remember being really clear about that, that he had done that." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

Both scraps establish clear positions for remembering Savile's life and character, with Susan always sure he was well-intentioned (if a little wacky), and Imogen convinced of his 'wrongness' from childhood. Interestingly, Kathryn at the centre, also positions herself clearly in our discussion about a different documentary:

> "Well, I don't know if you've seen The Ted Bundy Tapes, it's like a series on Netflix, but, honestly, I mean by you know who Ted Bundy is, a serial killer in the 70s right, so how long ago is that? … But you know all of that stuff around 'oh he was really charismatic', you know, 'nobody could believe that he could be perpetrating such crimes because he had such charisma, he was well-educated' you know. Well we could believe it you know."

As with Imogen's scrap, Kathryn's enacts a dialogue – in her case, more explicitly – with an oppositional position. Moreover, her use of 'we' connects the context of our conversation together – in shared office space with others participating – to sexual violence advocates in the 1970s who, perhaps like Imogen in the 80s, were clear 'that he had done that', but who are characterised as part of an unsuspecting mass accepting 'our' clever Jim, Michael or Ted.

Celia's scrap seems to establish a similar logic for the documentary *Abducted in Plain Sight* and, indeed, for the true crime genre as a whole:

> "My friend recommended a true crime documentary. Those dramas can fuck off, they are just about white men who are presented as manipulative and I'm like more like look at how we don't give young women protection. These men are not intelligent, magical, charming, they have just been allowed to do this … You can either see the documentary

as like look how clever he is or look at how little no one protected her. The family cared more about their reputation than her. He didn't manipulate all of them, he just chatted two people up and then abducted the girl. He is not a genius, he was allowed to do that. There are systems in place that allow this to happen; the marriage law in Mexico which let him marry a 12-year-old. There were no barriers for him." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

In this scrap, Celia constitutes sexual violence and abduction as something which is 'allowed to happen' in relation to the documentary's – and the true crime genre's – presentation of the genius and charm of white men (see also Latora, 2020).[47] Here, the documentary, as an invitation to 'look', presents the man's ingenuity as something to be enjoyed and even admired – a logic perhaps of 'see how well he caught them out!' – even where his actions cannot be condoned.

Rather than only echoing literature on sensationalism and sexual violence (for example, Kitzinger, 2009), Celia's scrap might also be aligned with what Dennis Bingham (2010) calls 'Great White Men' biopics (see also McKinney, 2015). Scholars have critiqued popular narratives of 'genius men' not only for failing to recognise the accomplishments of everyone else but also for positing 'genius' as something innately or even mystically attained (see, for example, the papers in Carlson, 2015 and also Battersby, 1994). Here, the idea of 'genius' cuts out the contexts and collaborations – for example, the material-discursive practices of family life and marital laws – that enable the work and also sexual violence by white men. Where others are constrained by their (gendered, raced etc.) embodiment and are entangled in environments, white men are able to achieve the 'extraordinary' alone and anywhere.[48] Like L's 'good' photographer getting at the truth, they are cut out of and free from contexts.

Certainly, Celia's scrap constitutes a binary interpretation of the documentary: 'you can either see the documentary as like look how clever he is or look at how little no one protected her'. Plugging in the argument by Barbara Krahé (2013) that a 'psycho logic' often shapes judgments of blame – for example, the more blame you attribute to a victim-survivor, the less you give to their abuser/s – the logic of the clever mask here is that, the more sexual violence

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[47] Much has been made of the rising popularity of 'true crime', whether in podcasts (for example, Bollig and Hull, 2018), or series streaming services, what Mallorie Latora calls 'Netflix and Kill' (2020). However, work by, for example, Rachel Franks (2016) notes the popularity of the genre over several centuries and its continual reinvention.

[48] Indeed, this might be read next to work (for example, Branson, 2013) on how patterns of portraying crime in the media treat African-American men as low life and unintelligent criminals often operating in groups versus the lone, white, cunning serial killer.

is attributed to individual genius, the more other people and practices are absolved of non-existent or failed interventions.

From here, I revisit the firmness of Kathryn's position as a 'we' who 'could believe it' of Ted Bundy as necessarily emerging in contexts of *denial* of sexual violence. Sexual violence as multi-actor and socially enabled thus emerges here in dialogue with the discourse of the clever mask, with participants saving scraps from everyday contexts in order to challenge this denial.

However, attention to, for example, Savile's 'other side' often also translates into catching out the true face beneath the clever mask. For example, Jemarah (50s, mixed raced and heterosexual) writes how her friend met a man in the street when she was sixteen who asked to call on her for a date. After writing that he was charming and describing all the ways he "did everything right" at first, Jemarah goes on to detail the moments when "his eyes turned cold" and he "turned into an animal … [and] remained that cold animal after he had taken her virginity." On the next page, she more explicitly offers her own 'view' of the story:
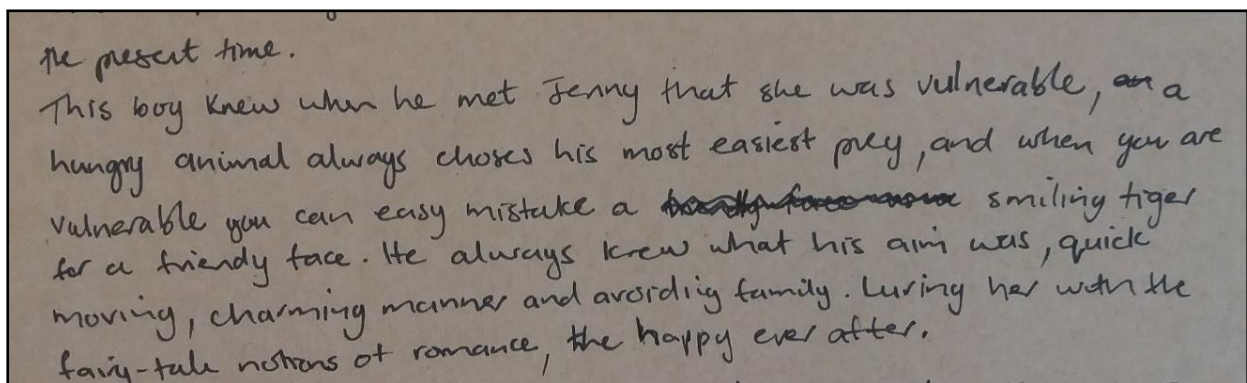

Figure 25: Extract from Jemarah's scrapbook on her friend's experience in handwritten text

A 'smiling tiger', 'a man turned into an animal': Jemarah's description of the tiger luring with 'fairy-tale notions of romance' strongly echoes the heteronormative dating and romance scripts Helen J. McLaren finds abusers adopting to gain access to both women and children (2016). Here, Jemarah's friend is constituted as 'vulnerable' and thus unable to correctly identify and catch out the tiger beneath.

It is particularly interesting to read this scrap alongside Susan's scrap on 'Sarah Sande'[49]: "it's sickening to think how well we were fooled and (much like Sarah Sande) tricked into trusting him by the façade he put up for public consumption." If, according to Susan earlier,

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[49] According to Susan's scrapbook Sarah Sande was a woman in her 30s who befriended an older man and killed him on discovering his history of child abusing.

'paedo[s] … live among and around us', we need to catch them out, pull off their masks and reveal the truth of who they are. Interestingly, this particular discourse of clever masks and necessary exposure differs considerably from her reflections on a local case involving two people both with 'learning difficulties'. Indeed, Susan is quick to write that:

> "I feel it's an example of the failure to protect vulnerable young girls. He ought not to have had the opportunity to rape her. I gather it happened in a bathroom, he pushed her over the bath, the news report said. It was an opportunistic rape … Yes, I think they [other people] are [responsible], really. A large group of young learning-disabled teenagers used to gather in the communal garden – none of them lived in the flats, except the young man who committed the rape. There wasn't any proper supervision, and they were hanging out in a drug dealer's flat. How come?" (Susan: 60s, white)

Here, the characterisation of the man as 'learning disabled' runs parallel to a focus on the lack of protection for the girl in question. Connecting this to literature on the public perception of people with learning disabilities as not having the capacity to be manipulative and as not being in control of their actions (see, for example, Lambrick and Glasner, 2004), webs of interdependency are evidently constituted as including certain men but not 'men' in general. As before, white, non-disabled and/or neurotypical men are thus cut out of context and not treated as socially contingent.

7.2.6. Catching out the human mask: Summary

This first section has identified catching out as discursive practices announcing truth and denouncing falsity, exposing the everyday mistaken freedoms or wrong-doings of 'catfishers', 'Kardashians', 'deities' 'females', 'perverts' and 'Indians'. Nevertheless, the scraps saved from participants' everyday lives and organised here outline contexts where it is 'natural' and 'necessary' to interrogate and expose the truth of a person or situation. Indeed, this scaffold concerns an emotive and moral imperative to catch others out before they catch you. This is particularly the case where geniuses or tigers[50] wear clever masks to carry out sexual violence undetected and uninhibited, thereby demonstrating how the scaffolding of catching out concerns the constitution of abusers as much as it scaffolds the sexual victimisation of others. More specific examples of catching out here include the discursive

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[50] Interestingly, both positions – genius (more than/super human) and animalistic (less than human/animal) – seem to establish the correct properties of human as *not* perpetrating sexual violence.

practices of cutting out before/after images, stalking celebrities, making triumphant announcements, opportunistic penetration, 'corrective' violence, and doxing.

7.3. Catching out bad guys and protecting authentic selves: Vigilance, vigilantism and video games

The everyday scaffolding of catching out has so far been organised primarily in terms of how the positions of second-class citizens and clever tricksters are constituted. It thus complicates the idea of catching out as something done by a priori 'bad people' to 'good people'. In this section, attention will be paid to how ideas of authenticity, vigilance and vigilantism emerge as necessary means for preventing and policing catching out, lending themselves particularly to what will be called a 'video game logic'.

7.3.1. Keep your doors closed and your crown upright: Vigilance against 'the vulnerable position'

Protection against catching out is established as keeping up an appearance in the following scrap from a counsellor:

"I suppose with anything isn't it like other even other than abuse the way that we cope with things is to put a smile on … like there are so many memes out there like 'just make sure you get up, you brush your teeth, you get dressed and get out there', it doesn't matter what's going on it's like 'don't talk about it' you know or these things like 'don't let your crown slip." (Yasmine)

Managing difficulty here means smile or mask-wearing and remaining vigilant in its upkeep. With the following scrap, this vigilance can be understood as protection against the *inevitability* of catching out:

"I compulsively check the comments on things which is bad because it is full of assholes. There was some man making the comment that you shouldn't leave your door open if you don't want to get robbed or caught. You're stupid if you put yourself in vulnerable positions because you should have avoided it happening kinda thing. I'm interested in this concept of asking for it where you put yourself so far into a vulnerable position that you should expect that you're going to get raped." (Alex: white, queer)

The view of both robbery and rape in this scrap can be positioned next to Powell and Henry's (2014) identification of early but enduring sexual violence prevention as women accepting its *inevitability* and avoiding situations where it might happen. Certainly, in this scrap, doors being open are not just neutral happenings, they are opportunities. This recalls how Jaclyn Friedman (2014) describes virginity's treatment as a precious jewel in the US which will be taken from women and girls if they are not careful. Here then, interactions are seen as opportunities to seize something from someone else and, fairly so, if they are negligent or 'stupid'. Indeed, one counsellor makes the comment that, even with so much activism and awareness around the subject of abuse, "people still think they would be too clever to be coercively controlled."

It is important to consider the establishment of a 'vulnerable position' in more detail. According to the logic in Alex's scrap, a person is cut out of context and agentically positions themselves *into* vulnerability. The idea that a 'you' can put 'yourself' into such a position creates a dualism that is integral to discursive practices of catching out, negating entanglements and interactions and establishing people dualistically. Indeed, this dualism manifests as the truth behind the smile in Yasmine's scrap, the misalignment of which must be carefully managed. Thus, in the logic of catching out, there *is something* to catch out.

Viewing these scraps side by side organises different constitutions of vulnerability and responsibilisation. The open door and thus invaded space in Alex's scrap resonates with the discursive constitution elsewhere of 'rapeable' bodies as pregnable and thus vulnerable to an agentic (and phallic) force noted by feminists writers (for example, Marcus, 1992). Here, the watcher must divide from the body and keep an eye on the door (or orifice). The man's comment about robbery resonates likewise with the view of sexual violence as necessarily robbing a person of something tangible and material (again, Friedman, 2015). Indeed, relevant literature on reification (Verkerk, 2017) is helpful here for understanding how in a rape culture sexual relations (consensual or not) become distinct objects which can be valued and exchanged.

However, boundaries are also constituted here as shifting layers which might be pushed aside from multiple angles – the crown, mask or smile might slip. Similarly, the 'truth' of Kim Kardashian West was established previously through aligning different images of her side by side. I will return to these points again later but note here that through discursive practices of

catching out, people's 'truth' is not only accessible through a 'door', but also through a variety of technologies attempting to cut out and move about lies to find the truth.

7.3.2. Sharing your truth and family life: Integration as protection against objectification

Whilst Yasmine's scrap guards against catching out through *hiding* the truth, in the following scrap Gina's *sharing* of her 'truth' guards against a man whom she describes in an earlier conversation as "a bit too pushy, but he would take no, but he would not take it easily". I consider Gina's scraps in detail here because they establish catching out at work, but also perhaps identify possible action *against* the logic of 'something to hide' that has been so key in this chapter thus far. Interestingly, the concept of hiding is also relevant to those previous chapters where women have had to live what feel like multiple separate lives to protect against stigma and violence.

In this first scrap then, a characteristic dualism of true and false is established:

> "He'd already met my children because I picked him up and when I said I was busy it was true, he could see my family life. I wanted to show who I am, not who am pretending to be. I want him to see me as a mum and a wife and a professional, not as this thing he can get me to come round his house once in a while. Because I don't want a relationship, you know, have him see me as I really am without all the fake glamour."
> (Gina: 40s, white, heterosexual)

Here, Gina's 'truth' is constituted in relation to the 'thing' her friend wants to come round for (sexual intimacy) once in a while. This is a relational practice made explicit in a conversation between two white counsellors about how women who have been sexually abused experience counselling:

> Rachel: "They're often quite positive experiences once they've gone through the realisation that actually 'shit, nothing was what I believed it to be, I'm not the person that I have been told I am'. Then it's the case of working out, well, what person are you? So actually it's changing that self-concept to actually being much more true to that authentic self, you know. As children, as you know, if you tell a child it's stupid often enough, it grows up into an adult that believes it's stupid, so it depends on the messages that those people have been given. It forms who they are, who they think they are and actually –"

> Margarite: "And that's the big thing, who do you think you are but who actually are you?"

Interestingly, the truth of who Gina 'really is' here beneath the fake glamour, is that of 'mother', 'wife' and 'professional', all relational and gendered subject positions. On the one hand, these might read as reductive, as 'Gina' forever constituted through gendered relationships. On the other hand, they clearly articulate some of the social and gendered intra-actions in which 'Gina' is constituted.[51]

Moreover, her truth is established not just in opposition to but also instrumental *against* the 'thing', 'fake glamour' and 'pretence' of her with him. It is interesting to approach this scrap alongside Marcus' (1992: 393) comment that to avoid rape women are encouraged to empathise with and see the humanity of their would-be rapist as opposed to 'forc[ing] him to see *her* will and humanity [italics in original]'. Indeed, Gina's position with him in interaction with her children, husband, the car and the furniture and food she provides represents for her an establishment of *new* boundaries:

> "When he got homeless I shifted into caring for the first time ever. I took him, he met my husband and we put him up in a B&B and he was disempowered, the dynamics changed, he was indebted to not just me but to us as a couple. It is humiliating to be in that situation, dependent on others and I don't think you're then going to fancy yourself as some sort of Casanova. Not with someone who gives you dinner and drives you about. So that dramatically changed things. The dynamics shifted and I think it is permanent. It shifted with within a day…Once he sorts himself out it will be interesting to see if he tries to change the dynamic. He has no leverage with me at all at the moment."

Here, non-monogamous practices complicate much theorising around women in intimate relations with men. Of course, Gina's scraps might be approached with a biblical Madonna/Whore binary in mind, more specifically, what Teguh Wijaya Mulya (2018) identifies as cultural imperatives for 'good' women (Madonnas or virgins) to express their sexuality within culturally sanctioned boundaries of, typically, marriage, and the positioning of those who do not as morally corrupt. Alongside this taxonomy, Gina constitution of a true (Madonna's?) family life, on the one hand, versus the fake glamour (of a whore's life?), on

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[51] This is a relational contextualisation much missed in neoliberal psychotherapeutic and also research practices for 'finding' and 'freeing' the authentic self (according to, for example, Adams et al. 2019; Mazzei and Jackson, 2009). It is, however, said to be integral to original Rape Crisis work with women (Vera-Gray, 2020).

the other, creates necessary boundaries between roles and simultaneously legitimises and delegitimises the forms of sexuality she shares with her friend.

Then again, his loss of home and the performative nature of hers in these scraps *integrates* her relationship with him into her wider life and creates continuity between different situated constitutions of herself. This integration makes it difficult for him to catch her out or cut her out of context through 'thingification', to use a term again from Barad (2003: 812) or, more specifically and negatively, objectification. Indeed, I am reminded here of Burnett and Spade's (1996) recommendations for tackling a college rape culture as providing seats, turning down music and creating opportunities for men and women to interact in evening events. In Gina's situation, his not having 'any leverage with her' is a position established through his integration into and dependency on the material-discursive practices of her home and life.[52]

7.3.3. Lone wolves and packs: Catching out bad guys with vigilantism and policing

Whilst Gina's scraps constitute change and accountability as a complex material web, the following scraps establish vigilance – in particular policing and vigilante practices – as seemingly necessary for avoiding catching out. For example, J describes how the police approached her and her son for DNA samples, after her ex-husband – whom she had not seen for over thirty years – committed a stranger rape abroad:

> "The police treated the whole thing appallingly. They were sly, manipulative. We were happy to help but they wanted us to identify him and I was like 'no, that's too far'. I had to go to sign a statement … they forced me into a situation where I had to identify him by photographs and I was like 'I'm helping you, I don't have to' and she was like 'well, if you don't, it will have to be one of your children' and I got really upset and said 'it's disgusting' and she was like 'oh, we understand' and I was like 'no, you don't, it's just a tick in a box to you' and when I tried to leave the room she tried to stop me and it was like I was a criminal. I had like post-traumatic stress and I vomited in the car park. I would never help the police again. They were going to arrange for the victim

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[52] I do not present this as a case study of 'how to stop sexual violence' and certainly not one dependent on erasing the challenges and complexities of his homelessness or her positioning of him as 'dependent' and thus by implication, as not sexual or a 'Casanova'. I consider these scraps more as instances of change and integration which involve physical spaces, objects and multiple people. I do think, however, that much can be usefully abstracted from this on the action needed against thingification and its link to objectification.

to meet me and my son and I think it would have helped him, but they didn't do it, they let him down." (J: 50s, white, heterosexual)

As before, the embodied shock and destabilisation of catching out is critical to note. Here, policing practices establish the ends of catching out a 'bad guy' as necessitating the means of catching J unawares. Certainly, this scrap can be read alongside other participants' lived and upsetting experiences with police, and existing resources concerned about police responses to sexual and domestic abuses. For example, Mia Mingus (2019) argues that concerns about the police often drive initiatives for transformative justice, where communities work with victim-survivors to achieve justice and to hold abusers ethically and effectively to account *without* police and state intervention.

