CHAPTER 5

RAPE CHANT AT SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY

A Convergence of Business School Ethics, Alcohol Consumption, and Varsity Sport

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In the first week of September 2013, Saint Mary's University (SMU) in Halifax made national news when a video showed student leaders encouraging up to 400 hundred first-year students to sing a "rape chant" during university orientation. Not special to SMU students, these catchy rhymes and songs were meant to boost student spirit and focused on degrading women and promoting nonconsensual sex.

> "*Y is for your sister*
> *O is for oh so tight*
> *U is for underage*
> *N is for no consent*
> *G is for grab that ass*
> *SMU boys we like them young*!"
> ("Saint Mary's University Unveils," 2014; "Sexist Frosh Chant," 2013; Tamburri & Samson, 2014)

A short four months later, in January 2014, members of the SMU football team (the Huskies) were caught tweeting hate, racism, and sexism online (Jeffrey, 2014a). Despite being "outed," some players continued to tweet messages including this one: "That bitch bit me last night. Hope your [*sic*] dead in a ditch, you are scum" ("Saint Mary's Athletes," 2014). Also, "Cut your face off

and wear it while I'm fucking your mother" and "See a girl who's feeling down? Feel her up" (Wong, 2014). And "b**tch get on yo knees" (Thomson, 2014). Another was a retweet from another twitter account: "School is like a boner. It's long and hard unless you're Asian" (Wong, 2014). Media reports say the university reacted by suspending between six and ten players from the team, but not from the university (Jeffrey, 2014a; Thomson, 2014).

This chapter focuses on the culture that led to the infamous rape chant and other events at Saint Mary's University. It puts forward the idea that the norms operating in the male-dominated discipline of business along with a culture of heavy drinking contributed to the rape chant. This chapter situates the discussion by taking a historic look at events in the male-dominated discipline of engineering at Canadian universities—once renowned for creating a misogynist climate on campus. In doing so, the chapter demonstrates that yesterday's engineering students seem to have passed the misogynist baton to today's business school students. Of course, there is no denying that sports teams played a role in the mistreatment of women, but that will be dealt with in another chapter in this book (see Fogel's "Precarious Masculinity and Rape Culture in Canadian University Sport").

More than three years have passed since the infamous rape chant at SMU. In order to explain what happened at SMU, two things need to be understood. First—the chants, the hazing, and the sexist behaviour occur at many universities across Canada, in the United Kingdom, and in the United States (Barness 2014; Bates, 2014; National Union of Students, 2013). Second, these events grow out of a history and pattern that is contemporary yet decades old.

SMU's rape chant is not necessarily the worst example of sexist behaviour. For example, Dalhousie, the Maritimes' largest university, also in Halifax, received national attention when the Class of DDS 2015 Gentlemen, a Facebook page set up by 13 male dental students, posted misogynist comments and threats against women students (Backhouse, McRae, & Iyer, 2015). We have all heard about sexism and misogyny on campuses across Canada and the United States. Every autumn the media gets wind of rape chants, initiation rites, underage drinking, cruel party games, and sexual assault and splashes the news across the front pages. The articles are sometimes accompanied by the warning that four out of five female students will become victims of violence in a dating relationship while at university and that one woman in five will be sexually assaulted during her four years of university (Canadian Federation of Students, 2015). I am writing about SMU because I teach at the university and have witnessed much of what has gone on.

But that is not the only reason I am writing about the rape chant and the football tweets at Saint Mary's University. I became a university business school professor at the age of 50. Before that time, I was a successful freelance writer

and filmmaker. My "beat" was social justice—or rather injustice. Over the years I have been involved in many activities, including strike support, backing civil liberties cases, and working against social inequality, to name a few. I serve as the Nova Scotia chair of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, a left-of-centre think tank. Even after becoming an academic, I worked on behalf of many individuals to assist them with problems in employment and issues of human rights and to expose lack of equal opportunity dealt to women and minorities in our country. Part of my life continues in the role of activist and civil libertarian, and it is from this perspective that I write this reflective chapter. I deliberately draw on sources that are reliable but rarely cited by academics. These sources lend an immediacy and an alternative flavour to the subject of sexual assault on Canadian university campuses.

I start the chapter by reviewing recent data from other universities, followed by a brief discussion of rape culture. I then link historical events such as the Godiva ride and the Montreal Massacre to misogyny in the male-dominated discipline of engineering so that the examination of what took place at SMU can be set against the historic backdrop of rape culture at universities. The chapter addresses the culture at SMU, the administration's response to the crises that occurred, and my own response to the crises: a button campaign to challenge rape culture.