However, scraps here establish vigilante or 'isolationist' rather than transformative responses to police failure. Indeed, in the following three, L describes a more general 'isolationist' view which is echoed in Trihan's wife's comment about the man who sexually abused him. This view is also echoed in Susan's retelling (and to some extent exonerating) of a woman's threats to and murder of a child abuser (in Figure 26):

"I think the isolationist view may be damaging to actual victims of abuse, you know, suggesting they should just toughen up and fight their oppressors or assaulters … usually each of the stories has a person shut off from society, Rambo, the lone wolf story … they don't ask for mental health support but just go to the police station to an officer who is either in on it or unsympathetic so they then set up traps at home to work outside the law on their own. In reality victims often feel isolated and alone so to then have victims in films seemingly thriving off being alone becoming is damaging because it enforces that idea that people are on their own." (L: 30s, white, heterosexual)

"She says if she had known him at the time she would have hunted him down and kicked his ass." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)
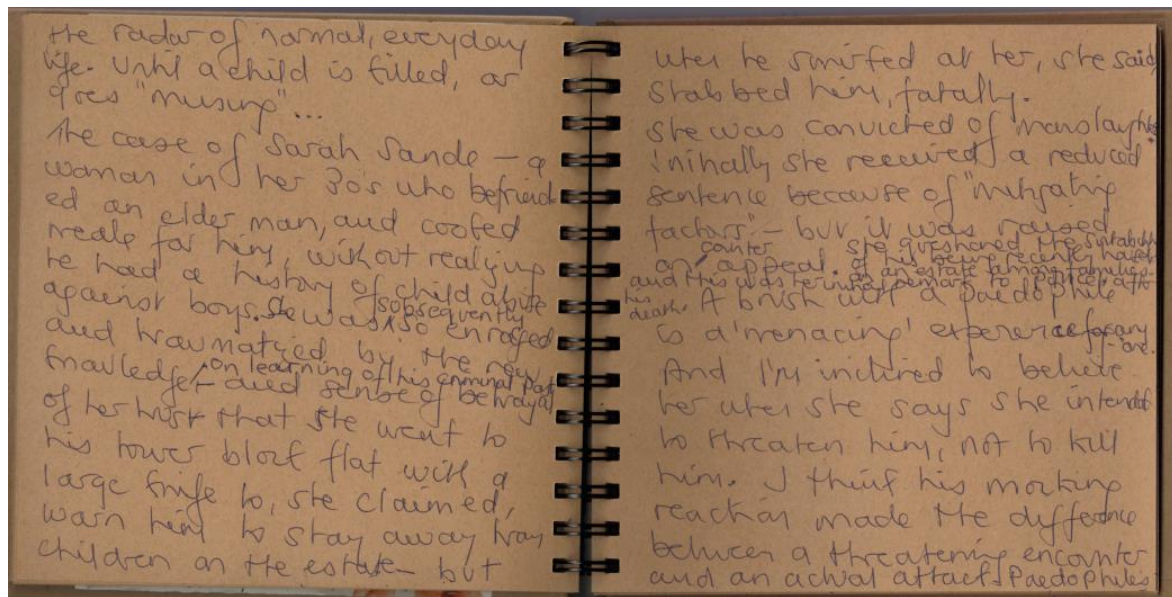
Figure 26: Two page spread of Susan's scrapbook about Sarah Sande in handwritten text

In these scraps, justice must be served and abusers found, exposed and physically punished, a practice which Mingus (2019) might understand as relying on and perpetuating violence. Whilst all three scraps concern individual people or 'lone wolves', in the following scraps it is *groups* of people or packs who catch out abusers. For example, J feels taken unawares by a video that appeared on a *Facebook* history site and which features "young men in waistcoats and caps on like a little group of vigilantes. They knew exactly what they're doing":
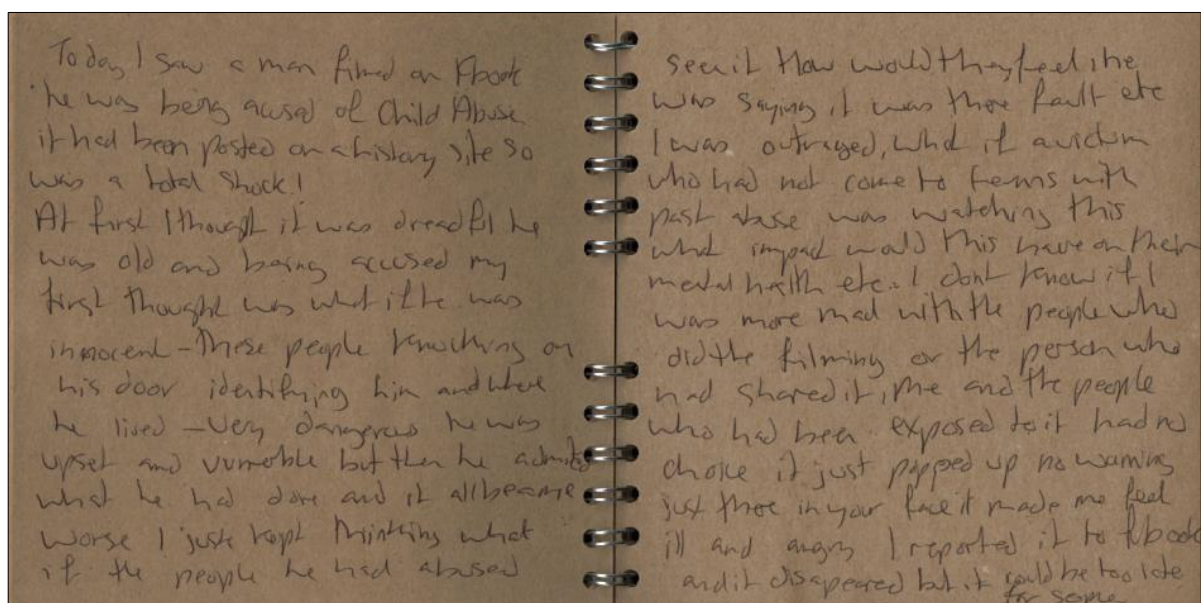

Figure 27: Two page spread of J's scrapbook feature an experience on Facebook

Interestingly, this scrap can be understood as connecting 'targeting doxing' to vigilantism: physically and publically locating the man's home renders him 'vulnerable' which later

becomes 'justified' in view of his 'admitting' child abuse. In J's scrap, as in Alex's, the 'vulnerable position' is therefore opening your 'door' to the world. However, 'being vulnerable' is not just being invaded here, catching out is the discursive practice of also pulling him outside, exposing him to a camera and audiences online. In fact, catching out means making him a spectacle.

In view of the significance then of capturing the man's accusation and his interrogation on camera, it is interesting to revisit a scrap from the previous chapter (on Spectacularisation). There close-up filming techniques were described as objectifying van Ryan's rape disclosure in the film *Wild Things* (a technique which can also be identified where she testifies against the accused, Sam Lombardo in court and in a police interview). It is important to add here that van Ryan was not raped and is, in fact, *falsely* accusing Lombardo as the two are in league to extract money from her mother. Here then, the film's practice of zooming in might be also read as the practice of L's ideal photographer, namely searching for the truth behind the lie or smile.[53] Indeed, it is helpful here to combine these scraps to better understand 'rape culture' as the everyday spectacularised interrogation of what women say, do and are. Moreover, bringing in Noor's scrap here we can understand this interrogation as enacting particular expectations of different women in different contexts:

> "I didn't know what it was about, I was naïve. I thought it was very artistic and I shared an image of the book in my snapchat and my friend got back to me and he was like 'why are you reading about sexual stuff?' and I was like 'oh right' and I went and read it. It wasn't even about rape, it was about sex but still people were like 'why are you reading it?' … maybe she wants to educate herself? Even if you read it, it has to be out of sight, that is where I came from." (Noor: 20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern, heterosexual)

Catching out as a spectacle of vigilantism is also a useful conceptualisation for the following scrap on a documentary investigating sexual violence in South Africa:

> "That Ross Kemp guy, he went there, to Northern Cape where the community has taken the law into its own hands. The rape crisis is the biggest in South Africa, more disturbing how men talk, these rapists how they rape, they were so cold and animal like that. They don't even realise what they're like. That person doesn't have a soul anymore, he's dead, shows no remorse. He [Ross Kemp] goes into prison and

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[53] Interestingly, in a conversation at the organisation on sexual violence accusations levelled at celebrities, one woman argues that "these things always surface", a constitution of truth as lying below but making its way up to the surface.

interviews these people. What these communities had a problem with was that these men rape, then after six months are out because of corruption in the police force and the immensity of the problem, they can't cope so just let some go. The community has started to burn these guys, set them alight and invite the whole community to do that, which again is so cold, these images are so cold. Ross Kemp said 'I don't agree with that but if that was my seven or thirteen-year-old daughter I might do that if the police won't do that." (Jemarah: 50s, mixed race, heterosexual)

Jemarah establishes the rape crisis as the 'biggest' in South Africa (where she was born) through Ross Kemp's observations, interviews and reference to his own daughters. In this scrap both South African rapists and communities of colour emerge as a 'cold' and unnamed generic, whilst white British Ross Kemp emerges as individualised and fatherly. Certainly, this constitution echoes much of what has been written on the racist discourses of sexual savagery and appeals to a western chivalry which justify white imperial violence (Moffett, 2006; Amos and Parmar, 1984).

With this wider context of racism and imperialism, it important to organise Jemarah's scrap next to another where she reflects on living for the last decades in Britain:

"I was watching the beginning of Beyoncé's Homecoming. I stopped it mid-way so my husband could watch it. It took her twenty-two years for her to come home and realise that all her inspiration is right here in her community. She speaks about struggling to give birth and emergency caesareans and having to deal with the body being cut into, and a husband who was unfaithful. If she can do it, I can do it. I know Beyoncé and Jay Z are American, but it shows how important it is to hold onto your roots. You get taken into that superficial life and it was more difficult for her to find her feet and you can probably get lost in that. For me coming here, there are times I have lost a bit of my identity but now more than ever through art that helped, looking to me and finding myself and saying this is who I am, this is my roots and this how I'll die."

The need for both Jemarah and Beyonce to hold onto their 'roots' highlights very different constitutions of 'community' from those established in the Ross Kemp documentary. Indeed, I present the documentary scrap as part of racist configurations which make 'identity', 'community' and 'coming home' complex aspirations for African women of colour. Indeed, Jemarah's encounters with 'Homecoming' and the South Africa documentary might be read alongside Fanon's work (2008), which addresses the lived struggle of colonised peoples to

unlearn the 'epidermalization' of inferiority, the construction of 'blackness' as 'wrongness'. Using this literature as an additional scrap, Jemarah's pursuit of identity in community emerges as urgent. This perhaps recalls how previously a counsellor noted the necessity for children to unlearn the idea that they are 'stupid' or Gina's need for her friend to see who she really is in the material-discursive practices of her home and family life.

7.3.4. Everyday life as a video game: the 'what if it was you?' question and impossible answer

So far, this chapter has established the vigilance and vigilantism necessary to avoid unmasking, but also to unmask others. Indeed, in the previous two sections particularly, quest-style examples of 'hunting' abusers down were identified. The final two sections will explore the constitution of these scraps in more detail, organising them in terms of 'a video game'.

Firstly then, Ross Kemp's comment that "if that was my seven or thirteen-year-old daughter, I might do that if the police won't" can be set beside the following scrap:

> "I see him on Facebook posting borderline homophobic and outright transphobic stuff
> and I call him out on it every time I see it. I think I'm only friends with him on
> Facebook so I can call him out on stuff like that and one time he was very prejudiced
> about this transgender man who was having a kid and I was like 'you're a parent, if
> your kid came to you and he realised he was actually a woman and wants to transition,
> how would you deal with that because right now you're not giving support.'" (Trihan:
> 30s, white, heterosexual)

A combination of Ross Kemp's reflections and the 'what if it was you' scenario and question that Trihan poses here establishes the possibility of imagining oneself into a situation in order to better understand it. Whilst potentially both practical and empathetic, this constitution can also be juxtaposed with critical concerns (in, for example, Day, Casey and Gerace, 2010) that many 'perspective-taking' techniques struggle to facilitate an empathetic understanding of specific personal and contextual constraints. Instead, scraps can be organised here into people visualising *themselves* in certain situations, treating 'person' and 'context' as separable and interchangeable. Indeed, the following scraps establish a difference between trying to

understand the specifics of a situation and simply inserting oneself into scenarios, like players taking on stereotyped and standardised roles or avatars:

> "After a while people moved onto the next gossipy thing but the fact that that happened in the first place soured the job for me. A few of the people were the football loving manly men. I'm not going to sugar coat it, they were incredibly homophobic so the concept of a guy being sexually assaulted by another guy was a subject of ridicule for them because they were like 'I would never of let that happen. Oh well, that makes you gay then, I guess'. I don't think the fact that it was a non-consensual violation of my consent ever came in for them." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

> "I just recently remembered one of my colleagues saying he would know a man was going to rape him so he would be able to prevent it so why don't women. Men have said that too many times like 'I would have just beaten the shit out of him.'" (Abby: 30s, lesbian)

Here, men cut themselves out of contexts and insert themselves as rational actors into others. This discursive practice obscures the complex situational constitution of sexual violence and turns its relations into 'things' or 'relata' which can be easily moved about. With this constitution, players take up none of the lived or *pre-reflective* embodiments of their avatar – to draw on literature on women's safety work (as in Vera-Gray, 2018) – or the specificity of place. Thus, as with scraps concerning the clever mask, the ideal rational player is constituted as the reflective and generic 'human' (namely, male, white, non-disabled etc.).

7.3.5. Everyday life as a video game: Everything is for you, so take it

This video game grammar positions others as orientating around oneself, a constitution which justifies their second class or less than human status. Unlike scraps concerning Gina's multiple relational positions with continuity across time and space, here, people, and women in particular, are posited one-dimensionally:

> "Boys at school were saying they shagged each other's mums and this guy [teacher] stepped in being like 'she's your mum and that's not good' and I was like 'you're presenting her just as someone's mum, she is a human being'. I'm somebody's wife, somebody's mum etcetera, but I'm also me and more than that. Women are only important in relation to men." (J: 50s, white, heterosexual)

Celia certainly echoes J's frustration in her experience that men only care about sexual violence when it is someone they know: "it's only now when this is relevant to you that you care because beyond that you just see women that suffer from this kind of thing as statistics." It is interesting to compare this practice with Yadira's scrapbooking, through which she regularly made connections between the children in news items and her own:

> "I have a daughter who is eight. When it says eight, my daughter, the number triggered me because of her age and I was talking to my husband being like 'she was like such a young girl.'" (Yadira: 30s, Asian, heterosexual)

This practice of making connections seems to *expand* her empathy and capacity for conversation. In these other scraps, however, catching out relies on everything being *for and about men*, whilst women are thingified or objectified. Thus, discursive practices of catching out scaffold the exposure and 'correction' of this 'truth' through sexual violence. Alex's reflections offer an interesting way of thinking about this entitlement:
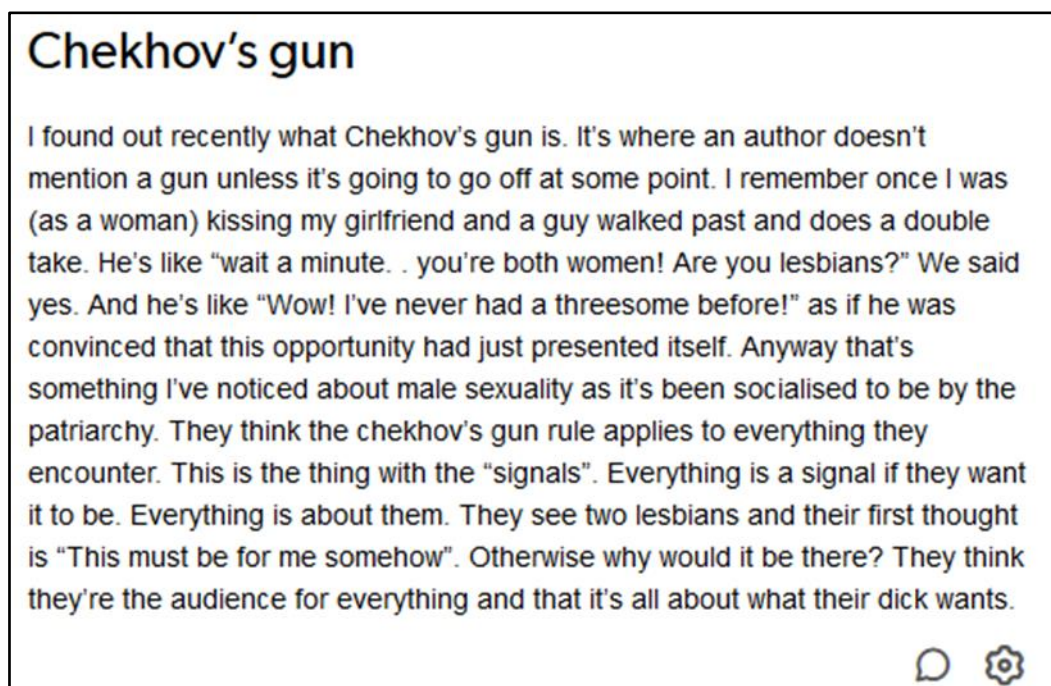
Chekhov's gun

I found out recently what Chekhov's gun is. It's where an author doesn't mention a gun unless it's going to go off at some point. I remember once I was (as a woman) kissing my girlfriend and a guy walked past and does a double take. He's like "wait a minute. . you're both women! Are you lesbians?" We said yes. And he's like "Wow! I've never had a threesome before!" as if he was convinced that this opportunity had just presented itself. Anyway that's something I've noticed about male sexuality as it's been socialised to be by the patriarchy. They think the chekhov's gun rule applies to everything they encounter. This is the thing with the "signals". Everything is a signal if they want it to be. Everything is about them. They see two lesbians and their first thought is "This must be for me somehow". Otherwise why would it be there? They think they're the audience for everything and that it's all about what their dick wants.

Figure 28: Extract from Alex's scrapbook featuring typed text on Chekhov's gun

> "Rape culture is an expansion of entitlement, this conditioning amongst men to think of themselves as protagonists in every situation, but it is not revolving around them … Real life isn't like that … Things don't have a purpose, things can't just be and have nothing to do with you, especially with sexuality, like you're the protagonist in the porn

film and nothing is going to happen unless it is somehow sexy and to do with you."
(Alex: white, queer)

Alex's scrap articulates particularly clearly what is at stake with the everyday scaffold of catching out. It is the constitution of self as cut out from context and as the basis around which its 'context' orbits. As 'protagonists', to use Alex's word, men write their stories and star in them, drawing boundaries around what matters. Previously, Mae reported men trying to catch her out by 'slipping in quietly' when she is intimate with women, whilst Aerin expressed frustration at men who think you are 'something in their porn'. These scraps can be combined with Alex's to show how men as an 'audience for everything', necessarily means treating *everyone else* as acting according to an agreed upon script, as well-programmed objects or characters.

Of course, video games are a sophisticated and varied set of technological and human practices. It is for this reason that it is worth attempting to outline the specific game mechanics that constitute catching out. Perhaps then, catching out here is the navigation of everyday life in a quest for the truth of oneself. In this context, other people appear merely as opportunities or threats removed from a changing backdrop of environments. They may attempt to unmask you; they may need to be unmasked themselves. They have agency and capability only in as much as it matters to you, the player; they are characters in your world – just mothers, wives, perverts, Indians, amongst others, and you must keep reminding them of who they (and you) are.

Interestingly, Jemarah uses the framing of "the arrogant one" to connect the legacy of colonialism in Cape Town with the domestic and sexual abuses she has experienced throughout her life there:

"The arrogant one thinks he is superior to the non-arrogant one so the one who isn't arrogant just accepts their world and the arrogant one just stays the same and never is challenged." (Jemarah: 50s, mixed race, heterosexual)

At the core then is *superiority*; a deeply entrenched self-other hierarchy at work connecting and justifying systems of oppression and a practice of exposing and humiliating others.

7.3.6. Catching out bad guys: Summary

This second section has shown how ideas of authenticity and truth necessitate vigilance and vigilantism to manage the threat of being caught out. The 'vulnerable position' is constituted here as revealing something of the face behind the mask and leaving doors unlocked. Both discourses rely on dualisms – whether as a watcher and a door or as a face hoping to maintain a mask – and the cutting out of people from context to agentically occupy the vulnerable position. The same applies to attempting to *understand* the vulnerable position, as men insert themselves into stories as if playing a video game. In so doing, everything emerges as being for and about certain men (for example, white and non-disabled). These are the active players for whom encounters with others – like Yadira advocating on behalf of the house and herself – unsettle perhaps the myth of masculine invulnerability (see Gavey, 2019) and the boundary of object/subject.

7.4. Catching out: Conclusion

The term 'catching out' draws on participants' own languages for the experience and fear of being 'caught off guard'. Indeed, the term encompasses a variety of everyday discursive practices which announce wrong-doings or illegitimate wearing of the 'human mask'. However, what is critical to note here is that these practices both *create* and reproduce the wide-spread hidden truth/surface lie dualism, which 'justifies' and scaffolds a continuum of responses, including sexual violence. This continuum perhaps includes putting women of colour back in their 'place' or exposing trans women as 'deceivers' as much as it does to obscuring the banality and social nature of sexual violence through a focus on the clever masks of Jimmy Savile and Ted Bundy.

This broad focus beyond individual abuser actions is not intended to water down responsibility for sexual violence. Rather it is to better understand abuse as scaffolded through the configuration of others as 'things' in the story or video game of life. Identifying the material-discursive practices of catching out at work thus addresses the reproduction of sexual violence – despite, for example, more attention being paid to abusers in true crime or the exposing of men as abusers online. It also addresses how change happens. Certainly, whilst feminists have considered the grammar for sexual violence as the constitution of certain bodies as passive, pregnable and thus, in specific scripts, rapeable, this chapter also understands how practices of, for example, creating, disseminating and contesting imagery

responsibilises women to manage their shifting boundaries and close-ups across contexts. Evidently, rape culture encompasses more than just keeping on eye on the closed 'door' against vulnerability.

Paying further attention here to change then, action against objectification is discussed as being necessarily situational and multi-factorial, particularly as establishing relational selves in material and community contexts. A different way of putting this point is that, rather than aspiring to the masculinist heights of invulnerable 'superhuman' or 'genius' – which are just different ways of cutting people out of situation and relationality – action against sexual violence requires confronting the abusers' with their vulnerable humanness or animalism[54] and their interdependence with others.

Of course, catching out cannot be considered without attention to the individual responsibilisation which is so key to the neoliberal ideal of a free agent: 'in moving toward the meritocratic ideal, we have imagined that we have retired the old encrustations of inherited hierarchies' (Appiah, 2018). Indeed, to build on the metaphor of an open door, it requires an appearance of equality – anyone might leave a door open – rather than openness understood as, for example, perhaps a failure on the part of the owner to fix it for the tenant or as a result of poor manufacture. This then is the paradox of catching out's logic in climates of neoliberalism and extreme inequality. On the one hand, open doors are free for anyone opportunistic and 'savvy' enough to exploit them but, on the other hand, others – mothers, wives, perverts and Indians – are all second-class characters in *the player's* world and must be reminded of that.

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[54] Future research might do well to explore how much the idea of being 'less than' human marginalises non-human animals and other non-human life.

Chapter 8. Weaponisation: The Fourth Scaffold

8.1. Introduction

This chapter establishes the everyday scaffolding of weaponisation, namely discursive practices of utilising sexual violence as a means towards particular and harmful ends. Indeed, the very idea of a 'weapon' positions these practices as destructive and defensive. The chapter is organised around widespread examples of the particular ends of weaponisation: to further divisive politics, and to gain and legitimise sexual access to someone. Each of these ends is discussed in a separate section of the chapter, along with the subject positions of 'Other' and 'vulnerable' these practices and ends create.

8.2. The divisive weapon

This first section organises scraps into the weaponisation of sexual violence to further divisive agendas; derailing discussion, undermining survivor service-provision, and othering particular groups. In so doing, it will be shown to scaffold climates of silence and competition in which sexual violence is possible.

8.2.1. Men derailing women: "Does it detract from the idea that women should be getting more help and support?"

Understanding men's experiences of sexual violence and finding languages to do so is critical. Indeed, this argument is supported by scraps where men's experiences of sexual violence 'derail' discussions led by and about women:

> "What I do find interesting is I very rarely see men calling attention to the sexual violence experiences other men are having unless it is to be interjecting into a discussion women are having about it. The main times I see that conversation being started are when I'm already reading or seeing a discussion women are having about their experiences and someone will come in and be like 'it's not just women who are having these experiences, men get abused too, women are doing it too', but it's kind of derailment rather than a discussion. Not enough men are starting their own conversations about that." (Trihan: 30s, white, heterosexual)

In this scrap, weaponisation is constituted as the discursive practice of interrupting a pre-existing conversation (and set of customs), as opposed to starting a new one. The identification here of a typical format for interaction between women on the topic of sexual violence highlights the problematic and disruptive nature of 'someone coming in'. The following reflections from L also point to particular formats for men's involvement in discussion:

> "Why I wouldn't speak up usually about this stuff is like I do think it detracts sometimes from the suffering that a lot of women go through or a lot of partners in general and to have a guy going like 'oh well it also happens to men'…does that need to be said or does it detract from the idea that women should be getting more help and support, you know? When mum was being like in domestic violence cases the police would come over and essentially immediately almost vilify her as being crazy or just not take action and that was crazy and so I didn't want to be someone that added to that issue kind of globally in a way. I think there's a lack of support for women in general over a number of different issues so I didn't want to be like 'actually men can also be assaulted too' and all this … why I didn't open up to a lot of my male friends when we broke up was just that idea of I knew I'd get back 'well, women are crazy aren't they?'"
> (L: 30s, white, heterosexual)

In this scrap, the weaponisation of men's experiences is explicitly sexist and ableist, with police officers and friends positioning L's mother and ex-partner as 'crazy'. Here, L's 'speaking up' in specific contexts *creates* the issue 'globally', and the choice thus constituted for him is limited to either 'detracting' from what women 'go through' generally and furthering a 'crazy woman' subject position, or, alternatively, not speaking about it. Here then, weaponisation scaffolds silence not only of L on the subject but also that of women fearing rebuke.

In both Trihan and L's scraps, men's experiences are thus constituted in relation to women's experiences; 'men get abused too [and] women are doing it too'. Indeed, discursive practices of weaponisation form the complementary positions of 'men' and 'women', and 'victim' and 'perpetrator' in sexual violence, where one must think of men when one thinks of women (and vice versa). Interestingly, Lise Gotell and Emily Dunnon (2016) identify a rising backlash to feminist anti-sexual violence activism, which draws on the claim that 'sexual violence is a gender-neutral problem'. Using this literature as a scrap, the positions of men

and women can be understood here not just as 'complementary' but also as 'equivalent' or 'symmetrical'; men victimising women is the same as women victimising men; gender is therefore not relevant.

Indeed, rather than advocating for men as victims per se, these practices strategically curb conversations about sexism and men's violence against women through making the argument that men also experience sexual violence. Other literature has described similar practices in other contexts (for example, Venäläinen, 2020; Dragiewizc, 2011). Likewise, both L and Trihan abstract here from the specific and situational to reflections on a wider pattern that is perhaps less random than the descriptor 'disruption' suggests.

8.2.2. Competing for services and space: Weaponisation as leverage

With the equivalency and even overt prejudice created through the weaponisation of men's experiences, services which have historically operated for 'women's needs' and are committed to challenging gendered inequality are necessarily careful about how they involve or cater for men (see also Jones and Cook, 2008: 45). In Kjell's experience, it is precisely because he is not 'anti' women that he is often called to talk at Rape Crisis services:

> "I don't have an anti-thing about women or feminism. Some people say I'm pro-feminism which I am, I am humanist rather than a feminist. I see people being like 'men have had it harder than women in the context of abuse' so I get called to talk because I don't say things that aren't relevant. I don't want to do things in competition. Some survivors are anti-women, some are women too. I would never go to conflict with a Rape Crisis service when so many women go through there and need it." (Kjell: heterosexual)

Here, competition is thus constituted as key to the everyday scaffolding of weaponisation, an engagement, that is, with what Trihan calls 'The Pain Olympics … a competition over who has had the most horrifying experience'. The practice of establishing equivalency as seen above – a constitution dependent on cutting out experiences of sexual violence from their contexts of sexism and gendered inequality – creates a level playing field on which 'fair' competition can ensue.

These scraps can also be understood alongside competition between services striving to be taken seriously as sexual violence experts in a sector with limited financial resources,

particularly following UK austerity measures in 2008 (identified by, for example, Sisters Uncut, 2019; Ishkanian, 2014). Indeed, Kathryn at the centre notes how:

> "Historically sexual violence was lumped with domestic violence for the local authority because there was less understanding. Pre-austerity we could establish ourselves, now we get lumped under it again."

I also bring in a scrap here from a team meeting at the organisation, where a lack of understanding and a competitive sector were seen as limiting "inter-agency working". Ami describes struggling with prejudice from local partners and commissioners towards the "fluffy women's sector". Her feeling that staff at partner agencies '"don't get what we're about" is widely echoed in literature on feminist and gendered service-provision for sexual violence (Women's Resource Centre, 2007; see also Woody and Beldin, 2012 for recommendations on improved inter-agency work). Here then, competitive politics pushing towards gender neutrality are established both in groups online (as in Trihan's scrap) and between services or partnered agencies.

8.2.3. *No politics please: A fair fight for survivor space*?

Indeed, this section organises scraps to show how gender neutrality and apoliticism are integral to the scaffolding of sexual violence. In Figure 29, Oslo reports in detail on using a men's support space on *Facebook*.

Without attention to gendered norms and 'toxic masculinity', survivors in this space are exposed to 'toxic narratives' which establish sexual violence as 'feminising'. When I investigate further into what
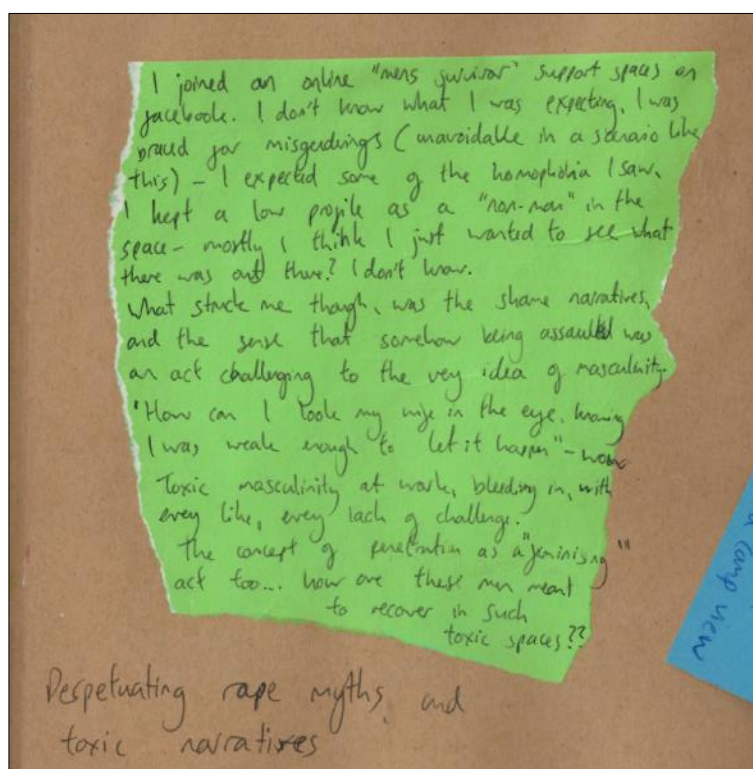

Figure 29: Page from Oslo's scrapbook featuring cut out paper and handwritten text on the subject of a Facebook group

makes this particular space so toxic, Oslo tells me that:

> "It's a men's survivor support space, set up but not curated… the group rules were
> things like 'no politics' which never bodes well. It equals 'homophobia isn't politics
> but being pro LGBT rights is.'" (Oslo: 20s, white, queer/bi/demisexual)

Here then, 'no politics' actually translates into no 'pro LGBT rights' politics. I bring in
Oslo's concerns about 'right wing' and 'bigoted' politics from elsewhere in their scrapbook
to further identify 'no politics' as also meaning no *emancipatory* politics, that is feminist,
queer and anti-racist politics, for example. Thus, survivors in that space are denied the
opportunity to engage with the critical tools that such politics have developed in order to
challenge self-blame and better understand sexual violence. Interestingly, Salome outlines
how feminism has aided her in identifying not just sexual violence, but also the normative
practices which make it possible (see also, for example, Valenti, 2015):

> "I learnt very early on that it's women pandering to men, it's only at twelve, thirteen
> when I discovered sex wasn't just men or women and you could also have sexual
> agency. I had bad experiences in my teens and I learnt that it was all about a man's
> pleasure and again it was only feminism which made me stop and be like, it was
> reading about the politics of orgasm." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Similarly, in a scrap from the organisation, a counsellor describes how having the feminist
organisation "behind her" has helped her to work better and more holistically with some men:

> "I have at the [outreach centre name] had men where I have had real concerns about
> their attitudes, the things they've said about women or erm I don't the way they their
> use of pornography and the way they've kind of objectified women or erm and I think
> sometimes as an organisation and what we stand for can be quite helpful in challenging
> and saying erm you know and really kind of saying 'we won't, I can't tolerate this view
> or this language' … whereas perhaps if you were working privately somewhere it
> would be more difficult I don't know to say." Megan

Without the kind of political framing of sexual violence in these scraps, 'toxic narratives' go
on operating with 'every lack of challenge', to quote Oslo. The counsellor's conviction of the
organisation as a 'we' who will not 'tolerate' certain views constitutes a clear political
organisational position for her in sessions with clients. Similarly, Oslo's comment that the
men's survivor space was 'set up but not curated' posits survivor spaces not as given and

fixed but as ongoing and processual through everyday practices of curating and challenging (or not) member comments. I bring these scraps together to make the point that, to guard against weaponisation and sexual violence, emancipatory politics are required as forms of *everyday practice* in a rape culture.

Oslo's concept of a 'toxic narrative' can also be usefully aligned with Kjell's encounter with a man who weaponises his own experience to particular ends:

> "I had an incident where a man came up to me in the corridor, an older man and asked me what I do and he knew what I did I suspect and he said 'someone tried to assault me in a wood when I was seven and I fought them off and got the police and saved all those other children. You're doing good work I'm sure' and then he wandered off. I don't know if that was real. I was six and I didn't fight them off, I was terrified of being killed. You still have a long way to go convincing males that they are vulnerable … I have never seen a disclosure like that. It was sort of artificial ... Male victims are placed where we are constantly interrupting a societal narrative … if you speak out about abuse you're mad or dangerous, over emotional. They position you in a place where they don't have to realise your abuse … it's like, my god, there's so far to go if someone can do that in a corridor after Savile." (Kjell: heterosexual)

Here, the man's story undermines Kjell's work by positioning it as supporting vulnerable men who cannot fight for themselves. Kjell moves from this particular encounter to the important reflection that 'male victims are placed where we are constantly interrupting a societal narrative'. So, what is it interrupting? The previous sections have established how narratives can be used, to disrupt the experiences of women, to advocate for gender-neutrality and to further sexism and ableism. However, in previous scraps, men's experiences also 'interrupt' a broader social narrative about who sexual violence affects and what it means to be a man and/or masculine. Elsewhere, Gavey (2019) makes the argument that attention to men's experiences is needed to disrupt the very ideas about gender and vulnerability which constitute the 'rapeability' of persons. (This point is addressed in more detail later in the chapter.)

Indeed, scraps so far have constituted certain implicit norms – necessary ones as far perhaps as participants are concerned – for how sexual violence *should* be discussed. For example, Kjell posits the man's disclosure as 'artificial', presupposing a sense of what is *natural*,

whilst the action of 'someone coming in' and causing disruption in Trihan's earlier scrap relies on the *prior* interaction between women as being harmonious.

Here, differences between and dissonances *within* women's experiences are obscured in the relational boundary-making of 'women' and 'men'. A possible harm then of the discursive practices of weaponisation is this: in necessary defence against men's weaponisation, the boundaries[55] of 'women' and 'women's experiences' (and also perhaps those of the organisational 'we') become fiercely guarded and it becomes 'necessary' to expel certain accounts that do not serve the desired political ends (see, also Shelton, 2018). Indeed, this practice can be considered next to Oslo's struggle to use survivor spaces designated for 'men' or 'women' and their 'conflict' in sharing their experience in certain contexts. As trans non-binary and intersex, Oslo recognises commonalities between their experiences and those typically attributed to 'men' or 'women', but fears these commonalities being used to establish and homogenise positions of 'women' or 'men' and erase that of others.

8.2.4. 'Dressing up their racism as care for women': Weaponisation as not just 'men' versus 'women'

In the following section, more detailed attention to the constitution of different groups through weaponisation is considered. This constitution is harmful here in that such divisions create and reproduce racist ideas about the cause of sexual violence. Indeed, weaponisation is the practice of constructing, for example, 'Asian' or 'Muslim' men through sexual violence. The following scrap comes from Salome:

> "I'm sick of men saying 'why do you always have to make it about gender?' Why when I mention a grooming gang do you assume it's Asian? There is as many white grooming gangs … People do that in mundane conversations, a funny story they will be telling me and then mentions 'oh, an Asian woman' and I will wait to the end of the story and say 'why did you do that, you wouldn't say, 'then this white guy'. It's like if someone shoots up a shopping mall or school we'll say, 'they're Asian' but if they're white we'll just say 'mad man'. Either mention everyone's race or not at all." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

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[55] I point to, for example, the following works on masculine continuums and the 'border wars' of butch and transmasculinity (Mackay, 2019; Halberstam, 1998).

Interestingly, Aisha K. Gill and Karen Harrison (2015) note how South Asian grooming gangs receive disproportionate coverage in UK media, positing them as 'natural' predators. In this scrap, Salome describes selectively racialising perpetrators of crimes as part also of 'mundane' conversation. This everyday discursive practice is evident in just such a conversation with a white counsellor about a woman at the prison:

> "She got a [long] sentence because there was a a I don't suppose it I don't know why I feel the need to mention a Muslim guy but err obviously I do somewhere in me, but a man, who she knew and she, this over twenty years ago, ah she didn't apparently know that it was happening but … her daughters were sexually abused by him." (Pam)

In this scrap, the counsellor is quick to question why she feels 'the need to mention a Muslim guy'. However, she does not answer her own question, leaving the fact that he was 'Muslim' and that she should not mention it open to weaponisation. Indeed, apparent apoliticism was previously noted as being open to 'toxic narratives'. Similarly, at a group activity I coordinated for the organisation, a spokesperson for the table tasked with advising a hypothetical entertainment production company on a scenario of image-based sexual abuse between women reported back to the room with the following:

> "We had two more mature, not older, women erm both high-profile, one actually who was a police commissioner who was involved in a very high-profile rape case and we had a social worker who was her partner, both white. We toyed on the black side but then we were getting into very deep water there erm, you know up-market flat, the works, the bizz and then a big row ensued and it all came out."

Creating a fictional relationship between black women or between a white woman and a black woman constitutes 'getting into very deep water' for a table of white women. Thus, the group sticks with 'the black side'. Here, the idea of 'toying' points to the ease with which white people cut out and 'inhabit' BIPOC avatars (see also, for example, Elan, 2020 and the previous chapter on a 'video game logic'). Likewise, the establishment of a 'black side' sets it up as oppositional to a white story line. What is key in this scrap is the construction, firstly, of blackness as a contentious 'deep water' issue and, consequently, their *avoidance* of it. This discursive practice of construction and avoidance echoes Pam's previous comments about an incarcerated woman.

Apparent avoidance – whether in everyday 'mundane' conversations or entertainment – creates contexts in which any form of 'non-whiteness' or otherness can be weaponised as

'causing' sexual violence. Certainly, Rosalie notices the prejudice behind an apparent concern for her safety:

"So many people would be really worried about me going to Cairo, like dressing up their racism as care for women like 'oh I'd heard a friend got shouted on the street there'. I had that here yesterday, it happens every day … If a white guy does it then it's cute? If I say it happens here, they are like 'yeah, in Spain', no I'm like 'here in London'… I don't trust any men but there is definitely that thing about race where you're meant to be more trusting of white men." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

Here, attention to 'culture' or 'place' (i.e. Cairo and Spain) are situationally acceptable racist and xenophobic proxies, also establishing not only binaries of us/them but gradations of racialisation or global 'southernness' which explain sexual violence. Indeed, this scrap can be read alongside literature on the various everyday ways in which otherness can be signalled without saying 'black' or 'Muslim' (for example, Gill, 2021; Watson, 2012). Thus, ethnicity is only apparently avoided because it *is* in fact noted – either directly, through proxies, or through taking whiteness and Englishness as the default – but it is not tackled *openly* and *constructively*.

Similarly, the practice of providing apparently neutral and objective images to accompany reports of violence is noted by several participants and is key to weaponisation:

"Generally, they get it wrong how they report it. With grooming gangs it's all done with the photos of ten Asian guys and it's clear you've done that to make a comment on race, Islam, but it's as if because you're doing it via imagery it's as if its neutral." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

As in the previous chapter, photos are constituted here as apolitical 'truth' tellers. In claiming to provide a 'window' on the truth, they can thus be particularly harmful. Suzanne Marie Enck-Wanzer (2009: 10) notes a similar practice in the reporting of black athletes accused of what she calls 'gendered violence':

Accompanying photographs showed five different African American team members. Laid out like a rap sheet detailing the various offenses of each man, the images reinforce what we are told over and again in US popular/public culture: black men are criminals and are to be feared.

However, the *absence* of images may also be significant, as Stephanie Bonnes (2013: 221) finds in a South African context:

> Rape articles involving black rapists and black victims are all short in length, avoid labels and do not include photos, thereby making them seem commonplace … [it] supports the rape myth that black men are typical rapists and suggests that black women are typical rape victims.

Evidently, encounters with media imagery (or its absence) are situational, necessitating attention to wider geographic configurations of place and race (see also, Patil and Purkayastha, 2015). Whilst the two analyses above focus on African American and South African men, participants comment more frequently on, to quote Imogen, 'Asian guys' and 'Islam'. Evidently, attention is needed here to the increasing Islamophobia (Nazeer, 2020) that Polly witnesses elsewhere and Noor herself experiences and to the ways in which sexual violence is weaponised against *specific* communities of colour (see, for example, Wigger, 2019 on 'intersectional stereotyping' and also Gill and Harrison, 2015; Patil and Purkayastha, 2015).