THE CULTURE OF RAPE: A BROADER CONTEXT

In February 2015, a *CBC News* investigation looked at the last five years of sexual assaults on campuses across the country (Sawa &Ward, 2015). The CBC found that from 2009 to 2014, more than 700 sexual assaults were reported to Canadian universities and colleges. While Toronto's Ryerson University (with nearly 24,000 students) had more reports of sexual assault than any of the 87 institutions contacted, small Acadia University in Wolfville, Nova Scotia, had the highest rate of sexual assault—when adjusted for student population. Clearly, there could have been problems with the CBC's methodology (most noteworthy is the voluntary nature of the institutions' inclusion in the sample), but at least it made efforts in the right direction.

In autumn 2014, the University of Ottawa was in the spotlight as the first university in Canada to conduct a survey of its students on their experiences of harassment (UofO, 2015) The survey revealed that 44% of female students experienced some form of sexual violence or unwanted sexual touching. More than 52% of women students found themselves harassed or threatened because of what they posted online. Yet the *CBC News* investigation found that over five years, only ten students reported an assault at the University of Ottawa (Sawa & Ward, 2015). The discrepancy is explained, at least in part, by virtue

of the underreporting of sexual violence: less than 10% of sexual assaults are reported (Brennan & Taylor-Butts, 2008; Sinha, 2013).

For years, men (and women) equivocated about what to call sexual violence against women—spoken, threatened, or executed. Rape was not classified as "culture." Rape was an individual action such as an assault, an attack, sexual violence. It was a result of male aggression. Elsewhere in this book there are other definitions of rape culture, but this chapter defines it in 16 succinct words: "It is a complex of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women" (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005, p. xi).

Melissa McEwan, a feminist blogger on the site Shakesville, posted "Rape Culture 101" (2009). She lists many well-worn notions that our society puts forward to excuse sexual assault, including the premise that "boys will be boys," a sort of "jocular apologia" for rapists; that only certain people rape; that only certain people get raped (one in six women will be sexually assaulted in their lifetimes); and that rape may be viewed as a compliment. In other words, a man could rape a woman if she was sufficiently attractive. She also sums up the lengths women must go to in order to prevent being victimized by men. The list strikes home to women on or off campus:

> Rape culture is not even talking about the reality that many women are sexually assaulted multiple times in their lives. Rape culture is the way in which the constant threat of sexual assault affects women's daily movements. Rape culture is telling girls and women to be careful about what you wear, how you wear it, how you carry yourself, where you walk, when you walk there, with whom you walk, whom you trust, what you do, where you do it, with whom you do it, what you drink, how much you drink, whether you make eye contact, if you're alone, if you're with a stranger, if you're in a group, if you're in a group of strangers, if it's dark, if the area is unfamiliar, if you're carrying something, how you carry it, what kind of shoes you're wearing in case you have to run, what kind of purse you carry … to get a roommate, to take self-defense, to always be alert, always pay attention, always watch your back always be aware of your surroundings and never let your guard down for a moment lest you be sexually assaulted and if you are and didn't follow all the rules *it's your fault.* (McEwan, 2009, para. 10)

Despite this daunting task list, many women still feel they must adhere to it—or feel guilty and responsible for letting down their guard. The strategy for women who want to be safe is to always be aware, always be on their toes, never trust a man, and never take chances. This is the cautious, individual response to rape culture. Is there something wrong with being cautious? No, of course not. But every time a woman has to be cautious to be safe, it underscores men's privilege. Men rarely have to exercise caution in their daily activities.

A new study of more than 900 first-year female students at three Canadian universities shows that when the young women receive training in avoiding sexually compromising situations and resisting sexual attacks, their risk of rape decreases dramatically (Senn et al., 2015). A control group of half the participants in the study received a 12-hour training session in which they learned to refuse offers of a car ride home after drinking and to slap away a man's hand when groped in a bar. The other half who did not take the training received only the standard brochures that warn of sexual assault. At the end of the year, there were 23 rapes in the group that received the training and 42 in the one that received the brochures.

Though some have praised the training for demonstrating that young women do not have to be "helpless and vulnerable" ("Sexual-Assault Prevention," 2015), one wonders where men's responsibilities lie. As the quotation by McEwan (2009) demonstrates, women have been trained to be full of self-doubt and polite when dealing with potential attackers. Building women's self-esteem is always a useful first step. But women are fighting a systemic battle, in which institutions such as universities systemically deny that rape and sexual attacks go on, and frequently excuse men on campus who do it (Krakauer, 2015).

Terrence Crowley, who was trained in a U.S. social movement called Men Stopping Violence, wrote about his personal responsibility in stopping rape (Crowley, 2011). He believed his master's degree in psychology trained him to be sympathetic and useful in helping women. But what he still had to learn was different. The training he received showed him he had to be accountable and answerable to women, something he had never thought about before. If he denied or brushed over his male privilege, Crowley understood he was helping to keep rape culture in place. As he explains, "as a man, I accrue privilege simply by remaining silent, accepting this legacy, and saying nothing about its cost in terms of women's lives" (Crowley, 2011).

What is the institutional strategy to combat rape culture? It is not usually a legal strategy—or else a large number of male university students (plus some male faculty members) would be routinely arrested. It is not a policy- or program-based strategy, because of the more than 100 universities across Canada, fewer than 10 have sexual assault policies (Browne, 2014). Where there are policies on paper, do those policies effectively shut down rape culture? There does not seem to be evidence of that. Then what is it that perpetuates rape culture on campus—how can it be, when women are more than half of undergraduate and master's students, when women account for 41.5% of university professors (Canadian Association of University Teachers, 2015)? Clearly, the answer is located in a very different place, as the historical tour in the next section demonstrates.

HISTORICAL DIMENSIONS OF MISOGYNY IN MALE-DOMINATED DISCIPLINES

On the wall in my office is a copy of a painting of Lady Godiva, by the British pre-Raphaelite artist John Collier. Painted at the end of the 1800s, the picture depicts a beautiful, dark-haired young woman riding on a white horse through a street in medieval Coventry, England, in approximately AD 1050. Legend has it that the peasants on the Earl of Mercia's estates near Coventry could no longer afford to pay the high taxes demanded by Lord Leofric (Coe, 2003). The peasants asked Godiva, Leofric's wife, to intercede. The lord agreed to lower the taxes on the condition that Godiva ride naked through the busy town marketplace. She did—the painting shows her in profile, her long hair covering all but her legs.

Fast-forward 900 years to the mid-20th century. In the 1980s, women students at many Canadian university campuses with engineering schools witnessed the Lady Godiva ride. For example, at the University of Saskatchewan, engineering students paraded a half-clothed woman on horseback around the centre of the campus (Drolet, 2011; University of Saskatchewan, n.d.). At the University of British Columbia, up to 1990, a naked woman cloaked in an academic robe sat on a horse that was led through the campus—to howls of engineering students (Banham, 1981).

On December 6, 1989, 14 women engineering students were massacred at l'École Polytechnique in Montreal. Twenty-five-year-old, unemployed Marc Lépine gunned down the women before taking his own life. A short time later, police discovered a letter from Lépine stating he "hated feminists" (Diebel, 2014). Lépine had also kept an "annex," a written list of 19 "radical feminists" (his words) whom he planned to kill. The list included names of women journalists, politicians, and even a police officer. In his suicide note, Lépine wrote that he wanted to "send the feminists who have always ruined my life to their maker" (Eglin & Hester, 1999, p. 256).

Across Canada the night of the massacre in Montreal, thousands of women (and some men) honoured the murdered women by protesting violence against women. I attended a candlelight vigil at the University of Saskatchewan. Despite Lépine's suicide note, the majority of journalists and politicians insisted the killer was simply mentally ill (Eglin & Hester, 1999, p. 258; Grey, 2011).

February 1990, barely two months later, engineering week was celebrated at universities across Canada. CBC-TV's national news program *Sunday Report* (Webb, 1990) produced a three-minute news item about the Godiva ride, in the wake of the Montreal Massacre. Reporter Karen Webb (1990) conceded that because 3% of professional engineers were women, and only 10% of engineering students were female, sexism might play a role in the Godiva ride.

Webb interviewed the University of British Columbia's engineering student council president, who wanted to maintain the tradition of the Godiva ride on campus. He lamented the loss of a school ritual and good fun, if the ride were to be cancelled. At the University of Saskatchewan, Webb interviewed one male engineering student who said nothing needed to change as the Godiva ride would die out eventually.

The engineering students interviewed did not want to link the Godiva ride to the Montreal Massacre. Journalist Karen Webb was, like many of her male colleagues, ambivalent about what drove Lépine (Grey, 2014). However, Webb (1990) ended her TV report by suggesting that he was less than sane: "Many engineering students say that they resent being put under a microscope just because a madman chose women in their faculty as his targets."

While many in the mainstream media called Lépine a madman (but interestingly, never a terrorist, as they might have done today), Canadian feminists saw that something more sinister and more systemic had happened (Page, 2014).

Leading Quebec journalist Francine Pelletier, whose name appeared on Lépine's "annex" of feminists, claimed that the massacre was a political act (Pelletier, 2014). According to her, it was not simply about women but rather about women who were threatening men's power by entering male professions: "If he had wanted to target women, he would have gone to a nursing school. He was targeting women who had the audacity to want to do a man's job" (quoted in Rebick, 2009, para. 6; see also Alam, 2014).

The registrar at l'École Polytechnique confirmed this years later when asked why Marc Lépine had never been admitted to the school, despite having applied twice: "I was surprised by the way he spoke about women, about how they were taking over the job market. He thought there was something wrong with that" (Gagné & Lépine, 2008, p. 171).