Imogen extends this racist use of imagery to include photos of victims of grooming. She notes how little sympathy there is for Shamima Begum who at fifteen left London to join the Islamic State and has since had a photo of her face used in a shooting range and, to quote the article in Figure 30, been 'stripped' of her UK passport.

Figure 30: Newspaper extract from Imogen's scrapbook on the subject of Shamima Begum

It is worth briefly noting here that, whilst there is increasing good practice guidelines for journalists *writing* on sexual and domestic violence (see, again, Level Up, 2018; National

Union of Journalists, 2013), I could not find obvious guidance on the best (and anti-racist) use of accompanying images.

8.2.5. Keeping it quiet: A response to weaponisation

The way this chapter has been organised shows sexual violence experiences, imagery and even citizenship both creating and being weaponised against 'black', 'Muslim' and 'Asian' women and men, whether as victims, abusers or both. This in turn creates the climates of silence so key to rape culture. Indeed, Imogen's previous scraps might be read alongside her following reflections:

> "I know trans women who have been victimised who feel scared to talk about that because they have been victimised by other trans women and they feel there isn't a space to say that and that's shit. They feel like if they say that they are being transphobic. For a long time I wouldn't talk about my experience because there was a lot of Asian men, but it's not about race, but I didn't talk about it because I didn't want people to use my experience for their agenda, but then that means they are being silenced." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

Here, Imogen creates a link between her own reticence and that of trans women who have been abused by other trans women. Likewise, Oslo who is trans, shares with me the following experience:

> "I had specifically LGBT counselling and she understood the complicated nature of it, that it was a woman, a queer situation so important to explore that with her … She was great, said 'it was a misuse of power and position' and I was able to say to her 'I feel like I'm misgendering myself by saying I've been sexually assaulted by a woman'. And she was like 'oh, ok, let's unpack that'… because it was penetrative sex so it's a body part I'm uncomfortable with anyway and there's a social understanding that it's a womanly thing to happen to it. That's the shame around it, especially for men or people who are closer to men like me. It's something you should have been able to stop, this as a strong masculine person, which is how I was framing myself at that time. She made it seem ok to seek resources on that. I was worried about taking up space from 'real survivors', worried about being homophobic. It's a similar thing where you can't call out trans folk who have sexually assaulted because they would say 'oh you're only

doing that because I'm trans and trying to give the trans community a bad name.'"
(Oslo: 20s, queer/bi/demisexual)

In both scraps from Imogen and Oslo, a fear for harms to and marginalisation of community inhibits 'calling out' and help-seeking, a practice (or non-practice) well-recorded in LGBTQIA+ communities (Donovan and Hester, 2015) and also communities of colour (Harrison and Gill, 2018; Crenshaw, 1991). This is a fear created and weaponised then to silence people. Indeed, weaponisation here necessarily relies on and reproduces the constitution of a monolithic community – i.e. 'the trans community' – in relation to the non-community. This discursive practice of establishing binary distinctions can be sympathetically understood by plugging in literature on wider contexts of biphobia, homophobia and transphobia, amongst others (Stonewall, 2017), and on the felt importance then of establishing alternative communities (Formby, 2017).

However, with this logic of us/them so integral to a rape culture, calling out bad practice here can mean losing one's 'community' rather than recognising multiple and plural configurations of it. This then is how weaponisation reproduces vulnerability, not as an essential property of being trans, for example, but through furthering an inside/outside politics of belonging (see also Namaste, 1994). These politics are easily reproduced through abuse itself – for example, being coerced into sex in order to prove, for example, one is 'really a lesbian' (Bornstein et al., 2006: 170) – and through the imperative to keep quiet about it and protect one's community.

Furthermore, to better understand weaponisation as experienced by Oslo, Alex's scrap can be brought in to articulate how closely the practice of 'misgendering' is tied to weaponisation and why:

"If people's chosen gender was accepted enough in a different kind of society where people weren't on the defensive so much, people could then talk about the realities of their experiences. I don't know if it is inherently painful to talk about having had experiences as a result of their assigned gender or whether people are only so resistant to it because it is going to be used to against them." (Alex: white, queer)

This scrap signals the significance of 'defensiveness', just as earlier it was explored how 'women' can become a defensive homogenous category when relational to 'men'. Here, Alex identifies the practice of using sexual violence experiences connected to assigned gender to 'prove' to people that they are not really trans. In a similar vein, in the previous chapter Kit
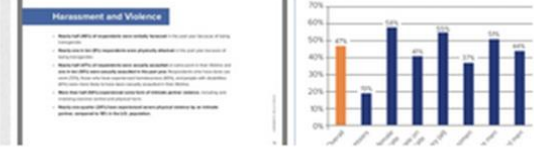
was reluctant to report an experience of grooming to the police with whom they are acquainted, owing to how it "would be all about my queerness and not about what happened to that fifteen-year-old girl".

Plugging in literature on the everyday and routine practice of disrespecting the identities and realities of LGBTQIA+ people (Stonewall, 2017), Alex, Kit and Oslo's scraps establish a particular difficulty for people sharing sexual violence experiences that might have either happened when they or their abuser/s identified differently to how they do now, or that are connected to how abusers *perceived* their gender and/or sexuality. Nevertheless, in Oslo's scrap, the counsellor is able to address the 'complicated' nature of the experience and work with the fear of 'misgendering' in order to explore Oslo's shame. Here, sensitive engagement with Oslo's gendered histories and gendered experiences of sexual violence is dependent on affirmatively recognising their full personhood now. In this scrap, Oslo is constituted as safe and supported enough to have nuanced conversations about assigned gender precisely because these will *not* be weaponised against them.

8.2.6. Establishing group boundaries or 'a common cause'? Practices of creating and sharing information

This section further explores the establishment of group boundaries and defensive practices as scaffolding sexual violence. Whilst the previous sections have considered the practice of creating and sharing apparently neutral images and personal accounts, this section addresses the use of statistical information. For example, Alex is troubled by the misrepresentation of a

Figure 31: Extract from Alex's scrapbook featuring typed text and images of a survey

survey of trans experiences of sexual violence (in Figure 31).

Alex (white and queer) came across the article on *Twitter* where the author is advising readers on how to counter transphobic 'bad faith arguments':[56] "the claim was that terfs think that cis women are the most at risk [of sexual violence] whereas it is actually trans women, whereas the study doesn't demonstrate that."

Alex's scrap constitutes relational forms of weaponisation: on the one hand, people weaponising information about the high rates of cis women experiencing sexual violence to prove that trans women do not experience oppression to the same extent, and, on the other, a specific woman weaponising a survey to prove that they in fact do and that they perhaps experience oppression at higher rates. These relational positions and hostile competitive climates apparently negate the need for accurate information[57] or more focused attention to its creation.

Here, it is worth reminding the reader of Romito's (2008: 43) comment on strategies that apply also to discursive practices: 'just because a strategy exists, it does not necessarily follow that those involved act consciously to achieve its purpose'. Indeed, the woman sharing the survey may not be 'consciously' or maliciously weaponising the information. It might be worth asking: why then is this an example of weaponisation and not perhaps instrumentalisation? And when does instrumentalisation become weaponisation? I would argue – and this chapter so far supports the idea – that weaponisation demonstrates and reproduces divisive, destructive and defensive climates of competition, marginalisation and scarcity.

Indeed, it is important to note Alex's sense of isolation, sadness and their use of the concept of 'competitive victimhood' in connection with the encounter on *Twitter*, reminiscent of Trihan's earlier reference to 'Pain Olympics'. Indeed, in this scrap, information is weaponised to establish distinct and competing group boundaries (i.e. cis women and trans women) and needs. This practice can be considered alongside very different scraps from conversations with Kjell and Celia:

> "I can escape sexual violence truly whenever I want, if I wanted to change my name, move somewhere else and not disclose and be accepted back into society but that's not

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[56] 'Bad faith' arguments can be understood as those where members pretend to be willing to reason or reach a settlement, despite having no real intention of doing so (Merriam-Webster, 2020).

[57] It might be interesting to read these positions alongside work on a wider post-truth politics (McIntyre, 2018; Peters, 2017).

something an ethnic minority has. We are both victimised, but you don't have an escape route." (Kjell: heterosexual)

"That feeling of not being safe is such a terrible unifying factor … me as a cis bi woman and I know lots of trans women, and we have very different experiences but that is a common cause that we understand." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

Celia's reference to a 'common cause' recognises differences *between* women but establishes a coalitional rather than competitive approach to sexual violence. In a similar vein, literature describes the merit of an intersectional coalitional approach to social change 'to find and make use of similarities arising from these social and historical processes' (Cole, 2008: 451; see also Cole and Luna, 2010). Certainly, participants experience not only solidarity with others but also outrage on behalf of them, as the following scrap from Yadira shows:

"I take my son to badminton club on Saturdays. There was this Chinese lady, I was standing there, she was wearing very short shorts and there was this English man who was just staring at her and I was so angry, he was staring at her from top to bottom. I don't know what his intention was and then his eyes came to me and he knew I had seen him and I was looking at him constantly. I was really mad at him and then walked out." (Yadira: 30s, Asian, heterosexual)

To return to Alex's scrap on a woman's post, interestingly, it sympathetically establishes the situated subject position available to the woman within a wider context of weaponising sexual violence for transphobia. Nevertheless, Alex is 'isolated' by it as someone who has experienced sexual violence and has a different experience of being trans. This isolation might be read alongside the argument that, whilst 'trans women' are hotly debated in the popular cultures of Global North, there is a real dearth of recognition and resources for, particularly, trans men and transmasculine people (see Atkinson, 2018), let alone in regard to sexual violence. However, rather than 'calling her out' publicly – a reactive relational position here – Alex shares the correct information elsewhere, perhaps creating a third or alternative position.

8.2.7. Interrogating information: 'While you're asking those questions about, you know, statistics … you're actually side-lining the person'

Evidently, challenging weaponisation necessitates close attention to claims made by groups and, more generally, to the accuracy of information shared. However, in the following scraps, information interrogation itself is a form of weaponisation undermining spaces for addressing sexual violence. For example, April, at the centre, shares her many years' experience leading sexual violence training for staff at the local university:

> "There's always a queue to speak to me at the end about wanting to ask me things and kind of err take me to task on about statistical information and all of that and erm and I mean obviously all our statistical information is from the ministry. I've not sat at home and made it up … I get all sorts: 'I can't believe these statistics?', 'where have they come from?', 'who's collated all of this information?', 'where is all of this from?', you know 'I can't believe that you know women, young women, are exposed to this level of violence' … there is a significant lack of empathy that for me is the nub of it because while you're asking those questions about, you know, statistics or talking about something else, you're actually side-lining the person and how they're feeling and the impact on them."

Prompted by overhearing April's experience, Kathryn joins our conversation to describe her own encounter at an academic presentation on abuse research at the university:

> Kathryn: "The comments after that talk were incredible, it almost seemed as if that lack of empathy was kind of prevalent now that I think about it because everything in that presentation had covered abuse and that kind of thing but as soon as they had finished the presentation and asked for questions … the questions immediately started dissecting the stats."

> April: "Oh yeah, they love that."

> Kathryn: "They were like 'well where's that statistic come from', you know, 'that's a very high statistic, where's your evidence' you know, it was all of that 'let's just dissect the stats and challenge the stats' and then this one woman that said erm 'well I think it's ridiculous now, women just don't take any responsibility for themselves.'"

The post talk or post training space in the university[58] is formed here through practices of dissecting and contesting 'evidence', as opposed to facilitating empathy. Attendees do not try to understand sexual violence better, aiming instead to discredit both victim-survivors – who do not take 'any responsibility for themselves' – and the information the training provides. Here, the post talk space is for talking sexual violence and the need for training *away*. Close attention is needed to the situated forms weaponisation thus takes in such spaces.

What is also interesting about both scraps from the centre is their establishment of first the talk or training and then time 'after' for comments. It is worth considering whether the design of talks as periods of delivering information to a relatively passive audience might intensify their feeling that information is being weaponised against *them* to make them think, feel or believe things about sexual violence. Where this is the case, the post talk space might become more confrontational. This scripting is not presented here to excuse, for example, the victim-blaming or information interrogation but rather to explore the possible temporal and spatial configurations which can contribute to weaponisation and oppositional rather than collaborative politics.

With this post talk weaponisation and victim-blaming, the question emerges of how best to protect people who present information or who are asked to talk about their personal experiences. Certainly, the following scrap from Kjell establishes some of the harms inherent to a position both highly valued and also greatly exploited:

> "They were polite and even when they got the questions directly from me they still spoke to the clinical psychologist, the carer as it were. All they can frame you as is as survivor. Even if you are somewhere as a professional as soon as you disclose you phase into a different dimension like a ghost ... and people at these things are very polite and nice, they'll shake your hand but they'll never invite you to the pub after, to have a cup of tea in the corner. Your role is finished and you're a ghost the moment you've finished … you're there as a means to an end … my experience is it's like a dance, you're brought in, given lots of attention, told you how brave you are, like going to a 5-star hotel, but when you have finished a box has been ticked ... you start to realise you're not being invited because your knowledge is valuable but because your status is" (Kjell: heterosexual)

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[58] These practices might be made sense of with the ideal for universities – 'the pursuit, dissemination, and application of knowledge and expertise' (Times Higher, 2017) – in mind.

The following two quotes from Celia (late teens, white, bisexual) also illustrate the many complexities and consequences of using lived experience and story as an approach to education and change:

> "I feel like having to use like your own personal experiences as a kind of argument all the time does sort of like completely impede your progress because obviously it's sort of really constructive to tell your story and sort of like deconstruct your own experiences through sort of more creative stuff, which I think I think the scrapbook idea is really good, but when you're like having to use it almost as like the spearhead of an argument with some like guy or whatever, usually men, it's I think it's just it's kind of like because it does just become an argument and it's no longer something that you can actually work on and recover from, if that makes sense."

> "The amount of rape jokes that I hear from guys in my college. One rugby lad came out with a homophobic joke and I'm like 'why is that funny?' Is it funny because it does not attack anything you hold dear? Is it so bad that you have to say that these people died because they were gay and heard that slur before death? You should just not bully people. I shouldn't have to use people's tragic stories to explain to you why you shouldn't abuse people… but empathy is the most important thing we have against this thing."

Celia establishes the utilisation here of personal experiences to both win arguments or generate empathy. Elsewhere, Yadira reflects on the benefits of combating stereotypes about India by using her own experiences: "I just tell people that they are wrong. I share my experiences about my childhood." It is for this reason that distinguishing between instrumentalisation and weaponisation is important and useful. Certainly, the transformative potential of utilising experiences in order to end sexual violence and oppression is a motivation reflected in many participants involvement in this research. This potential was also in fact enshrined in the original inceptions of the Rape Crisis movement where women would help other women through their shared experiences (Jones and Cook, 2008), before processes of professionalism increasingly furthered a distinction between expert and survivor (Collins and Whalen, 1989). Weaponisation therefore offers a useful tool and term for exploring how and when instrumentalisation becomes exploitation. I might understand Celia's scraps here in the context of weaponisation, given their relationality to the denial or humour of men, through which the situated and defensive weaponising of experiences

becomes necessary and harmful for her. Moreover, the sharing of experiences to aid an argument means that there is a risk these might then be weaponised for the very divisive projects that were outlined earlier: gender neutrality, overt sexism and racism or marginalising certain groups.

8.2.8. The divisive weapon: A Summary

The scraps in this first section establish rape culture as comprising everyday environments where empathy is scarce, competition is intense, and divisive political ends justify the use of any means. Indeed, sexual violence emerges as a tool here to establish distinct groups – for example, cis women, trans women and Asian men – and agendas – for example, undermining service provision and advocating apoliticism. Certainly, scraps identify specific spaces – a men's *Facebook* survivor group and university training, amongst others –where people cannot share experiences and information without it being 'dissected' or having to 'prove' something divisive. Weaponisation thus scaffolds both the possibility of sexual violence and a fearful and shameful silence around its reality.

8.3. The sexual weapon

This second section establishes how experiences of sexual violence and resources for addressing it can be weaponised to facilitate sexual access to 'vulnerable people'. Here then, weaponisation both exploits *situational* vulnerability, and naturalises it as an *essential* condition of certain peoples, for example, victim-survivors.

8.3.1. 'The double horror of it': Sexual violence after help-seeking and reporting

To begin, the following scrap from Imogen establishes the practice of help-seeking for sexual violence as 'vulnerability-making':

> "This girl whose dad had been raping her and this guy online said 'you need to record it' but basically he wanted a recording it of it. The double horror of it and it reminds me of another story where someone had been raped and she had tried to tell someone and then they had raped her too. You read that and think 'oh god, even when you try and report it and you're not safe, you're making yourself vulnerable' … I remember really

clearly reading an article about something like 'don't shout help because no one will come, you have to shout fire' … I remember one time being assaulted and thinking about that and thinking I shouldn't shout help because someone else would come and basically join in, but I was like if I shout fire then I'll get in trouble because you shouldn't shout it. That was really definite in my head and links to the case about that girl who was raped and got attacked again and when she went for help so that really enforces it in my head." (Imogen: 30s, white, lesbian)

Here, help-seeking online or in person results in further violence. Indeed, Imogen characterises sexual victimisation when help-seeking as 'definite' through aligning her own experience with that of two girls. I also plug in Mae and Abby's experiences[59] with the police and reporting here as perhaps this same constitution of weaponisation:

"When I was thirteen/fourteen and living overseas, someone broke into the house and walked in and masturbated everywhere and my mother managed to get clothes onto him and lock him into a different part of the house from us. When the police arrived they just opened the door and he ran out into the street. They did nothing to find him and then proceeded to sexually harass my mother for a further six months, ending with saying 'well, when you need us in the future no one will come.'" (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

"I was raped … and reported it to the police. It didn't go to court but [the officer] groomed me and coerced me and that went to court, but because it wasn't in the guidelines, it had seemed too obvious to have it in there that you can't sleep with a rape victim. He was found not guilty. He admitted to it, but the police sacked him for misconduct and changed the guidelines to 'no relationship with a vulnerable victim of any crime' … The prosecutor was really good about it, saying about grooming and how it's not illegal against adults… [the officer] lied about not knowing how vulnerable I was despite the fact that he had written a document to his DCI showing how vulnerable I was but that wasn't used as evidence. Part of his defence was he hadn't had any training, but he had worked there for [many] years and had loads of experience and training … He claimed he hadn't read anything about my case even though he was in charge of my case. It was in their guidelines that they should never go around on their

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[59] I have omitted certain facts and figures from Abby's comments to further anonymise her comments. Whilst this is the case for many scraps, these omissions are perhaps the most obvious here so I remind the reader of their purpose.

own, so everything was misconduct: instead of replacing [an injured accompanying officer], he started coming round on his own… I couldn't report him because I was worried how it would affect my case because at the time our appeal to the CPS could be affected. He actually told me that the CPS were concerned about how close we were getting so I shouldn't tell them because it would affect my case." (Abby: 30s, lesbian)

In both Mae and Abby's scraps, reporting sexual violence to the police establishes the relational roles of complainant and investigator.[60] To understand the power dynamics of these roles, it is helpful to see them as constituted through material-discursive interactions where, for example, Mae's home address is made available to the officers (whilst theirs are not). Likewise, in Abby's case, complainant and investigator are cut out from wider police practices through, for example, the chance absence of another officer and a non-existent system of *ensuring* their replacement. Here then, *ongoing* practices for monitoring conduct are critical for safeguarding against weaponisation.

Interestingly, in Abby's scrap, different (relational) understandings of vulnerability are constituted: on the one hand, as a specific property that he could either know or not know about, and, on the other, as such an obvious characteristic of a rape victim that it did not need to be in police guidelines. Indeed, the latter constitution of an *inevitably* or *inherently* vulnerable rape victim can be considered next to the following two scraps from J, who is in her 50s, white and heterosexual:

"The more we are presented as victims the more we are seen as victims. It stops us being equal … I have an impression in my head, it is someone who is helpless, hopeless, has no control. I don't want to be seen as helpless and pathetic. It is just a bit of a pathetic creature, not that I wouldn't have sympathy for other victims of other crimes too but…"

"You see stuff on Facebook … people taking photos and sharing them, naming and shaming individuals. There was this woman with a battered face and everyone was saying it was this guy who had done it. The daughter went about that the wrong way, sharing the photos and that woman's dignity had been taken away and presented to the world as a victim ... it takes away her anonymity and privacy."