Sea change?

It could be said that the Montreal Massacre ended the Godiva rides. In the 1990s, across Canada, engineering school students returned to doing other practical jokes, such as dangling Volkswagen Beetle cars from the Golden Gate Bridge (Rosenfeld, 2014). At the same time, more women started to enter professions such as law, pharmacy, and medicine (Canadian Press, 2013b; Turcotte, 2013). The numbers of women entering engineering school edged up, though they fared less well than at other professional schools. Recent Canadian statistics collected by Engineers Canada (2013, p. 22) reveal that women are fewer than 18% of total undergraduate engineering school enrolments, with a similar percentage in Nova Scotia universities. That number has not increased appreciably in 20 years (Presse, 2014).

In the 1990s, at the same time that more women started to enter the professional schools such as law, medicine, and dentistry, they also entered university business schools (Canadian Press, 2013b). Women became a prime focus for recruitment (Gellman, 2015; Moneo, 2014). Suddenly, enrolment at business schools boomed. It started with the post-graduate master of business administration (MBA) degree designed for students who wanted "specialized training in the functions of business" (Mintzberg, 2004, p. 5). By 2010 women were at least half of all business school students at Canadian universities, and just about half of students in MBA and business school PhD programs (AUCC, 2011). But, is an increased number of women enough to affect rape culture? The recent events at SMU suggest not, as discussed in the next section.

SEXISM AT SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY

Sexism and misogyny at SMU predates the rape chant scandal. At the end of 2004, 24-year-old commerce student Paul Pedersen, as part of an entrepreneurship class assignment, published the 2005 Halifax University Girls Calendar (Pedersen, 2005). The calendar featured SMU women students, some in provocative poses and others in bikinis or sexy outfits. For example, Ms. February was Jackie, a third-year student dressed in a tight purple sweater and high heels who suggestively pulled down the edge of her white stretchy underpants in her photo. Pedersen sold nearly 500 copies of the calendar in the last few days of classes before the Christmas break (Gillis, 2005). He proudly admitted that he got an A on the assignment because he had started with $10 from his own pocket (Ozano, 2005) and made close to $4000 (Gillis, 2004; Power, 2005).

Sally Whitman, in a front-page article about the calendar in the SMU student newspaper *The Journal*, wrote,

> Has there been no consideration by the faculty and administration as to what this calendar suggests to the men and women attending this school? Or what it suggests to those looking to come here? … It suggests to me that women, even though making up roughly half of the university students these days, are not given the respect and equality of citizenship that they have fought so long for. (2004)

Due to complaints from some members of the faculty, students, and the SMU Women's Centre, Pedersen wasn't allowed to sell the calendar on campus in the new term starting January, which prompted his response, "The main problem with university is a lot of times a lot of the stuff that's taught isn't really practical. With something like this, the good thing about it was everyone involved got a taste of doing something that you can't learn in a classroom"

(Gillis, 2005). Pedersen agreed to change the calendar name from The Girls of Saint Mary's to the Halifax University Girls Calendar, so as not to refer to SMU directly (Gillis, 2004).

Fast-forward eight years to 2012: walking across the quadrangle at SMU, on a cheery September morning in the first week of school, I noticed two women students standing on a picnic table dancing. The first thing I saw was their short skirts, and then I saw their shin pads and sneakers. A gaggle of other young women stood watching, all similarly dressed. As I got closer, I heard the two dancing on the table shout out, "Fuck you!" to anyone within earshot.

It was a busy day, with students rushing by carrying teetering piles of textbooks and overstuffed backpacks. A daycare teacher shepherded six preschoolers, clinging to a skipping rope so as not to get lost, past the chanters. The "fuck you" became more rhythmic and louder.

When I reached the picnic table, I stopped. "What are you doing?" I must have sounded angry. Suddenly a white male student appeared. "We're not doing anything wrong," he told me. "We have a right to do this." "Who are you?" I asked. One woman answered, "This is the initiation for the women's soccer." The young man claimed he was the assistant coach of the SMU women's soccer team. He told me it was the "girls' right" to participate and it was "none of my business." Several of the young women loudly insisted they "wanted" to do this.

I told the two to get down from the table; it was dangerous. I also said hazing was not allowed. "This isn't hazing," said the young man aggressively. "Initiation is not hazing. We can do this." The two women stopped chanting as they watched me go into the Loyola building, but as the door closed after me, I heard them start the drill again. It shocked me that a male student was organizing it; it surprised me that the women went along. I sent an email of complaint to the director of athletics, an email to the person in charge of student services, and an email to the university's conflict resolution officer. I heard that a couple of other faculty members and one person from the administration had complained too.

A few days later I got an email from the woman assistant coach of the women's soccer team. She wanted to meet with me at my office to try to explain what had happened. The coach was an attractive fourth-year political science student. She apologized and said she didn't mean for me or any other faculty person to see the initiation ritual—it was nothing more, she stressed. The young woman said she came to see me merely to deliver an apology for "any offence caused." Within three minutes she had left my office. A day or two later I received a generic "I'm sorry" email from her on behalf of the team. The perfunctory, lacklustre response by those receiving my complaint sowed the seeds of my button campaign, which I describe later in the chapter.

Frosh week 2013.

At least one SMU student took a cellphone video of first-year orientation activities showing students and their student leaders singing and clapping a spirited chant condoning rape and nonconsensual sex. The video was uploaded to social media and went viral ("Sexist Frosh Chant," 2013; Sullivan, 2013).

Also at the orientation, hundreds of students chanted and sang words such as "No means yes, and yes means anal" (Lostracco, Ward, & Colbourne, 2014). Some thought this event was harmless "lad culture." Others saw it as a sign of a rape culture at the university, a culture fanned by the goings-on at fraternity or sports team house parties where it was usual to have drinking and sex. The media reported that hundreds of first-year students and the 80-plus frosh leaders, recruited and trained by the Saint Mary's University Students' Association (SMUSA), were shouting the offensive words (Bousquet, 2013; Mann, 2013).

These chants have been used across Canada on many campuses (Sullivan, 2013). However, chanting about the "benefits" of rape and nonconsensual sex at this time seemed rawer for people, especially in Halifax. This is because only six months before, 17-year-old Rehtaeh Parsons had taken her own life after a naked and sexually exploitative photo of her appeared on the Internet (Kingston, 2015). The photo showed one youth appearing to have intercourse with an underage, very drunk Parsons at a party. On a phone-in radio program in the aftermath of Parsons' death, a caller said, "It's not rape if she's asleep (or drunk)." The issue about whether or not Parsons had consented to the photo being taken in the first place remain unanswered. Clearly, she never expected it to be posted publicly. Still, the family and the broader community have been left with a damning photo and the tragic and senseless death of a child.

This was also the summer of the blockbuster YouTube video of Robin Thicke performing "Blurred Lines," a hit tune that emphasizes nonconsensual sex. Some DJs called it "the hottest song of the summer" (Trust, 2013). Feminists in Halifax made their own parody of the song, "Ask First," by inventing new lyrics about consensual sex being sexy (Burnet & Trace, n.d.; Grant, 2013). Consent became a serious topic.

During classes that fall, female students sat quietly or teared up when I raised the issue of the rape chant in class. Excuses from both sexes came quickly: "They didn't know what they were chanting," "They said it to be part of a group and to have a little fun," "It's what happens when there is too much to drink." The vice-president academic and research at SMU warned some faculty members not to raise the situation in class because it could inspire bullying and harassment:

> My office has been receiving reports of harassment and bullying behaviour directed against students alleged to have been involved in the chant incident

> that occurred during Orientation Week. Some of these reports refer to harassment and bullying from other students, *but have included reference to unnamed faculty members* at Saint Mary's University. (D. Gauthier, personal communication, September 10, 2013, author's emphasis)

The media had a field day. The local papers and the national media drew attention to SMU and other campuses where the rape chants happened ("UBC Promises," 2013). Saint Mary's decided to take action, though predictably, control of the message rested with SMU's president.

The SMU President's Council and SMUSA.

In September 2013, just after the news came out about the rape chant, SMU president J. Colin Dodds established the independent President's Council, which was "charged to provide recommendations to the President to foster a cultural change that prevents sexualized violence, and inspires respectful behaviour and a safe learning environment within the Saint Mary's Community" (President's Council, 2013, p.16). He named six faculty, administrative, and community people, plus four students, to the committee. Its chair was Wayne MacKay, a professor at the Schulich School of Law at Dalhousie University and former director of the Nova Scotia Human Rights Commission (Schulich School of Law, n.d.). In the SMU President Council's report, *Promoting a Culture of Safety, Respect and Consent at Saint Mary's University and Beyond*, the council made 20 recommendations, which were thoughtful attempts to change the culture at the university (President's Council, 2013).

Recommendations included increasing students' understanding of consent, promoting a culture of equity on campus, and gathering data to shed light on sexual assault and other issues (President's Council, 2013). At the same time, the council acknowledged the most difficult task for them was to try to change the culture and addressed two major pressures. The first was the problem of excessive student drinking. The report noted that the "vast majority of sexual assault cases involve alcohol," and further that women, who are more "vulnerable to … alcohol" than men, face greater danger of sexual assault when drinking excessively (President's Council, 2013, p. 22). Second, there was the problem of varsity sports teams, which encourage "pro-sexual violence … and a culture that promotes, or at least does not discourage, sexualized violence" (President's Council, 2013, pp. 35–36). In terms of male varsity sports teams, the report cites three factors that establish a "'rape-supportive culture' [including] sex segregation, tolerance for violence and male dominance" (President's Council, 2013, p. 35).