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[60] I use the language here of 'complainant' and 'investigator' as opposed to 'help-seeker' and 'help-provider' because I do not wish to position the interactions of reporting/responding to reporting as inherently about 'help'. Certainly, this it is not something either Mae or Abby's scraps here suggest materialises.

Reading these two scraps from J together, the establishment of a victim subject position – as a helpless pathetic creature – *justifies* justice seeking without their active involvement. Here, 'taking away' the woman's dignity, anonymity and privacy means she is treated how she is presented: as incapable and exploitable. Thus, the weaponisation of someone's experience of sexual violence necessitates positing them as a particular kind of victim, from which J explicitly disidentifies.

In an investigation of 'vulnerability' and 'victimisation' in the context of sexual violence (2016), Erinn Cunniff Gilson (2016: 89) argues that, whilst vulnerability has negative associations of an inherent exploitable weakness and susceptibility to victimisation, it is also a critical concept for challenging simplistic notions of autonomy and recognising relational selves and interdependence:

> Reframing vulnerability as ambiguous thus enables us to articulate more clearly wherein lies the wrong in exploiting vulnerability. Rather than being a way of taking advantage of a preexisting condition of weakness, the exploitation of vulnerability amounts to the appropriation and reduction of a plastic potentiality … it involves the usurpation of the body's ambiguous signifying potential, making another's body mean what one wants it to mean and depriving that person of bodily integrity. More generally, to exploit vulnerability is to appropriate the basic capacity to affect and be affected for a particular narrow end. Such an appropriation restricts a person's experience of vulnerability—what her body feels and communicates— and overrides its ambiguity and plasticity by shaping not just what she experiences but how others perceive and respond to her. Herein lies the wrong of sexual victimization: the exploitation of vulnerability makes that vulnerability the basis for harm.

Applying this constitution of vulnerability as a scrap, Imogen's help-seeking as 'vulnerability-making' can be read as a practice of communicating how one's plastic potentiality has been greatly and situationally weaponised and reduced through sexual violence. Whilst Cunniff Gilson discusses actions taken against the body, weaponisation – as a scaffold used here to explore the everyday meaning of sexual violence – also identifies, actions taken against experience and help-seeking, namely the misuse of another's experience of sexual violence in particular spaces and times.

Indeed, the interactional practice of communicating an experience of sexual violence is itself one of plastic potentiality, which is rendered less plastic and less ambiguous through

particular responses. In J's scraps, responses to sexual violence draw boundaries around the victim as 'helpless' and 'pathetic', rather than creating space for the ambiguity and complexity seen in the following scraps (including Figure 32):

"With my ex, everything he did to me was reprehensible, he had full control over himself and didn't have to do that, but I did things to hurt him too, people interact with each other." (Gina: 40s, white, bisexual)
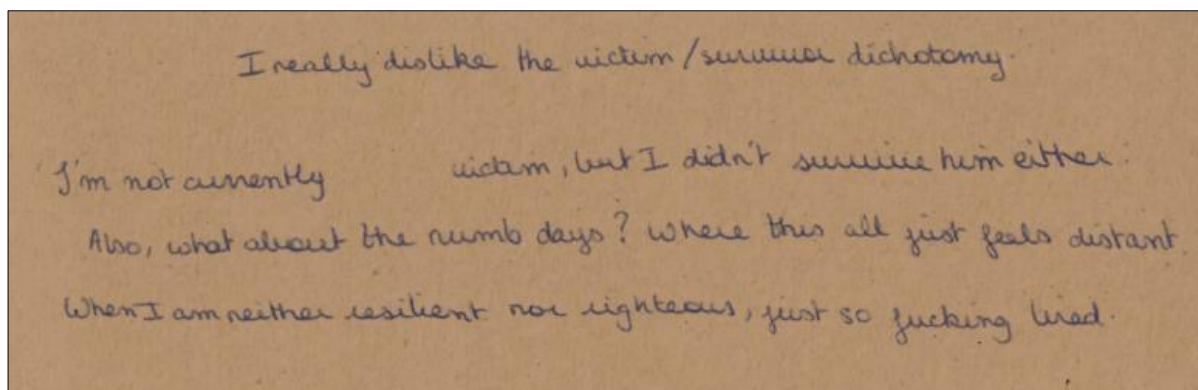

Figure 32: Anonymised extract from Celia's scrapbook on the 'victim/survivor dichotomy' in handwritten text

Here, Gina and Celia are constituted as both infringed upon and agentic. In the context of scrapbooking, this constitution is possible because neither scrapbooker need be positioned in a particular way to understand an abuse and/or harm has occurred or to justify the pursuit of certain kinds of justice. By contrast, weaponisation reduces to narrow ends the complexity and ambiguity of sexual violence as an experience to have and understand. Indeed, weaponisation remains an important concept for creating contexts for exploring ambiguity, *without* positioning Gina's 'hurting him too' outside the relational context of *his* violence and wider patterns of gendered relating. Certainly, advocates have noted that mainstream concepts lack attention to women's use of weapons as *defences* in the context of intimate violence (Donovan and Barnes, 2019; Myhill and Kelly, 2019). Likewise, the numbness and the tiredness articulated in Celia's scrap are constrained embodiments *within* encounters with an abusive ex and what she elsewhere calls the 'background radiation' of sexism and homophobia.

8.3.2. Responding to 'plastic potentiality': Creating a victim

Given that sexual violence takes on meaning in relational contexts, in the following sections situational responses to sexual violence will be considered in more detail. Scraps in this first

section are organised as the widespread weaponisation of discursive practices of sharing or help-seeking, whilst others in section 8.3.3. challenge the idea that weaponisation is inevitable or 'definite', to quote Imogen again.

Firstly, Rosalie shares her friend's experience in which a man justifies his continued abuse of her by her inability to 'stand up' for herself:

> "My friend who was abused a lot as a child was talking about what happened with her ex but didn't want to call it rape, she kept minimising it, saying 'he had a difficult relationship with consent' and she'd be like how she would say no clearly but they would have sex anyway and how it was really painful and she would disassociate a lot and she always thought he didn't know it was painful but one time he was like afterwards 'that looked like it hurt' and she was like 'yeah, so maybe listen to me when I say no' and he said 'well, given your experiences you should like make it a bit more clear, like stand up for yourself more' and she was like 'I really don't want you to think he's a bad person' … It's like saying he has a really difficult relationship to stabbing so you should wear a bullet point vest." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

In this scrap, the man weaponises the woman's childhood experiences as evidence of what happens when you do not 'stand up for yourself' and as a means of positioning her 'no' to him as 'unclear'. The analogy that Rosalie constitutes with stabbing articulates the *responsibilisation* of her friend to 'wear a bullet proof vest'. The vulnerable position is thus constituted in this interaction between the man and woman as an *inevitable* one – her inability to stand up for herself and his difficult relationship with consent – against which *she* must be vigilant and responsibilised (see again Powell and Henry, 2014; Marcus, 1992).

This weaponisation by an intimate partner can also be positioned alongside the following scrap from Celia where she expresses relief that her current partner respects her personal space without her having to connect it immediately and in detail to sexual violence:

> "I've said from the off that 'I have issues and if we continue to be a thing I'll let you know more' and I was immediately like 'I've got ground rules about what I'm ok with' and he was immediately like 'yeah, tell me if I ever overstep let me know' and it and it's weird that such an stupid thing would matter but just being around men who respect when you're like 'I don't want you to come this near to me' … also it's opening up to him about it and he didn't want any details and this is something I've noticed with very toxic men, if you make them aware that there have been issues, they immediately want

to know a lot of details and it's like what are you getting out of that?" (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

The establishment here of 'toxic men' weaponising sexual details for their own enjoyment extends to Celia's evaluations of her new therapist:

"Having a man as a counsellor, he explored that immediately, that was useful so we could have a constructive conversation …When men ask for specific details you think errr, voyeuristic? He is very aware of that."

Combining Rosalie and Celia's scraps here establishes the various 'ends' to which weaponisation of sexual violence experiences occurs: firstly, as a means of ignoring non-consent and pain and, secondly, to stimulate sexual arousal from details of the violence. Whilst it is of course critical to hold 'toxic men' to account in these specific relational contexts, it is also possible to locate their actions within wider configurations of sexual violence as a form of sexual entertainment for men (Horeck, 2003), as in Figure 33:
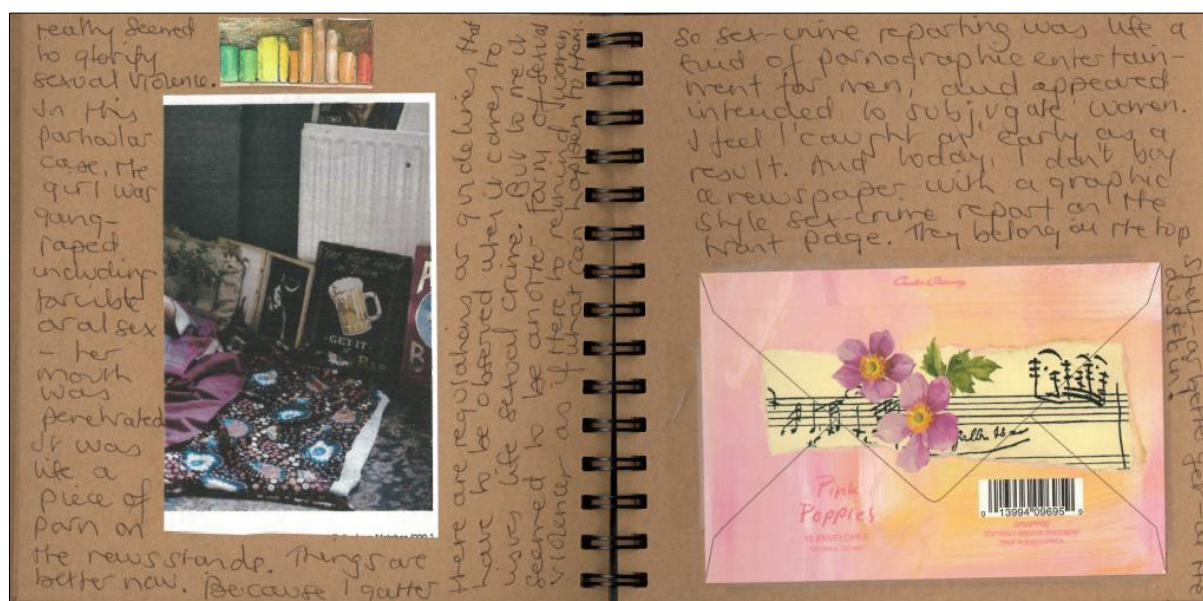
Figure 33: Two page spread from Susan's scrapbook on reporting styles and featuring handwritten text and cut out materials

In this scrap, Susan expresses concern about reporting styles. When I ask her if she has noticed differences between older and more contemporary reporting styles she types back:

"I gather there are more strict guidelines these days for journalists' on such matters? It's probably better now than in the 70s, when headlines could be quite brash. And of course, we had things like page 3 setting a bad example! Women were somehow seen as objects for male consumption. There was a kind of undercurrent of violence towards

women in the culture of the day, I think … I suppose it's still there, but these days being challenged more overtly via anti-domestic abuse campaigns and services and stuff like that." (Susan: 60s, white)

Her reference to 'page 3'[61] positions sexual violence reports alongside content explicitly for sexual enjoyment. Here then, material proximity actually scaffolds the 'titillation' of sexual violence details, constructing a context in which it is 'normal' to 'get off' on – or next to – sexual violence stories, as it were. This scrap sees arousal as an embodied condition not so much 'prompted' (or not) by sexual violence descriptions on their own – or 'stimuli' to use a term from Jackson (1978) – but more as shaped and scaffolded in relation to the organisation of the wider newspaper. This analysis helps to understand rape culture not just as Celia's 'background hum' of sexism and homophobia, but also as constituting a measurable material proximity between page 3 and sexual violence details, and forms of embodied arousal.

8.3.3. Responding to intimacy, ambiguity and the world as both good and bad

Whilst the previous section established the weaponisation of experience for sexual gratification, other responses to sexual violence vary. For example, in the following scrap, Kit outlines the involvement of 'the village' in responding to grooming:

"I went to a teacher at school and was like 'this makes me uncomfortable'. He was told in no uncertain terms to leave me alone. He still tried. It never got reported to anyone, it was dealt with in the village. A couple of the older lads took him down the woods and did something about it. One of these lads who threatened him ended up being the one who tried to abuse me and another approached me when I was adult at twenty and was like 'hey, I liked you'. He said 'I always thought you were cute'. He was only a few years older. My step-dad went round there and threatened him [original groomer]."
(Kit: 20s, white, pansexual and demisexual)

This scrap describes the men and boys' responses to Kit's abuser – using threats and possible physical violence – as occurring without any real engagement with Kit's needs, safety, or own notion of justice. Moreover, one 'lad' goes on to abuse Kit, weaponising the intimacy forged through addressing Kit's previous experience of grooming. It is interesting to consider

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[61] The British tabloid *The Sun* previously displayed topless women on page three of its printed newspaper. Campaigns like *No More Page 3* (n.d.) were instrumental in ending this tradition, though it continues elsewhere today.

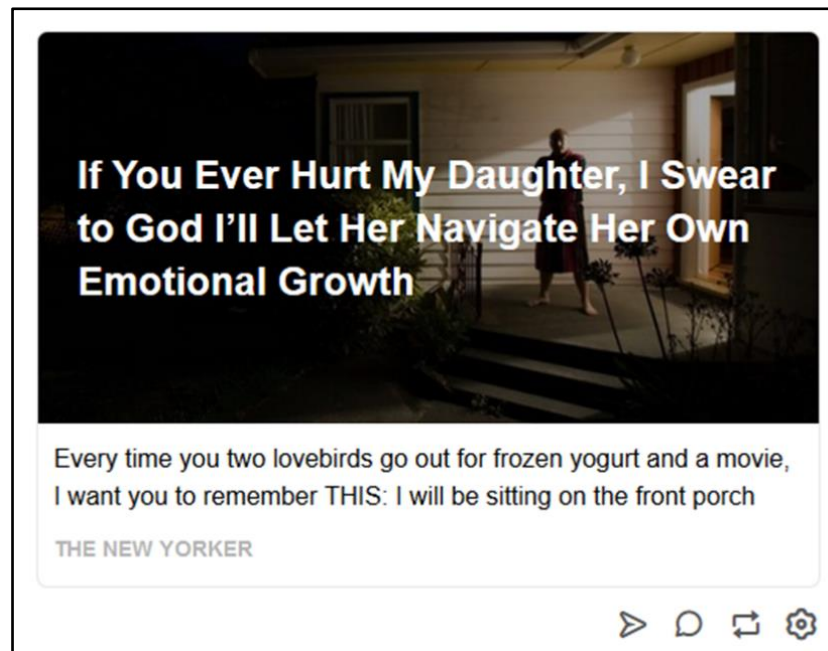Kit's scrap alongside the tongue in cheek article (in Figure 34) that Salome shares with and explains to me:

Figure 34: Extract from Salome's scrapbook featuring a newspaper article

"This trope that you have to protect your sister or girlfriend, you're basically saying that they're your property, this is old school, that thing where going back to Babylonians where if you raped a man's daughter you had to pay him for the loss." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

Together, these scraps identify the complex overlap of protection and ownership, where women and girls are constituted as helpless property (in J's scrap) in relation to men and boys agentic guardianship. To return to the work of Cunniff Gilson (2016), sexual victimisation can thus be understood here as naturalising the gendered and binaristic constitutions of vulnerability/invulnerability which make only women rape-able (non-agentic) and only men rape-capable (agentic). Indeed, this position is useful for understanding the difficulty of recognising Oslo's 'strong masculine person' being victimised, or even envisaging an end to the 'inevitability' of men's violence against women established in previous scraps.

Interestingly, one 'lad' goes on to groom Kit, whilst another shares a retrospective interest in Kit which is constituted here as more acceptable ('he was only a few years older'). His approach might be understood as a situated iteration of entitlement and weaponisation, but also perhaps as responding to the plastic potentiality of sharing experiences and developing intimacy. Indeed, Kit speaks of him fondly and I take direction from Kit's lived experience

with him here. Perhaps it is helpful then to position both men or lads as appropriating the plastic potentiality of past interactions, constituting Kit as someone whose interdependence with village life and experience of sexual violence can be weaponised for further harm or be instrumentalised for welcome intimacy. I am not aiming here for an uncritical understanding of men's gendered relating, but rather attempting to hold space for potentiality and differentiation.

In Kit's scraps, sexual violence is not established as a bounded and one-off experience, but as a form of relating in the everyday material-discursive contexts of village life. Indeed, multiple men engage in different periods of grooming over time, whilst others engage in violent forms of policing. In a similar vein, one counsellor describes the difficulty of working with girls based at a school where the abusers are peers and who, along with their friends, continue to harass the girls. She says: "I used to tell them 'it's not happening now' but for girls at school it is happening now". Indeed, she adds as a counterbalance that she always aims to help them "remember that the world is amazing", a difficult goal perhaps where weaponisation organises the harmful potential of everyday moments of help-seeking and sharing.

In the following scrap, Aerin grapples with this potentiality. Here, she reflects on meeting Dave and developing what was at first an affair but then became known to and supported by her husband. Their first two sexual encounters are reported as abusive and non-consensual:

> "When it was just the friendship via text and after the first few times we'd met he was someone I talked to a lot about things that had happened to me because he hadn't had the best childhood ever so he was someone I could talk to about things like that. He supported me with [Rape Crisis] counselling which was really weird because he knew all about that, so these two experiences didn't fit in with him and all the support he was giving me, a rock of support for my marriage, problems with my sister and a lot of that was before the things even happened … I was like 'hang on a minute, this isn't the person I know'. It genuinely is like it's a different person because I can't reconcile all the support, kindness and eventually love with those two incidents which are completely different to all the rest." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)

Rather than positioning the two aspects as linked through weaponisation, her first sharing her childhood sexual abuse with him (and his supporting her) is established oppositionally to his later sexually abusive behaviour. These experiences are so oppositional as to divide him into

two people, a practice which can of course be read alongside much work on how women make sense of abuse by drawing 'Jekyll' and 'Hyde' type distinctions (Enander, 2011; 2010; Goetting, 1999; Zink et al., 2006).

Is it possible then for Dave – to be both ambiguously 'amazing' – to quote the counsellor from earlier again – and dangerous? Does Dave here as 'supportive', 'kind' and even loving negate his part in the weaponisation of her experiences and trust to gain and legitimise abusive sexual access? Certainly, the potential of people and 'the world' being simultaneously amazing and dangerous is hard to grapple with in cultural contexts of either/or dualistic and binary thinking (see, for example, TallBear, 2017; Bordo, 1997). Then again, pushing for alternative discourses on situational complexity may correspond a little too closely with cultural impetuses for women to sympathise with and advocate on behalf of the men who harm them.

Interestingly, in a later conversation (and discussed also in Chapter 5), Aerin divulges another experience of sharing her abusive experiences with a man (in order to explain why she may not be interested in engaging sexually with him). She then links this back to Dave:

> "When you can reveal something like that and it goes further that's good, with him we ended up having longer conversations. That's why we connected me and Dave in the first instance and he was someone I was able to tell and was supportive and supported me to do counselling, he understood depression and anxiety, he understood negative life experiences. I could tell some people that story and they wouldn't see anything bad in it … If they can't handle the truth of me then there isn't any potential future … Maybe I use stories like that as a way of testing. My therapist says I put it out there too early which maybe I do, she says 'it's quite a personal story and it's giving quite a large chunk of me to them, handing them over power, saying this is me and I'm a bit fragile in this area so you need to be careful with me.'"

Here, a 'right' time to communicate an experience of sexual violence is envisaged, as is sharing as a discursive practice of 'giving' a part of Aerin away and handing someone else 'power'. This positioning establishes an experience of abuse as a part of who one *is* – the 'truth of me' – that which makes one 'fragile'. In a sense, this is the mirror practice to treating sex as the taking of something material from someone else (discussed in the previous chapter). For the therapist, this vulnerable position is thus naturalised, fixed and necessitates caution, whilst Aerin's attention to the practice of sharing as a means of 'testing' posits the

connection between abuse and who she is more ambiguously. Indeed, rather than simply resulting in an exploitation of a pre-existing vulnerability, Aerin's story-sharing assesses the safety of someone and establishes possibilities therein for intimacy. Here, the 'plastic potentiality' of sharing an experience of sexual violence might thus be shaped to various ends.

Indeed, 'plastic potentiality' is a useful means of understanding situated moments of help-seeking and sharing. It is useful because it does not reduce Aerin's experience of using stories to 'test' others and develop intimacy simply to false consciousness or mistake-making. Rather it honours it as a potentiality which may have varied outcomes. Likewise, this approach does not simply identify *both* of the two young men's responses to Kit as exploitative, but recognises the potential for intimacy and shared vulnerability between people affected directly and indirectly by sexual violence. However, as before, it is necessary to retain a language and understanding of discursive practices which weaponise sexual violence for particular and harmful ends. Here then, working with both 'plastic potentiality' and 'weaponisation' addresses the scaffolding of sexual violence without positing its everyday inevitability or immunity to change.

8.3.4. Identifying tactics: "*He was in the Feminist society err because we know that perpetrators will prey in there*"

Just as I have pointed to the importance of the language of weaponisation, this section organises a large number of scraps in which people explicitly discuss known strategies of 'predation'. Here then, it becomes necessary for participants themselves to limit ambiguity and to identify a specific script where people target others. The following scrap comes from a conversation between me and two counsellors working in a university setting:

Rosa: "Could you say a bit more about that, when you say some have found social media and the MeToo campaign helpful and others haven't?"

Megan: "I think some have found it helpful that they erm that there's other people out there that are also err 'I'm not alone, this is going on, other people have experienced this' erm and others where it's just triggering erm or they feel that people are sometimes maybe jumping on the bandwagon so I'm I'm thinking now of a client who where the perpetrator himself was posting quite a lot about equality and err 'no to

sexual violence' and obviously to make himself out to be somebody who would never do that and was very against that so erm that was very upsetting for her erm. I had another client who it was he he she'd actually got to know him because he was in the feminist society err because we know that perpetrators will prey in there."

Here, both men position themselves as being anti-sexual violence. Interestingly, the other counsellor in this conversation wondered whether it was "a strategy" to also sign up for sexual violence counselling to "show they are the victim".[62] This is a practice echoing one which literature on men using a domestic violence victim support helpline has also addressed (Burrell and Westmarland, 2019).

Indeed, Megan's comment is echoed in other scraps where anti-sexual violence spaces and discourses are established as being weaponised in order to gain sexual access to women. Indeed, one participant, who is responsible for an in-school education programme on sexual violence, describes how, in careful conversations with the school about whether to include a known abuser in the group, her concern is not only the safety of others present but that the course could "make him a better perpetrator".

The following scraps (including Figure 35)[63] from Celia can be used to extend this concern to feminist spaces and discourses more generally, with apparently "nice guys" taking feminism and ideas of consent and using them to "make them more attractive." She also describes a friend who met a man on *Tinder* and spent the date discussing feminism with her. Nevertheless, "when she didn't want to go home with him he lashed out."

Figure 35: Extract from Celia's scrapbook featuring a cartoon strip on predators

Here, *discussing* feminism emerges in opposition to actually being feminist, perhaps adding weight to Debord's reflections in *The Society of the Spectacle* on the emphasis on *appearances* rather than *being* in capitalist societies. It also establishes the dating space as one where the ends of sexual intimacy or 'going home with him' justify the means of feminist

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[62] Elsewhere, centre workers do talk about 'dual status clients' and specific policies for working with them.
[63] After contacting participants with a summary report featuring Figure 35, one pointed out that its creator is notoriously anti-feminist. As this was not the spirit in which Celia shared it, I have opted to retain it here.

languages and ideas. It is useful here to share some scraps on participants' experiences of political 'co-option' because they useful connect this chapter's first section on divisive weapons to this one on 'the sexual weapon'.

> "There is a conversation to be had about censorship but putting a content note? I am just telling you there's content not censoring. People now use CN rather than trigger warnings which I don't like. Trigger warnings have been co-opted by right wing groups and is used against people who are very marginalised and it's so inaccurate. You can't even be an accurate mean person … I was triggered by a debate that wasn't about sexual assault, but it was all about laughing at the left and it is all linked and plays into each other." (Rosalie: 20s, white, bisexual)

> "The fact that saying that someone's triggered is such a thing that's downplayed now. It is just like someone gets offended and it's like no no I can be offended by what you what you're saying could also have quite a sort of serious psychological impact on people who've suffered actual trauma and like the fact that that's been adopted by like cis white men who are just like 'oooh, are you triggered?'" (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

Here, survivor practices of information framing – such as providing content notes or trigger warnings – are contested by 'cis white men' or 'right wing groups' as censoring conversation or managing offence. Discursive practices of 'co-opting' and 'adopting' – for example, taking the concept of 'triggering' as devised by and for survivors and using it against them – are key to weaponisation. Indeed, Celia notes how the co-option of 'triggering' divides offence from trauma; that is, suffering from indignation. Similarly, Rosalie makes a connection between sexual violence and left verses right politics that is *itself* triggering for her.

Many of the participants are struck by the polemical nature of public discourse on sexual violence. Kjell, for instance, describes an anti-violence activism who receives a great deal of abuse online:

> "She is a voice which will need to shape, she might burn out – she has a massive intellect and it's important that those intellects are supported and not lost … [they] need to be able to say 'I don't agree with that but I do agree with that, that's on the nose' – but if they're silenced and not supported then we lose that." (Kjell: heterosexual)

Here, Kjell is rightly calling for dialogue, for alternatives to polemical positionings. Indeed, Noor describes the value of a friend at university who initiates interesting and challenging conversations about whether, for example, paying for a date and expecting sex afterwards is much different from paying for sex directly:

> "He comes along with these ideas and asks what we think and I was like yeah I agree with you I knew where he was coming from. For him he was asking just to see what people think, do they think it is similar or different." (Noor: 20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern, heterosexual)

However, some participants also identify appeals for dialogue – rather than, for example, vetoing hate speech – as evidence of powerful groups claiming their right to speak is denied. Ahmed (2015) notes the success of the claim 'look, they're oppressing us' because 'these views then get expressed again *as if they are being stifled*. They get repeated by being presented as prohibited' (2015, italics in original).

It is perhaps possible then to understand this chapter's divisive and sexual weapons and the othered and vulnerable positions as co-constitutive within a rape culture. By that I mean that divisive politics enable sexual violation through its naturalisation of inside/outside group distinctions as a guard against violence. Likewise, sexual violation is a divisive politic: in cutting people off from the potentiality of who they are here and now, it naturalises both their subject position as 'rapeable' or 'vulnerable' and thus their need for precisely a divisive politics of justice and protection.

Interestingly, Julia Downes (2017: 223) finds that 'claims of sexual violence can be dismissed and reframed as a tool to attack and divide the activist community'. As in a previous section on people's reluctance to identify LGBTQIA+ abusers, the idea of a single and whole community is operationalised here to dismiss sexual violence. To acknowledge the weaponisation of anti-sexual violence spaces by abusers means acknowledging that sexual violence is not simply a binary of us/them or inside/outside safety.

Whilst several participants note this issue in the context of anti-sexual violence spaces specifically, two other scraps position weaponisation as an issue of people more generally identifying 'vulnerability' and seeking to use it:

> "When I met [name of activist] and asked how she felt about this white male appropriation of veganism and she said she's worried that men are entering the

movement because they know there's women there who are hurt and want to help other beings, whether consciously or not, it's the same with care workers, vicars. Look at all these peoples who get to work with vulnerable people." (Salome: 30s, white, bisexual)

"A friend of ours was sexually-harassed at a bipolar support group and I know someone who was followed home from a self-harm group by some guy… wherever you go, where there's men especially, where you do have vulnerable people." (Bridget: 30s, white, lesbian)

What is interesting is that in both these scraps 'vulnerable people' emerges as a pre-existing group which abusive men target. Similarly, the following extract from Jemarah's (50s, mixed raced, heterosexual) scrapbook (Figure 36) on the life and murder of Reeva Steenkamp by Oscar Pistorius can be used to identify how the discursive practice of stressing the severity of what an abuser has done can also essentialise their victim:
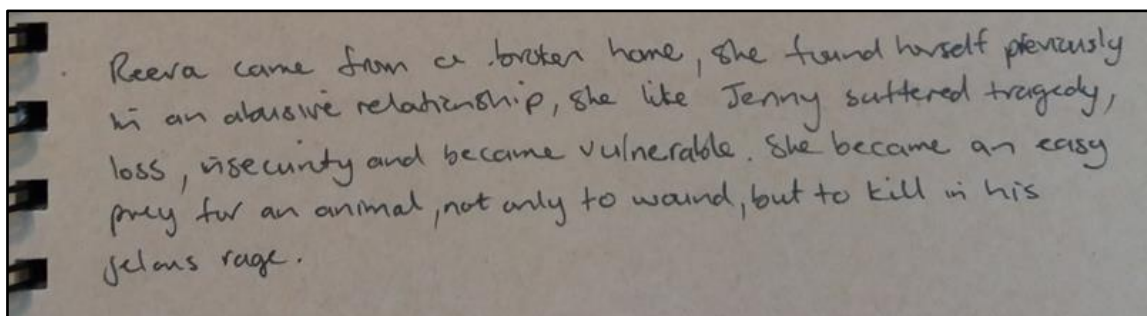
Figure 36: Extract from Jemarah's scrapbook featuring handwritten text on the subject of Reeva Steenkamp

This scrap then establishes the complexity or unintended consequence perhaps of highlighting the targeting strategies of abusers: victims can emerge as an 'easy prey' and further victimisation becomes naturalised or inevitable. Alternatively, weaponisation is a useful tool for focusing on *the practices and processes* of utilising to harmful ends everyday moments of help-seeking, sharing, and addressing sexual violence. This approach posits vulnerability as constituted in *spaces and situations rather than the acontextual condition of people*. Previously, the absence of guidelines made it possible for an officer to abuse a participant under his charge. Examples here from feminist, vegan and mental health support spaces suggest that spaces which are *assumed* to be safe and anti-abuse specifically need structures in place to limit weaponisation. This is precisely because, as in Abby's case with the police, *it is presumed to be 'too obvious' that you do not abuse in those spaces*. This establishes again the importance of emancipatory politics and finds that 'emancipation'

should be as entrenched in the means (i.e. in how the group is run) as in its ends (i.e. effecting social change and/or improved well-being).

8.3.5. *The sexual weapon: Summary*

This section organises the weaponisation of experiences of sexual violence for further violation. To justify particular actions – from justice to sexual access – weaponisation necessitates the constitution of an inherently vulnerable victim, (a 'helpless' and 'pathetic' 'creature'). However, this section has addressed a different understanding of vulnerability as ambiguous 'plastic potentiality'. Here, help-seeking is established as 'vulnerability-making' through situational practices and positions – reporting to a police force without safeguarding measures, forming new relationships and vetting therapists, amongst others – rather than essential conditions. Whilst there may be many ambiguous responses to help-seeking – including the potential for support and intimacy – here weaponisation is the harmful appropriation and reduction of vulnerability to narrow ends.

8.4. Weaponisation: Conclusion

In this chapter's conclusion, I want to reflect further on why the concept of weaponisation, as established here, is useful for participants, sexual violence researchers and advocates. The term describes everyday capitalisations on the plastic potentiality of what sexual violence might and can mean. It is sexual violence being made to mean and do something narrow and limiting, drawing boundaries, for example, around certain 'dangerous' groups who compete in apparently apolitical contexts. Connecting up a range of scraps here means going beyond the popular imperative to 'break the silence' on sexual violence and to 'break' the weaponisation of experiences, information and spaces when people do. Certainly, weaponisation offers feminists a useful tool to identify attempts to mask the gendered nature of victimisation through co-opting men's experiences, *without* marginalising men's experiences or reifying oppositional and homogeneous positions of 'men' and 'women'.

Tackling weaponisation might be done directly in post talk spaces or in *Twitter* debates, but also through the banal and everyday action of furthering emancipatory and coalitional politics and decreasing competition through increased sector funding for collaboration, and affirmative action on, for example, racism and transphobia. Indeed, affirmative action means

setting up anti-racist policies for survivor spaces and 'curating' these policies, recognising 'survivor space' as bounded through everyday practices of accountability, rather than fixed spaces accessed by people with inherent or essential 'good will'. Such policies might mean, to draw on Salome, identifying the ethnicity of everyone in counselling notes or meetings rather than only those who are not white. Likewise, work with LGBTQIA+ survivors necessitates recognising full personhood, whilst also holding space for 'gendered history'. Indeed, I present this here as a term[64] and tool for exploration of what might best be understood through Alex's own ambition:

> "Trans men I know try to pretend our experiences are virtually indistinguishable from cis men's to affirm their identity, but I want to explore the ways in which we experience misogyny." (Alex: white, queer)

Weaponisation has much to offer an understanding of vulnerability as ambiguous – a definition provided initially by Cunniff Gilson and built on here – in that it is the harmful appropriation and reduction of 'plastic potentiality' and it naturalises vulnerability as an exploitable weakness. It is therefore a critical concept for shifting attention to the *actual practices* of appropriation and away from the 'gender' or 'inherent' condition of a person. This allows for attention to the *gendered* nature of 'vulnerable' positions without erasing variety in and across gendered experiences and identities, or without becoming 'gender-neutral'. Weaponisation should therefore be of interest to advocates, activists and academics concerned with notions of the 'ideal victim' (Duggan, 2018), vulnerability, and primary or secondary victimisation.

Indeed, in keeping with feminist approaches to sexual violence, weaponisation can be used to recognise sexual violence as constituted in everyday moments by a range of, amongst others, police officers and forces, new partners, counsellors, opportunists, families and news reporters. As a concept it meets the need then for an engagement with scraps which does not deauthorise participants like Aerin or Kit in a bid to reduce the complexity of everyday life to clear categorisation of good and bad. Likewise, it explains how, even with increased public attention to sexual violence (noted in, Boyle, 2019a; Fileborn and Loney-Howes, 2019), it nonetheless continues, and much anti-sexual violence work is increasingly co-opted not only

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[64] 'Gendered history' is of course used more generally as a figure of speech (see, for example, Drabinski, 2014) but has not been advocated as a specific means of engaging with trans experiences more broadly and in connection with sexual violence.

by the 'right wing' groups Rosalie points out, but also by forms of anti-oppressive activist work.

Moreover, the idea of ambiguous vulnerability helps to better understand a continuum connecting instrumentalisation and weaponisation, where the 'plastic potentiality' of sexual violence might be shaped to different ends. Indeed, plastic potentiality is a useful concept for understanding situated moments of help-seeking and sharing. In thus adopting these approaches, interventions are better able to comprehend and take guidance from victim-survivors on the potential of everyday moments to constitute both an 'amazing' and a dangerous world.

Chapter 9. Conclusion: Where the Scaffolds Meet

9.1. Introduction

This research asked how its participants – twenty-three adults with unwanted sexual experiences and one UK Rape Crisis centre – make sense of sexual violence; what discursive practices constitute sexual violence in their everyday lives? The aims of this study were therefore multiple. Firstly, to establish and name the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence in the lives of its scrapbookers. Secondly, to develop an onto/episte/methodology of scrapbooking as a performative research practice. Thirdly, to explore 'discursive practices' as a conceptual alternative to limited distinctions between the material and discursive. Fourthly, to find ways to honour both the specifically feminist and woman-centred origins of much literature and many epistemologies on sexual violence, and the queer potential of others. Finally, to do justice to the time, trust, effort and engagement of the research's many participants, foregrounding their needs and experiences, whilst also attending to research as a performative practice.

In the pursuit of these aims this thesis has proposed the concepts of, amongst others, 'Everyday Scaffolding', 'Scrapbooking', 'Conflation and Marginalisation', 'Spectacularisation', 'Catching Out' and 'Weaponisation'. Collectively these recognise sexual violence as embedded and enabled in everyday contexts, the lived and embodied experience of which is one of exhaustion, frustration, shock, anger, confusion, competitiveness, disgust, defensiveness, vigilance, numbness, pain and fear. Indeed, this thesis has noted the experience of exhaustion particularly, a weary embodiment which shapes participants ability to navigate and contest everyday issues.

These conclusions have implications then for understanding 'rape culture' as varied material-discursive relations within which particular positionings are constituted, and from which people experience and act to create the world. There is thus a transformative potential in the process and results of this research: the raising of consciousness in regard to our involvement in creating these everyday scaffolds – as researchers, participants, people in everyday life – and thus the possibility to change it. More specifically then, research as a practice which is part of the world can help to facilitate this change. The conclusion here brings these four scaffolds together with this potentiality and the thesis' aims in mind. It also makes recommendations for further action.

9.2. The first aim: Establishing the everyday scaffolding of sexual violence

Nicola's Gavey's concept of 'cultural scaffolding' has entered the feminist toolbox as a means of articulating the conditions and contexts which make sexual violence possible (for example, Vera-Gray, 2021; Smith, 2021; Fileborn, Wadds and Tomsen, 2021; Gavey, 2019). In many ways this concept might be understood as implicitly working both with and against the notion of 'rape culture'; working that is, with the need to understand how things connect up and constitute sexual violence but also working against the potentially totalising and limiting implications of 'rape culture'. However, the concept developed here of 'everyday scaffolding' responds to much of the problematising of 'culture' in recent years (for example, Butler, 1998; Fraser, 1998), particularly in the context of the complexity and chaos of 'the everyday' (Highmore, 2011).

Understanding how sexual violence becomes possible and intelligible is rendered no less urgent by questioning the complex, contentious and even colonial forms of knowledge production orientated around 'culture'. This thesis has developed the idea of 'everyday scaffolding' to work then with these multiple tensions, needs and compromises. These scaffolds can be understood as situational configurations – both in specific moments of the scrapbookers' lives, and as situated in the research – which together create the right conditions for sexual violence. They bring together and articulate a variety of discursive practices in everyday life – scripts which connect up all manner of contexts and activities – with the aim to identify and intervene in sexual violence. After all, 'scaffolds' suggest the temporary but by no means the fragile. With their tight intersections of poles and scrap metal, changes to one piece might just begin to form the scaffold differently.

On the subject of intersecting, it is important to understand how the four everyday scaffolds established by this thesis have come together. These four are: 'Conflation and Marginalisation', 'Spectacularisation', 'Catching Out' and 'Weaponisation'. Interestingly, the chapter addressing the first scaffolding – relational discursive practices of conflation and marginalisation – positioned separating practices as integral to sense-making, but focused on those that cause misunderstanding, confusion and harm. Spectacularisation is also a form of separating: dramatically separating sexual violence from the banality of everyday life or separating people from their bodily-selves through practices of objectification. It is interesting to note therefore that, in other chapters, it is precisely nuanced unification and integration which acts against harmful separation: an understanding of people, matter, space

and time as interdependent (in Catching Out), or integrating the means and ends so that victim-survivors can shape how their experiences of sexual violence are used (Weaponisation), or further integrating literature and resources on 'non-normative' sexual practices into anti-violence work (Conflation and Marginalisation). Indeed, these scaffolds can be brought together in a call for a discursive landscape to tackle sexual violence which is precise, non-judgemental, flexible, informed, situational and relational. Establishing and developing this landscape has simultaneously simple and complex requirements: amongst others, clarification over what terms are used in interventions and why, continuum-thinking rather than simply 'gay' versus 'normal' abuse, and coalitional workings between organisational types and also survivor groups.

The four scaffolds also come together in everyday encounters where relations are cut into oppositional 'things'. Indeed, scaffolds meet through the dualistic subject positions of, for example, objectifier/objectified and invulnerable/vulnerable. In understanding those subject positions as distinct to the scaffolding of this research, it has been possible to understand the gendered nature of subject positions like 'vulnerable', whilst working with gender itself as a complex and multi-faceted positioning, identification and experience of the world. Indeed, this thesis has much to offer researchers working more flexibly and less literally with ideas of, as an example, 'gay panic', to include other forms of 'panicked' or 'outraged' reasoning that justify violently catching 'tricksters' out. The aforementioned need for clarity and precision is not a call then for simplistic and gender-neutral delineations, but rather a need for continuum-thinking which works with both commonality and specificity.

Interestingly, oppositional relations comprising the scaffolds in turn connect to wider dualisms of sacred sexuality/sexuality outside the sacred, truth/lie, surface/underneath, inside/outside and group/individual. Certainly, this thesis supports much of what has been written (Bordo, 1997; Plumwood, 1993) on the role of dualisms in meaning-making throughout the history of the Global North. However, Vicki Kirby (2008: 215) makes the point that 'it is somewhat routine within critical discourse to diagnose binary oppositions as if they are pathological symptoms'. Moreover, Gunnarsson (2013: 14) makes the point that feminists often do not:

> Discriminate between *distinction* or *difference* on one hand and *dualism* or *binary opposition* on the other. In their conventional usage, however, dualisms or binaries refer to the kind of absolute separation which ignores any interconnection and mutual

constitution between the two terms in question, while distinction simply means that two
things are not the same, which does not imply they can be neatly separated from one
another [italics in original].