The SMU President's Council report was followed by the appointment of an "Action Team" tasked to implement the recommendations. In December

2014, the *Update from the President's Council Action Team* (President's Council Action Team, 2014) revealed which tasks, or recommendations, had been completed. These included revising SMU's sexual assault policy, developing a university-wide code of conduct, gathering data on the problem of sexual assaults on campus, and reclaiming and redesigning orientation week, now renamed welcome week (President's Council Action Team, 2014, p. 5).

Orientation week, which used to be organized by SMUSA, was now taken over by the SMU administration (J. Patriquin, personal communication, March 31, 2015). This was a slap in the face to SMUSA. As James Patriquin, former SMUSA president (2014–2015) notes, the biggest change he saw had to do with the newly titled welcome week: it was "as if someone's parents were trying to plan an event. SMUSA was diminished, we had two seats on a committee of 30 people" (J. Patriquin, personal communication, March 31, 2015). SMUSA had also taken steps to change the culture on campus. Patriquin recalls,

> Right after the chant we had a society expo,[1] and people were afraid to stand with SMUSA shirts though some students were supportive. I had profs [all men] come up and say I was disgusting, that I should resign, sharp criticisms on social media, death threats—we were disgusting. It was unfortunate. (J. Patriquin, personal communication, March 31, 2015)

Patriquin maintains that SMUSA did not get the recognition it deserved for a series of initiatives to change the culture at SMU in the wake of the rape chant debacle. Patriquin says that SMUSA has appointed its first student equity officer,[2] who campaigns for Indigenous students and hosts workshops with Mi'kmaq elders. In addition, SMUSA has provided bystander training[3] to more than 200 students, including varsity athletes, the athletic councils, and the student bar's bouncers, as recommended by the President's Council report. SMUSA also commissioned two reports on student safety, as well as a campaign called More than Yes, which promotes a better understanding of consent (J. Patriquin, personal communication, March 31, 2015).

By January 2014, the buzz had died down. In the third week of January, news broke on UNews.ca, a website staffed by senior students in the journalism program at the University of King's College in Halifax (Lostracco et al., 2014). Members of the SMU Huskies football team were tweeting messages that were hateful and misogynist, such as "bitch get on yo knees," "See a girl who's feeling down? Feel her up," and "No means yes and yes means anal" (Lostracco et al., 2014).

The director of athletics and recreation at SMU, David Murphy, insisted he couldn't be responsible for what the team members did in their spare time; he was not monitoring their tweets. He admitted, "I'm falling behind in my due

diligence and my ability to teach these kids. Maybe that's a breakdown in the communication. You have an older person who is not savvy to all that … you have to be very, very careful with social media" ("Saint Mary's Athletes," 2014).

Up to ten members of the team were suspended, and Murphy resigned early from his contract with the university ("David Murphy Steps Down," 2014). The footballers were suspended from practice, but it was the dead of winter and there were no games scheduled for months. Also, the suspensions did not affect the students' academic studies. Many in the Halifax university community found this too little, too late, especially in comparison to what had happened to the women's hockey team at Dalhousie University a year before.

In December 2012, Dalhousie University president Tom Traves suspended most of the members of the Dalhousie women's hockey team, which meant they forfeited playing for a year (Canadian Press, 2013a). This was after the media reported on a sexist and anti-lesbian hazing ritual (Taber, 2013) and "cases of intimidation, excessive drinking, personal disrespect, humiliation—in short, bullying" (Dhillon, 2013, para. 3). In light of the action taken by Dalhousie, a term's suspension for the SMU team did not seem too serious.

The button campaign.

The football tweets at SMU in February 2014 were a significant catalyst for the step I took towards changing the culture at the university. I borrowed a button-making machine and began to make buttons that read, "I'm at SMU, and I'm against Sexism." Another one said, "I'm at SMU, and I'm against Racism," and the third one read, "I'm at SMU and I'm against Homophobia." That night my husband (also a professor at SMU) and I made about 100 buttons.

I soon realized it would take hours to churn out the numbers we needed. I contracted making the buttons to a novelty firm, which quickly couriered 500 buttons. Meanwhile, my husband and I were giving out what we had made in all the high-student-traffic areas on campus. Most young people cheerily took them and some politely declined; others were not so polite. Some professors and support staff began to wear them. Then people off campus started to wear them.

Encouraged, I asked my union, the SMU Faculty Union (SMUFU), if they would help pay for the next order. In an email, they flatly refused.