Treating all distinctions – or, separating practices in this thesis here – as the problem is
therefore unhelpful. Moreover, what is particularly interesting to note is that the scaffolding
of Catching Out positions everyday life as happening on two distinct levels; the surface and a
deeper one beneath. Likewise, scrapbookers' distinctions between 'real' life and the fakeness
of spectacularised life, or the realness of actual versus superficial action for social change
elsewhere perhaps reproduces this dualism. This reproduction perhaps supports the push to
find something 'real' beneath the 'lie' that is itself so critical to the logic of Catching Out.

Indeed, it is also possible to read this two-dimensionality through wider political processes
where post-truth, populist and alt-right formations work with an 'intuitive' or 'common
sense' idea of what is 'real' beneath all the identity politics or political correctness of public
debate. Gunnarsson (2013) is right to ask that feminist new materialists pay more attention to
the constraining force of 'nature' – as opposed to glorifying its indeterminacy – and it is
precisely in the absence of attention to embodied and spatial *constraints* that arguments about
whose bodies, desires and identities are 'real' take force or men pick up and play video
games with 'avatars'. Indeed, addressing the body and embodiment is necessary to fully
understand the cultural constitution of sexual violence; how it is lived and carried. Whilst this
thesis has paid considerable attention to bodily knowing, future work might do well to work
through the scraps and establish a more specific 'habit body' for each of the scaffolds (as in,
for example, Coy, 2009). This might mean, for example, exploring how the numbness and
tiredness that Celia feels shapes her 'choices' of either a 'victim' or 'survivor' label.

Although this conclusion has so far addressed dualisms, it is through attention to the
everyday and to questions of the non-human that it is possible to understand sense-making,
subject positions and contestations of power as far more complex. For example, in the chapter
on Spectacularisation, sender/receiver as distinct positions for abusive behaviour are
complicated by the passive and audience-based quality of Salome and Rosalie's experiences
on *Facebook*. Similarly, Rosalie's harassment during life drawing involves her abuser
adopting the objectified position in order to push Rosalie into objectifying *her*. Likewise, in
the chapter on weaponisation, Alex resisted the defensive and oppositional relationality of

Twitter debates[65] through the creation of a third option: sharing the correct information in a completely different context and with different people.

What is also interesting to reflect on is how the creation of distinct groups and group needs works to both enable and resist sexual violence in and across the scaffolds. BDSM and kink communities must protect themselves against sensationalist public ideas about their practices as inherently sexual, deviant and dangerous through drawing distinct group boundaries which, in turn, can also enable sexual violence and misunderstanding (see also Barker, 2013). It is Oslo's working with both the inside/outside here that aid in a critical awareness: in order for these 'power dynamics' and 'roles' to feel pleasurable and safe for Oslo in particular spaces, attention is critical to how the inequality of everyday life 'bleeds in'.

A similar argument might well apply to work with Rape Crisis, most explicit perhaps in the working of the (often quoted) 'we' as an organisation which has to liaise with the world 'out there' or the 'we' who, for example, have a specific policy for working with men. However, climates of sexual violence denying, hostility from partner agencies and scarcity of resources can facilitate a guarded 'we' who are unable to adapt or to recognise the 'we' out there. I was reassured, however, that a reflexiveness is fostered in the everyday life of the organisation, but conclude here that this needs to be sustained and also developed through increased opportunities for training (especially around race and racism), collaborative and coalitional inter-agency work and, finally, through furthering a culture where it is easy to contest the taken-for-granted or 'disgust' reactions of colleagues.

Likewise, those groups that are created through weaponisation – predatory 'Asian men' and 'helpless' victims – need to be challenged. The urgency of this challenge is perhaps a little more obvious where such practices are overtly racist – the fact of an abuser being Asian discussed as a *cause* for the violence – but are more complex where images of men of colour are taken as neutral purveyors of truth, or where, for example, stressing the 'helplessness' of an abject victim highlights the seriousness of sexual violence (in wider contexts where sexual violence is denied).

Indeed, sexual violence becomes possible precisely through the very ways it becomes intelligible. That is not an argument then for accepting the status quo but rather one to

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[65] That is not an argument against debating contentious matters on *Twitter*. Friedman (2014) makes the point that it is sometimes worth feminists taking on 'trolls' or arguments with people whose opinion you will be unable to change, because if there is an audience to the conversation they might benefit, feel validated and learn from seeing it play out.

encourage a resistance to either/or politics precisely as we recognise their importance. Indeed, Vera-Gray et al. (2021) note the 'cultural harm' of distortions between what counts as criminal, harmful and sexual; and 'everyday scaffolding' is precisely a tool for challenging this distortion, whilst queerying the application and consequences of attempting and enforcing clarity. Perhaps then feminists working in this area of sexual violence and culture would do well to reflect more on forms of absolutism that can themselves lead to marginalisation and new forms of 'sacredness', and take on instead the less magnanimous, or perhaps less 'spectacular' tasks of addressing specificity and situation.

Certainly, in attending more to the 'non-human' of situations here, the metaphor of scaffolding comes even further into its own as a *materiality*; a comment on the layout of space rather than just an abstract image for how people interact. Indeed, I am reminded of one of the first things that Aerin shared with me: there are so many 'little things' that can be done to improve her and other victim-survivor lives:

> "Sometimes you're having a bad day and a one-to-one meeting with a door closed is no good, so if you're having a meeting offer a variety of locations. Do they have to be done with closed doors? I suffer from panic attacks so I hate online bookings where you can't choose an aisle seat for the theatre, so I end up not being able to do things. In lecture theatres if you put a lecturer in front of a door it's really obvious if people leave, so doors at the back are much better. We need to design buildings better. I have developed all these little habits to make things easier: I get places earlier to leave a bag or book even if I have to come back later." (Aerin: 30s, white, bisexual)

It becomes important then to name all the little ways in which victim-survivors have come to manage and inhabit 'rape culture'. Thinking back to Boswell and Spade's (1996) work on turning down the music and providing seats to challenge a campus rape culture, we also need to find ways to foster a *different* inhabiting. Much of these are painfully simple and yet enormously beneficial.

9.3. The second aim: Developing a research practice of scrapbooking

This thesis has introduced and developed a unique onto/episte/methodology of individual and group scrapbooking. This approach was found to be necessary to work with the complexity of making sense of sexual violence in and across multiple contexts and also with ideas from a

variety of paradigms: feminist, queer, post-structuralist and new materialist. Indeed, their central questions come together here in the research's own underlying questions: how is the world created, who or what has the power to create in meaningful and lasting ways and what role does research play? In answering these questions, working with the idea of 'scraps' – as that which has been saved, organised and shared from everyday life – proved necessary. Considerable feminist debate has concerned the 'real' in research, with Barad (2003) arguing that, contrary to much of the dispute *between* both social constructionist and scientific realist approaches, *both* can rely on forms of representationalism – questions of how 'nature' or 'culture' are mediated through their representation in research – rather than research itself being understood as a practice *within* the world that cuts out the relata within relations and establishes phenomena like 'culture'. Indeed, the more inclusively I understood 'culture' and the more I incorporated the 'everyday' into its definition, the more obvious it became to me that this very conceptualisation included my own research practice.

Working with this idea means treating 'scraps' as *real* continuations of configurations which are cut out and bounded within the scrapbooking space. The difficulty here arises in how to work with the complexity of configurations, whilst foregrounding the hotspots of participants' everyday lives and recognising the role of research – analysis, writing, for example – as being involved in creating and establishing these. Having been habituated through education, activist, and support work into the intuitive (and somewhat literal) idea of letting participants 'speak for themselves', I certainly found this a challenge and perhaps a risk. How could the project be grounded in their lives and motivations, whilst also working against the idea that research is simply documenting and platforming their experiences? Scrapbooking 'scraps' proved critical to this end: being guided by them and their practices of saving, organising and sharing, whilst also working with literatures on rape culture (amongst others) and adopting a style which highlights the performative 'mechanics' of writing. Indeed, I am confident that the result is a unique, responsible and responsive piece of research which offers ideas and interventions at a variety of levels and in a variety of contexts. What is a perhaps most reassuring result is that these interventions are not particularly spectacular, and neither are they necessarily 'new'; instead, they are full of the mundanity and multiplicity with which sexual violence itself is constituted.

The unique and unusual design of the research here, with its focus on one-on-one scrapbooking with individuals and group scrapbooking with a Rape Crisis centre, aids particularly in this identification and intervention. Firstly, it integrates differing forms of

expertise and experience: from years of practice-based expertise to the lived texture of enduring sexual violence. Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, the very idea of these as distinct forms of knowledge (workers versus victim-survivors) has been questioned through an everyday approach. This meant asking the workers not only about the victim-survivors they work with, but also about, for example, their journey to work or their thoughts on current affairs. This also meant, for example, exploring and providing quotes from individual participants that use what might be considered 'academic' and/or 'feminist' concepts (like Salome's 'male gaze', for example) rather than attempting to draw easy distinctions between the worlds of living, activism, work and research.

The research itself thus acts somewhat against hierarchising, and acts with and against the very professionalism of anti-sexual violence 'experts' which can further marginalise victim-survivors' own knowing (Roberts, 1989). Again, if research is part of the world, then this project was hoping to both honour the Rape Crisis workers' expertise without positioning it as sacred and beyond criticism. Future work in this regard might do well to integrate the two aspects of scrapbooking further or in different ways, taking participants' interest in other participants as an indicator of the possibility for and benefit of increased exchange. Just as practices which cut people out of contexts have been brought into question in the previous chapters, so too might it be important to bring the individual scrapbookers together in groups to continue to build on the practice together once the 'official' periods of research scrapbooking have come to an end. Similarly, opportunities for the increased involvement of scrapbookers in periods of analysis and specific literature recommendation would be interesting and important for democratising, as would opportunities for individual scrapbookers to engage directly with Rape Crisis.

9.4. The third aim: Exploring discursive practices

Debates concerning the 'discourse' and 'material' divide have endured for some time. Whilst much debate goes far beyond a concern for the ordering of specific words, it is telling perhaps that variations in and contentions over the appendage of 'material' to 'discourse' and vice versa feature in numerous papers, where authors figure out how and to what audience they are communicating (for example, Orlikowski and Scott, 2015; Bacchi and Bonham, 2014; Hearn, 2014; Barad, 2003). In communicating to a feminist audience of people active

in addressing sexual violence, I saw real merit in attempting to outline the concept of 'discursive practice' and its relationship to everyday scaffolding.

Whilst familiar with Foucault's work – somewhat inevitable on a UK undergraduate Sociology programme – my renewed interest was sparked primarily through subsequent Foucauldian attention to discursive practices. This interest was furthered through considering its applicability to the context of this research, where asking how people make sense of sexual violence requires tools for the multi-faceted and everyday nature and definition of 'making sense'. However, Foucault's work is notoriously without specific guidelines for empirical feminist research application (McLaren, 2009), which in itself offers interesting opportunities to take up Foucault's books and ideas as 'a screwdriver or spanner to short-circuit, discredit or smash systems of power' (Foucault, 1975 in Mclaren, 2009: 1-2)

In this sense then this thesis is neither a commitment to a specifically 'Foucauldian world view' – or even a 'Baradian', 'post-structuralist' or 'new materialist' view – nor the reification of such bounded views through their 'rejection'. A better way to understand the role of 'discursive practices' here, is much as in the earlier image of watching stones dropping into water and exploring how their ripples meet and generate new shapes. This thesis then works with the point where the following concepts meet: rape culture, cultural scaffolding, sexual violence, sense-making, everyday life and discursive practices. It is thus wholly original in drawing these shapes, in its hope for further attention to points of contact and in its guidance on where to begin.

Nevertheless, the development of 'discursive practices' here will be of considerable interest to people engaging in practical research on meaning making in varied contexts. In particular, much has been made of Foucault's delineation – or so-called 'failure' to delineate – between the discursive and nondiscursive (Barad, 2003; Hennessey, 1993). Much of this criticism takes the nondiscursive to be a space outside of language for material relations, as opposed to what Bacchi and Bonham (2014: 188) see as 'sites that are not explicitly named as knowledge formations'. I join Bacchi and Bonham in this argument, and I have shown elsewhere that claims to a material 'realness' outside of discourse (where discourse is taken as language rather than knowledge) powerfully gatekeeps whose bodies and experiences are seen as 'real'. I turn now to a reflection on this thesis' contribution to that conversation.

In adopting a research approach of scrapbooking, I have attempted to develop ethical tools for the 'naming of sites' which take direction from participants. By that I mean that processes

of saving, sharing and organising 'scraps' establish what comes to matter as discursive and nondiscursive. For example, sharing phases follow the hotspots of participants' everyday lives, and organising practices continue into periods of situational analysis and thematic comparisons across scraps and with literatures. If discourses or discursive formations are those that are so routinised and systematised as to entrench singular ideas of the 'real', then this research uses scrapbooking to understand this order. For every scrap organised here there are many scrapbook pages and reels of conversation identified only by loose concepts that have yet to find an echo. Examples might be conversations about the difficulties of our organising the meeting, moments of us ordering food and drink, and what people themselves describe as 'tangents' into comments about their cars or children. Interestingly, as I write these here, I note their relevance to the organisation of everyday life – getting people to and from interactions with me or filling us up with sustenance once we are together – and it is important to think again of the non-discursive as mobile and situational to whatever is marked specifically as knowledge formation. Indeed, theorists note that this does not mean that discourses are 'absent' but that they are more 'background resources' for specific activities in specific contexts (Roch, 2019: 22).

However, unlike thinkers who focus on those the non-discursive as boundaries marked 'by human activities whose central goal *is not* to constitute discourses' (Roch, 2019: 22 [italics in original]), I have worked with a looser notion of 'activities' than those perhaps customary to sexual violence research and have likewise considered 'the human' in more detail (and beyond). Whilst this thesis has opened up wider boundaries for what counts as relevant to sexual violence, that does not mean that it necessarily encompasses 'everything'. Indeed, rape culture as a 'background radiation' to acts of sexual violence, to quote Celia, is itself dependent here on a background to its background, as it were.

Understanding the boundaries of non/discursive practices here as guided by the scrapbooking process grounds the thesis, just as it opens up its possible place in wider configurations. Whilst this research has attended to scraps as continuations of configurations bounded in scrapbooking space, that understanding is not an action against differing levels of the social and their analysis (see Jackson, 2001), including the relevance of structural factors for both the discursive *and* non-discursive. My hope here then is that further attention to these configurations is made possible through this research.

Finally, the research itself is a practice creating order and, unlike many projects which go unnamed as sites of knowledge formation but are treated as windows on the real, this practice has been foregrounded as performative. That means that this thesis is active in making these scaffolds happen as something that can then also be changed: an expansion perhaps of the feminist aim of 'naming' the harm to end the harm (for example, Fileborn, 2019) or a more explicit and conscious articulation of the practice that many radical feminists already undertake (for example, Romito, 2008). Of course, readers may themselves spot specific instances of the unnamed here and argue for more attention to its relationship with the named. However, for now, I conclude more generically that attention is needed to how practices which seek to identify the routinised nature of knowledge formations and contestations over power (e.g. research, activism) become themselves particular knowledge formations. This is another way perhaps of arguing, as in the first section of this chapter, for attention to the consequences, as researchers and advocates, of our attempting and enforcing clarity.

9.5. The fourth aim: Honouring feminist and queer origins and potentials

The research's aim to work with and honour the often feminist and woman-centred epistemologies of much anti-sexual violence work, and the queer disruptive potential of others was in many ways an affective one. Whilst this aim was interwoven in the conceptualisation and application of, for example, 'everyday scaffolding' and 'scrapbooking', I reflect here more specifically on sexual violence knowledge formation.

Interestingly, Claire Hemmings (2011) notes that the linear logics of much feminist storytelling assume something needs to be left behind in order for movements to progress. However, what is also important to add here is a desire perhaps to 'return' to a radical model of past 'waves' which I have experienced and sensed in many anti-sexual violence spaces.

I am reminded here of Butler's (1998) reflections on the 'resurgence of left orthodoxy' which posits New Social Movements (NSMs) as fracturing and 'merely cultural', so that a 'unified and progressive Marxism must return to a materialism based in an objective analysis of class'. Whilst Butler's paper is greatly critiqued for its functionalism and ahistoricism (Fraser, 1998), I enjoy its challenge to this view of NSMs which assumes stable distinctions between material and cultural life, and which ignores movements' emergence in response to the hegemony of the left as much as that of the liberal and right. Interestingly, Anti-Rape and Rape Crisis movements in the 1970s in the UK and USA initially saw women attempting to

incorporate socialist and left-leaning men who were either disengaged, hostile or violent. Just as much feminist anti-violence work has itself therefore diverged from other anti-oppressive work, it is important to critically engage with the nostalgia for a 'whole' Feminism or Woman which never really existed and was certainly not intersectional.[66]

Concerns then about the fracturing of a radical feminism, whether that be into intersectional attention or through increased involvement of queer and trans politics, need attention as one of the complex bases of much sexual violence feminism. Indeed, I turn here to Alyoxsa Tudor's (2019: 362) reflections on the importance of working with the 'haunting' of theory:

> I am concerned with analysing the ways in which lesbian, queer and feminist approaches can be seen as a synergy that works towards the transing of gender. Looking at the contradictions in lesbian feminist theorising and addressing in particular contradictory approaches to sexual violence, my analysis stresses the ambivalence that lies in the term 'haunting': haunting as the driving force that leads to relentless effort to fight against oppression; haunting as the nightmare that keeps coming back to us; haunting as the reminder of a smouldering guilt; haunting as the impulse for radical transformation.

Keen to challenge caricatures of lesbian feminism as transphobic and invite back the 'lesbian ghosts' so integral to much work on queer, trans and feminist theory, Tudor (2019) provides a repertoire for working with ambivalence. Reflecting here on my own complex feelings about much radical feminist work in general and on sexual violence specifically, I want to hold space for welcome hauntings that keep me moving with feeling against oppression. As I write this, I think of the trans and/or autigender participants in this study who navigate anti-sexual violence spaces always with the question of 'will I be in conflict telling my story here?'. I think also of the women at the Rape Crisis centre, where renewal of their fixed term contracts depends greatly on whether state-corporate bodies support gender-neutral politics and think work rooted in feminist principles still matters.

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[66] Interestingly, Elizabeth Evans and Prudence Bussey-Chamberlain (2021: 12) have recently examined white feminist nostalgia:

> Nostalgia, as we understand it, is not necessarily tethered to a specific time or wave of feminism but is rather yearning for an imaginary past feminism in order to resist or repudiate the present.

Evans and Bussey-Chamberlain (2021: 12) express concern that at a time when awareness of difference and intersectionality has grown amongst feminists this is also a period seen as 'lacking radicalism and 'being too focused on identity'. This misrepresents the radicalism of much intersectional politics and work.

The possibility then for work to both aid an agenda to end MVAWG and to question some of its assumptions is urgent, as is creating knowledge around queer and/or trans experiences of sexual violence both in and of themselves and for ending MVAWG. This thesis has focused, for example, on continuum-thinking as a means of encompassing a range of gendered identities, or on bringing together scraps as constituting gendered subject positions situating varied people. However, despite having done much in earlier chapters to outline the relationships between 'scraps', 'scrapbooking', 'discursive practices' and 'everyday scaffolding', I am haunted perhaps by the different 'levels' of the social (see again Risman, 2004; Jackson, 2001). I would therefore welcome further application of this thesis as a means of exploring how, for example, gender as self-identification, embodiment, relationality, structure and social category all connect up in the cultural constitution of sexual violence.

I am also particularly haunted by iterations of 'South Africa' throughout the process – as the basis of much of Jemarah's life, but also as mediated through Ross Kemp's documentary, or in much literature I have read here on 'corrective rape' and specifically Reeva Steenkamp's murder. I say 'haunted', by which I mean again that these ghosts rightly unsettle the scaffolds and prompt me to seek out opportunities to talk more perhaps with Jemarah or revisit her scrapbook and to engage further with resources by South African thinkers and activists.

These ghosts may perhaps find some company in critical race literatures on the ways in which a race/gender system shapes sexual violence (for example, Collins, 1998). Indeed, through analysis of the gynaecological examinations made of black slaves and analysis of escape narratives, C. Riley Snorton (2017) describes the creation of an 'ungendered flesh' through which a 'female sex' emerged. Whilst participants often spoke out against racism and ableism, it was telling perhaps how many ideas and activities relied on the 'background' of a 'white' and 'whole' body. As 'sacred sexuality' was intended here as a concept and practice to articulate what was often so 'obvious' or 'sacrosanct' as to go unarticulated, it would be interesting to explore further the silences or 'ungendered flesh' throughout the scrapbooking process.

9.6. The fifth aim: Doing justice to participants' involvement

I began this project fresh from the successes of a masters and pilot study (Walling-Wefelmeyer, 2017) with eight women who reported considerable enjoyment and benefit from taking part in the project. Their experiences and reflections paved the ways for a study here

which would offer participants more time and technological opportunity to scrapbook and which would further develop and encourage the cathartic and consciousness-raising aspects of the project, both one-on-one with individuals and with a group. Participants here who took part in individual scrapbooks reported, for example, that:

> "I need to find my own ways and words and I feel like that was what the scrapbook was about a lot, findings ways of telling stories and finding strategies. It's been really positive for allowing me to search for alternatives … I would continue with a scrapbook … it seems less linear with being able to jump back and putting stuff down as it comes to me … it stops you getting trapped in narratives." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)

> "It's a good way of engaging with things you see around you. I feel like less people write diaries than they used to. People curate and people write blogs but these don't have the same purpose: it's what you want to communicate to other people. So scrapbooking is good and talking to you has been nice, it made me feel like I have useful things to say." (Alex: white, queer)

Indeed, participant's enjoyment of the process was remarkable and future research would do well to consider how best to incorporate the learnings here into activist, therapeutic and pedagogic contexts. However, for some participants, increased awareness through scrapbooking was a challenge:

> "It would probably get repetitive after a while. It has been interesting to explore and verbalise, and realise how much it is everywhere, but it's also not a mindset I want to dwell in forever." (Mae: 40s, white, bisexual)

> "I haven't added anything and haven't really thought about it probably because I'm so in a world of teaching at the moment. This process has made me realised how much I don't think about it. When I was scrapbooking more, I realised I was sort of making myself think about it more." (Emery: 20s, white, heterosexual)

As I found in my previous study, it is through community-building and connecting with others that increased awareness often becomes manageable (Herman, 1997). Whilst questions of how to build community were discussed and advocacy resources were provided, research could do more to create community itself through (as before) inviting participants to meet or look at each other's scrapbooks.

Further research would also do well to explore cultural and embodied constraints on what participants are able to share. Noor, for example, describes her intention to go back to Iraq to help with women who may be experiencing domestic and sexual violence there:

> "I am going to run art sessions there with women so they don't have to write it down … they find it hard to write it down because they are scared but they can express themselves through art … they can share the painting but not their name … the environment, those women are frightened to put things in writing because they know someone will do something … If I was back home, I wouldn't talk, I rather be killed, I would be silent …they won't benefit, they will put themselves more at risk and damage." (Noor: 20s, Iraqi/Middle Eastern, heterosexual)

It is interesting to compare her understanding that 'someone will do something' with Celia's feeling that you get tired of recounting your experiences because nothing happens, no one will do anything about it. Celia is actively involved in survivor groups and in her university's welfare and campaigns, noting that "around here [it's] quite a safe space, it's a decent, it's a bit of a bubble." She experiences a certain freedom to share her encounters, but these are met by a blasé attitude.

Celia and Noor's comparative understandings of creative communication suggest a difference between not wanting to provide written or spoken accounts of sexual violence experiences because no one will react or take it seriously, and not wanting to do so because people *will* react and take it seriously (albeit not how you want). Noor considers what medium – particularly painting – allows the women to be safe whilst still communicating something because *words do too much*, whilst Celia seeks a variety of creative mediums to best suit "constructing and deconstructing experiences" and her personal growth because *words do not do enough*. Celia's ability to assess mediums on the grounds of *growth* rather than simply *safety* points to different constraints for different women in different places. Therefore, it would be interesting and important to further explore what meanings and histories participants bring to ideas of scrapbooking and creativity, and how to work with their differing levels of enthusiasm and capacity whilst still establishing shared themes.

In this project, what I had also been less prepared for was the amount of administrative work that so much scrapbooking would entail and the sheer number of moments and spaces I was welcomed into and participated in creating. Juggling these wonderful opportunities with deadlines and my own health was more challenging than the pilot project could have prepared

me for. Likewise, Covid-19 conditions and restrictions, caregiving responsibilities and multiple bereavements furthered a sense of distance from the project and participants right when I perhaps needed it most: when the in-person phases of scrapbooking were over. I share this here as a comment on the perfectionist expectations I placed – and which I think neoliberal academic workspaces sadly encourage – on myself and the research, and which haunt me as I learn to live with the 'queer art of failure' (Halberstam, 2011) that is so integral to a good life and good research.

And, speaking of haunting, I end this section with an extract from Celia's scrapbook. Here, she reflects on a short story she read in *Her Body and Other Parties* by Carmen Maria Machado (2017):

> "There's one bit where there's a recap and expansion of every Law and Order episode and essentially the way it works is that every time there is a child who suffers male violence the female detective holds the story and it haunts her, whereas the cold and criminal narrative is where you're a statistic, something that moves a narrative." (Celia: late teens, white, bisexual)
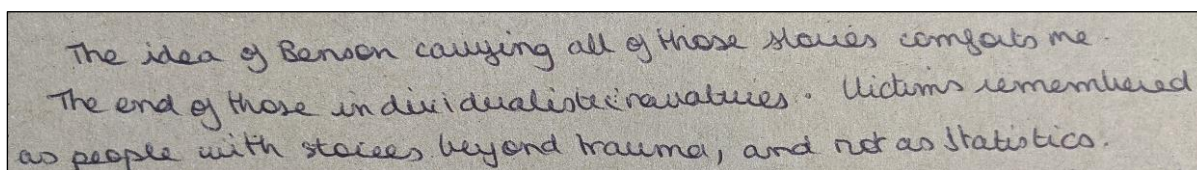
Figure 9: Extract from Celia's scrapbook featuring handwritten text on the subject of a short story

I hope then that the participants will stay with me and the reader, haunting us, pushing us towards radical transformation.

9.7. Endings

> It is more like carrying something really heavy, forever. You do not get to put it down: you have to carry it, and so you carry it the way you need to, however it fits best.
>
> — *Roxane Gay, Not That Bad: Dispatches from Rape Culture (2018)*

This thesis began with attention to the popularity and importance of 'rape culture' as a discursive tool for identifying and addressing the cultural constitution of sexual violence. Its varied, pejorative, shorthand and umbrella uses were noted, followed by attention to specific research that articulated participants' experiences of rape culture or its creation in specific

spaces and times. Just as in Emilie Buchwald, Pamela Fletcher and Martha Roth's (2005: xi) classic definition of rape culture as a 'complex of beliefs', this later research connects up the phenomenological with the ethnographic, and collectively establish rape culture as multifaceted, plural and situational. This thesis has found a way to work with the multi-faceted focus on how culture is both experienced and constituted, connecting up people from across contexts through an original 'scrapbooking' approach to everyday life that centres the creation of 'scraps' and the performative role of research. In so doing, it offers the languages of 'everyday scaffolding' and, of course, those of its four specific scaffolds. It offers these, firstly, as a complement to the varied uses of 'rape culture' – by advocates, activists and academics – secondly, as a call to work with and against the idea of 'rape culture' and, thirdly, as a suggestion of how to do so. Indeed, to move beyond implicit ideas of 'rape culture' as a conceptualisation which must either encompass everything or whose boundaries are so finely drawn as to retrench the very exclusions and assumptions which make sexual violence possible, this thesis contributes much needed tools and terms. These can only be expanded, and exciting opportunities lie ahead to revisit scrapbooks, conversations, notes and literatures, and to involve more people, contexts and groups in the organisation of scraps. Different scaffolds and their different points of intersection might emerge, but for now I hope this research has done its part as just one piece in the larger project of ending sexual violence.

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Appendices

Appendix I

Scrapbooking Everyday Life:
Participant Information Sheet

Durham University

Thank you for your interest in my research. This information sheet explains the project and what your participation will involve. Take as long as you need to read and think about it and please do ask me any questions you may have.

What is the research about?

My research is interested in the everyday lives of people who have had unwanted sexual experiences. I want to know how all the everyday things you encounter effect how you feel about your experiences or are themselves effected by these experiences. I am also looking at what specialist organisations think about experiences like these and what they can do to help. Likewise, I am interested in whether scrapbooking is a useful research tool with therapeutic potential.

What do you mean by everyday lives?

Everyday life means your everyday life and I'm interested in anything and everything which you encounter which effects you. It may be that representations of relationships and sex feel particularly important: you might want to tell me about an advert on TV, a book where the main character is assaulted, a high profile rape trial circling Facebook, a message you receive from an ex or a conversation with a health professional. Please share anything you think is relevant. There is no right way to take part in this research.

What do participants actually need to do?

You will be given a scrapbook to use for four weeks (you can do less or more). You will be asked to share what happens in that time and any thoughts or feelings you have about it. You can share all this however you choose or are able to, perhaps

jotting it down with pens, paints, using screenshots and uploaded or cut-out images and articles. Scrapbooks are for any media and materials you want and you can share as little or as much as you like. We will meet up over the project at a time and place that suits you to have a look at the scrapbooks together. These meetings can take place for as long as you like but typically around 30-60 minutes.

Digital or non-digital scrapbooks? Or something else?

You can use either a hardcopy scrapbook (a small brown book with blank pages) or get the login details for a digital scrapbook (a private password-protected *Tumblr* page). You might also like both. Or we can create a format together which works best for you. For example, you might want a communicative aid or for my questions to you to be typed. We will explore how you can take part and use the scrapbooks in the first meeting. If you have any accessibility concerns, please let me know.

What will you do with my scrapbook?

I will analyse the scrapbooks and the findings will be used in my doctoral thesis and possibly other academic publications and presentations. I will also be working closely with organisations like Rape Crisis to shape their policies and practice and will use your experiences as a starting point. Anything that you share will be kept confidential and anonymous so please choose a pseudonym. However, if you or somebody else is at risk of serious harm, I may need to disclose this to my supervisor and relevant agencies. But I would keep you informed of this process. If it is ok with you, I will record and type-up the conversations we have. I will store these files securely on a password-protected Durham University server. You will be asked to keep the scrapbooks safe during the project and to bring them when we meet up. Digital scrapbooks will be viewed by only me throughout the process. At the end of data collection I will keep the scrapbooks (privately and securely) but you can be provided with the originals at the very end of the project. I will draw on government and university guidance for good data practice and protection and I anticipate that your data will be held for up to ten years after research completion (following which it will be destroyed).

What about risks?

These can be difficult subjects and the research might prompt a lot of self-reflection and feeling. You can find attached a sheet with information about services for support and I'm available to help and advise where I can. But it might also help to know that some of my previous participants found it beneficial to be able to share things in scrapbooks. I am interested in the therapeutic possibility of scrapbooking so your feedback on how you are finding the process is very much welcomed. You do not have to share anything which you do not wish to and you do not have to answer specific questions. You can also end the conversations whenever you want.

Can I also stop taking part?

Yes, of course. You can do this up until our last meeting. At this meeting you can also decide if there is anything you would like to edit or remove from your scrapbook. After our last meeting, I will start to analyse the scrapbooks.

What about compensation?

You will receive compensatory vouchers of £30 in thanks for your time and help. Travel or other expenses will also be compensated to a reasonable degree. Please choose a time and place to meet which works best for you.

Will you tell me what happens?

I will keep you updated about how the research progresses and will provide you with a final report which outlines my findings and how I am using them to have an impact on people's lives and organisational responses.

Any questions or concerns?

Please get in contact.

Me (the researcher): **Ros Walling-Wefelmeyer**

Email: **scrapbookingeverydaylife@outlook.com**

Phone: **07867929315**

My supervisor: **Nicole Westmarland**

Email her: **nicole.westmarland@durham.ac.uk**

Appendix II

Scrapbooking Everyday Life:
Participant Consent Sheet

I have a responsibility to make sure that you fully understand what being a participant in my research will involve for you before you decide whether or not to take part. Please familiarise yourself with the attached participant information sheet and don't hesitate to ask me any questions about the research project.

	Yes	No
I have read the participant information sheet and been given the opportunity to ask questions about the research project, with satisfactory responses.		
I agree to begin taking part in the research process of scrapbooking and conversation.		
I give my permission for the scrapbooks to be accessed and kept by the researcher and for related conversations to be audio recorded and transcribed.		
I understand that the audio recordings and their data will be stored securely, that when the recording has been transcribed it will be destroyed, and that any identifiable information about myself will not be included in the transcript.		
I understand that, although measures are in place to ensure that the scrapbooks are kept private and secure throughout the research, I am also responsible for ensuring this remains the case.		
I understand that the scrapbooks will be stored securely at the end of data collection.		
I know that I am entitled to the non-digital scrapbook and/or access to a version of the digital scrapbook at the end of the research.		

I am aware that my name will not be used and that my identity will be kept anonymous in any publications relating to this research project.		
I understand that what is produced in the scrapbooks and discussed will be kept confidential by the researcher, but that, if the researcher feels that I or somebody else is at risk of serious harm, they may need to disclose this to their supervisor and relevant agencies. This includes internet hate crime which I may witness and include in my scrapbook. The researcher would report this anonymously.		
I understand that, if I feel uncomfortable or uncertain, I am encouraged to seek advice from the researcher and support services.		
I understand that I am free to choose whether or not to take part in this research project, and that I am also free to withdraw from it at any point both during and after data collection has been completed, up until the analysis stage begins (approximately a month after I begin scrapbooking). I understand that the researcher will keep me informed about when this is exactly.		
I understand that I can keep a copy of this consent form for my records.		

Having read the participant information sheet and this consent form, I confirm that I understand what is required of me for this research project and am happy to take part.

Signed: _____ (Participant)

Signed: _____ (Researcher)

Date: ____ / ____ /_____

Appendix III

Scrapbooking the Everyday:
Support Sheet for Participants

Durham University

If you or someone you know has been affected by any of the issues raised by and during the research, you can access support from the organisations listed below. These are **national** support services but I can also advise on face-to-face services **local** to you if you would like. You can also contact me for advice on activism or advocacy relating to the research area.

Rape Crisis England & Wales:

A feminist organisation for women and girls specialising in therapeutic support, advice and advocacy. They also have 44 local services. See https://rapecrisis.org.uk/centres.php

Freephone: 0808 802 9999 (open everyday 12 noon-2.30pm and 7pm-9.30pm)

Galop:

An anti-violence organisation for LGBTQIA+ folk. They also have specific services for sexual violence, hate crime and trans advocacy. See http://www.galop.org.uk/

Domestic Abuse Freephone: 0800 999 5428 (open 10am-5pm Monday, Tuesday and Friday and from 10am-8pm on Wednesday and Thursday)

Email: help@galop.org.uk | Report hate crimes: http://www.galop.org.uk/report/

Survivors UK:

Varied support services for men and boys who have experienced sexual violence. See https://www.survivorsuk.org/ways-we-can-help/

Webchat: https://m2.icarol.com/ConsumerRegistration.aspx?org=56520

Text: 020 3322 1860 | WhatsApp: 07491816064 (all open 10:30am-9pm Monday to Friday and 10am-6pm Saturday to Sunday)

National Domestic Violence Helpline:

A service for women experiencing domestic violence, with translators available.

Freephone: 0808 2000 247 (open 24 hours) | Email: helpline@womensaid.org.uk

Samaritans:

For any personal issues. Freephone: 116 123 (open 24 hours) | Email: jo@samaritans.org

Appendix IV

Scrapbooking the Everyday:

Information Sheet for Participants

You have received this information sheet because your organisation has decided to get involved in my research. The sheet outlines what the project is about and what your potential participation will involve. Take as long as you need to read and think about it and please do ask me any questions you may have. Thank you.

What is the research about?

This research is interested in the everyday lives of people who have had unwanted sexual experiences. I want to know how they make sense of their experiences. I want to know how all the everyday things they encounter effect their feelings about their experiences or are themselves effected by these experiences. For example, victim-survivors often have to deal with lots of different opinions about sexual violence and sexual relationships from friends, family, the media, members of the public and professionals. I am interested in what everyday experiences specialists like yourself identify and what effect you think they might have on victim-survivors. I am also researching whether scrapbooking with victim-survivors is a useful research tool with therapeutic potential and whether scrapbooking with organisations enables policy and practice developments and benefits organisations themselves.

What do you mean exactly by everyday experiences? What would that look like?

Everyday experience means *your* everyday life. I'm interested in anything and everything which you come across in your personal or working life which you feel might shape or effect how people think and feel about sexual experiences (whether they are unwanted or not). It might be a sexualised perfume advert you see on TV, a high profile rape trial circling Facebook, an odd message you receive on social media from a friend or a difficult experience liaising with the police. It might also be an experience that a client shares directly with you in counselling or over the phone about, for example, a film they have watched. Please share anything you think is relevant (and anonymise people where appropriate). There is no right way to take part in this research.

How can we help? What would we actually need to do?

Your organisation will be given a large hardcopy scrapbook to use over a period of months. It will be on display in a shared space. During this time, you will be encouraged to contribute anything you encounter which might shape or effect how people think and feel about sexual experiences and also any thoughts and ideas you may have about these examples. You can share as little or as much as you like and however you choose, perhaps jotting things down using pens, paints, and using screenshots and uploaded or cut-out images and articles. I will pop in occasionally to have a look at the contents and maybe chat with anyone present.

Isn't that a long time to be scrapbooking?

This length of time is actually intended to make your participation *less intensive* and *more informal*. Organisations are busy places, so with the scrapbooks on show for the duration, people who come and go can simply contribute whenever they have something to share or would like to do so. I will aim to pop in once a month but have no expectations of what to find.

What do we get out of it? What can you do for us?

This in-house and self-regulating format means that you can have continued access to the scrapbook contributions and have a sense of control over the research. Scrapbooking like this helps to increase an organisation's understanding of itself and of the more everyday ideas and experiences which constitute its expertise. In its length and its collaborative and material format, scrapbooking can offer staff evidence of their practice-based knowledge and experience. This can also act as a fun and creative stimulus to discussion and to policy and practice development. I am hoping that the research will thus inform broader debates and improve the lives of victim-survivors and specialist responses to them. I will prepare a report on my findings and their implications for you and will be working closely with your organisation to explore how to maximise benefits.

What will happen to the data provided?

The findings will be utilised in my doctoral thesis and possibly other academic publications and presentations. It will also be a stimulus to developing policy and practice. I will refer to you in my writing by your job title and/or a pseudonym and anything that you share will be kept confidential and anonymous outside of the organisation. However, if you or somebody else is at risk of serious harm, I may need to disclose this to my supervisor and perhaps relevant agencies. But you would of course be kept informed of this process. You will all be required to keep the scrapbook safe and secure during the course of the research. At the end of data collection I will keep the scrapbook (privately and securely) but your organisation can be provided with the original hard copy scrapbook at the very end of the project. All data associated with you personally and your

participation will be kept secure on a password-protected server. I will draw on government and university guidance for good data practice and protection and I anticipate that your data will be held for up to ten years after research completion (following which it will be destroyed).

What about risks?

These can be difficult subjects to talk about and the research might prompt a certain amount of feeling. Your contributions will be visible to other members of the organisation (just as everyday conversations might be overheard in shared office space). I am therefore asking you to respect the confidentiality of the book and to not share its contents outside the organisation. All members of staff will receive this information sheet and I will leave a copy of it in the scrapbook itself so that everyone who comes into contact with it is aware of what is involved.

Can I stop once I start taking part?

Yes, of course. You can withdraw any time up until data analysis begins (I will inform you when this is). You will also be given a chance to review, remove and edit what you personally have contributed at this point too. I will be chatting informally with you when I visit so please let me know if there's anything you say which you would prefer to be private from the research. The idea is to make the process as easy as possible for you and to give you control over what is shared and what is not. I will be making notes about my visits as I go along, but you do not need to engage directly with the research at all if you do not want to (just opt-out by not contributing to the scrapbook or conversation). Approval from the organisation is not taken as blanket approval from all its members. It is simply to begin the process by placing the scrapbook somewhere public and encourage people to contribute and talk about its contents. Your organisation can also withdraw the hardcopy scrapbook from the research any time before data analysis begins, in line with organisational decision-making.

Any questions or concerns? Please get in contact.

Me (the researcher): **Ros Walling-Wefelmeyer**

Email me: **r.g.walling-wefelmeyer@durham.ac.uk**

My supervisor: **Nicole Westmarland**

Email her: **nicole.westmarland@durham.ac.uk**

Appendix V

Rape Crisis Group Scenarios

Scenario 1:

Carrie is a 19-year-old university student. After a night out, Carrie wakes up half-dressed in the bed of her flatmate's friend Alfie. She has no memory of the night but remembers drinking only one pint.

Scenario 2:

Alishya is 8. Her step-father has been photographing her in a bikini so that she can feel like 'a big girl'. He now says that being naked in the photos would be even more grown-up.

Scenario 3:

When Lori tries to leave Sarah after 5 years together, Sarah shows her a video of them having sex which was made unknown to Lori. She says she'll share it with Lori's colleagues if she leaves.

Scenario 4:

Tanish is 30 and has just begun dating Graham, the brother of a colleague. For the last week, Tanish has woken up several times to find Graham touching him.