> The Union Executive has considered your request for financial support for the button campaign you initiated recently. We appreciate the fact that you are making an effort to make a difference on our campus. However, we have decided not to participate in this particular campaign. We are not opposed to members wearing your buttons should they so wish, but we would like to tackle the issue by communicating our concerns to the Administration

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> directly. We appreciate your having contacted us, and we invite you to keep the Union in mind with future ideas/concerns. (M. Lamoureux, private communication, February 12, 2014)

Marc Lamoureux, SMUFU president, writing on behalf of the executive, had the gall to tell me they would not *oppose* members wearing the button, *if they so chose!*[4] I was furious! The issue of sexual violence is so powerful, so brutal, and so common, yet it lies so deeply buried beneath the surface—especially for men with power. The executive of the union was almost all male, but even the women on the executive went along with the decision, which was never brought to a general membership meeting. The union clearly revelled in its role as supporter of the status quo—essentially, supporter of the university administration. During this whole time I heard not a word, and not one media outlet revealed any bumps in the friendly bond the administration had either with my union or with the students' association (as you'll see below). It was

clear the dominant culture at university spoke with one voice. In fact, my union commanded so little respect that not one member of the union's executive sat on the SMU President's Council, nor on the Action Team.

SMUSA, the students' association, was no better. After avoiding meetings with me, two members of the council executive looked at the buttons and complained that the yellow background and black type were Dalhousie University colours. They told me if I made buttons in SMU colours, they would *consider* helping to pay for them. I ordered another thousand in white letters with a maroon background—the SMU colours. I squeezed all the words onto one button: "I'm at SMU & I'm against Racism, Sexism & Homophobia." Still, SMUSA would have nothing to do with the buttons. I was more disappointed with the students' association than the faculty union, probably because I had hope that younger people would be more sensitive to sexual violence and more horrified by the rape chant than university profs who were older and less involved. But SMUSA was also infected with the culture at SMU—the association's then-president, Jared Perry, was a business school student.

In the wider community, when young people popped up around Halifax wearing the buttons, the media contacted me. I appeared with the buttons on the front page of the free newspaper *Metro*, and in a story without a photo, in *The Chronicle Herald* (Davenport, 2014; Jeffrey, 2014b).

The campaign was financially supported by the Nova Scotia Union of Public Employees (NSUPE), which represented 60 custodians and security people at Saint Mary's—the lowest-paid workers on campus—and by the Nova Scotia Public Interest Group (NSPIRG).[5] In the next couple of weeks, we distributed close to 1000 buttons. But, stubbornly, only a handful of students and even fewer fellow professors volunteered to help. I wondered why that was.

THE CULTURE AT SAINT MARY'S UNIVERSITY

The culture at SMU is not much different from that of other universities in the Maritimes, or even across Canada. It started as a Catholic boys' high school, and in 1970 became a fully co-ed university. With about 8000 students, SMU is the second-largest university in Nova Scotia ("About Saint Mary's," 2013, para. 7). I believe three phenomena have converged at Saint Mary's to open the door to sexism and misogyny: the pre-eminence of the business school, the sports culture, and the drinking culture.

Business school culture.

Today the Sobey School of Business at SMU is the largest business school east of Montreal (Sobey School of Business, 2015c) with 75 professors (Sobey School of Business, 2015b) and 3500 students (Sobey School of Business, 2015a). The problem with most business schools and business school education is

that they tend to focus on teaching students how to make profits and prop up the capitalist system. Lately, many business schools have been promoting an entrepreneurial culture (Baluja, 2014; Cid, 2013). In other words, the "business of business is business" (Marsden, 2002; Wladawsky-Berger, 2013). In business school there is little emphasis on the common good, group solutions, or questioning authority. Rather, thousands of business school students graduate from programs that are geared toward individual solutions and greediness (Marsden, 2002; Walker, 2009). "A menace to society," is what renowned Canadian business studies professor Henry Mintzberg calls business school–trained MBAs (Gutterplan, 2012, para. 4).

Business school education can contribute to a competitive and winner-take-all type of thinking, or the "pedagogy of the privileged" (Schumpeter, 2009). Privilege is often accorded to men in the dominant ethnic group (McIntosh, 2013)—but what about women? Women held only 15.9% of seats on corporate boards in Canada in 2013, which was 1.5% more than in 2011 (Catalyst Inc., 2013). In 2013, only 40% of boards had any women on them at all. Australia also has a dearth of women on boards; however, an industry group says chief executives "should be challenged for explanations and even have their pay cut if they fail to appoint women to senior positions" (Milman, 2013). But Canadian business, unlike its Australian counterpart, has taken little initiative. According to the Government of Canada's Advisory Council for Promoting Women on Boards (2014), the problem is not "supply side" but rather "demand side" in that there are plenty of women qualified and capable of being on boards or heading Crown corporations, but few are selected. Of course, nowhere in this report is there a mention of target figures or quotas, which are the first steps in changing the situation. The fact that women are still under-represented on boards and in public appointments demonstrates that business education's message to women students is, you probably won't make it to the top. Women are second rate.

Sports culture

SMU is known for its football team, the Huskies. Over a period of 20 years, the Huskies have won the Vanier Cup[6] twice (Canadian Interuniversity Sport, 2014). Football and other team sports are used as a major tool for student recruitment at SMU. However, the SMU President's Council report (2013) notes that widespread academic research suggests that male varsity team membership "may be consistent with pro-sexual violence attitudes and a culture that promotes, or at least does not discourage, sexualized violence" (p. 35). The report cites anthropologist Peggy Reeves-Sanday, who says that key elements of rape culture are "sex segregation, tolerance for violence and male dominance" (p. 35). A recent book, *Missoula*, by Jon Krakauer (2015) examines

this issue in depth, as does the next chapter in this collection. The established link between varsity sport and sexual violence is concerning because SMU has 13 varsity teams.

Drinking culture

Another point in the triangle at SMU is the students' tendency to abuse alcohol. Some would say that SMU has a drinking culture. Though not markedly different in this respect from other universities, drinking is allowed in the student residence rooms and at the Gorsebrook, the student bar on campus. The Gorsebrook is open most days from 11 a.m. until well after midnight. Saint Patrick's Day is a major celebration at SMU—and it is more or less accepted that many students take the day off classes, and take the next day to sober up. Alcohol is served and freely available at many functions and events.

The SMU President's Council report (2013) notes that "the vast majority of sexual assault cases involve alcohol" (p. 21). One estimate is that almost 90% of Canadian university students drink alcohol, while 32% report drinking heavily at least once a month; in Nova Scotia, 51% report drinking heavily at least once a month (Tamburri, 2012). Underage drinking is common: 77% of Canadians over age 15 report drinking in the last year and heavy drinking is common among 20- to 24-year-olds (President's Council, 2013, p. 21). Binge drinking by students is also part of their culture. Some young people now mix alcohol with heavily caffeinated energy drinks, which can lead to more "negative alcohol related consequences" (President's Council, 2013, p. 22) than using alcohol alone. As researchers Warkentin and Gidycz (2007) note, "when combined, the use of alcohol and/or drugs not only increases the likelihood of a sexual assault occurring but also works to decrease the perpetrator's feelings of responsibility" (pp. 830–831).

Still, excessive drinking remains a persistent problem, in part because policing is difficult. To combat this, SMUSA has committed to hosting more events with limited access to alcohol and even alcohol-free events (President's Council, 2013, p. 12). The President's Action Team has established an Alcohol Advisory Committee, which came out with an update from the President's Action Team in mid-2016 (President's Council Action Team, 2016, p. 9).

CONCLUSION

The incidents at SMU in September 2013 arose from a culture that seeks to privilege power that accompanies maleness over everything else. While the SMU President's Council, established in the wake of the incidents, was investigating how to change the culture at SMU, I started a button campaign to try to change the culture with buttons that read, "I'm at Saint Mary's University and I'm against Racism, Sexism and Homophobia." The buttons captured the

imagination of hundreds of students and the attention of the local media. However, SMUSA and my union, SMUFU, refused to support the initiative. Both groups insisted on waiting for the university to take action before doing anything.

At SMU there is a new level of awareness of the issue of sexual violence on campus. However, despite bystander training, lectures, and in-service courses and training, what has changed? And how can we tell? A lot of change seems to be driven by the media. Each time there is a new story, the administration sits up and takes some action. More action is driven by numbers; currently, SMU, like most Maritime universities, is facing a serious drop in enrolment over the coming years (Tamburri, 2014). This has pushed the universities to recruit more international students and initiate more graduate programs. At the Sobey School of Business, 50% of students are international students. We might hope that the drinking and the sports culture are not so attractive to the international students as they are to the home students.

Issues such as gender, race, and misogyny are endemic to all universities in Canada. Being organized and being vigilant are two ways forward.

NOTES

1 Society expo is an open forum in which campus clubs can recruit student members.
2 SMU's administration structure makes the director of human resources also wear the hat of equity officer.
3 "Bystander education programs teach potential witnesses safe and positive ways that they can act to prevent or intervene when there is a risk for sexual violence. This approach gives community members specific roles that they can use in preventing sexual violence" (New York State Dept. of Health, 2013, p. 3).
4 Full disclosure: I have been active in the union and a member of the executive for about ten years. I even served as union president from 2011 to 2012.
5 "The Nova Scotia Public Interest Research Group, or NSPIRG, … is a non-profit, non-partisan and non-governmental organization. Our mandate is to link research with action for social and environmental within an anti-oppressive framework" (NSPIRG, n.d.).
6 The Vanier Cup is the top award for Canadian inter-university football; see https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vanier_Cup.

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