The Intersectional Trajectories of Help-Seeking among Sexually Victimized College Men

by

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Abstract

Though victimized less than women and gender non-conforming individuals, college men are four to five times more likely to experience sexual assault than men who have not attended post-secondary (Forsman, 2017). Despite this increased risk, little is known about sexually assaulted college men's intersectional help-seeking trajectories. Help-seeking is essential to the survivor's healing journey, including whether symptoms are worsened or alleviated, yet sexually victimized men often delay or avoid connecting with informal and formal supports (Mennicke et al., 2022). Sexually assaulted college men's help-seeking tendencies are, therefore, a worthwhile focus. My dissertation evaluates how college men's gender privilege intersects with race, sexuality, and disability status to mobilize different pathways of informal and campus help-seeking following sexual victimization. I analyze 2019 data provided by the Association of American Universities (AAU), which surveyed students at 33 institutions across the United States about experiences of sexual assault. I use the theoretical lenses of intersectionality, masculinities theory, and the social ecological model of help-seeking to contextualize my results.

I first provide rates of college sexual assault (CSA) by gender, sexuality, race, and disability, followed by a descriptive analysis of the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men. I find that one in four women and transgender/gender non-conforming students, compared to one in fifteen college men, are sexually assaulted during their degree. Queer and disabled men experience higher rates of CSA than heterosexual or non-disabled men. Rates of CSA are slightly higher among other/multi-racial men; however, Asian men are less likely to report sexual assault than men of other

races. These results confirm that marginalized group membership increases risk of CSA. Interestingly, most college men in this sample are sexually assaulted by women; this is largely swayed by sexuality, where heterosexual men are most often assaulted by women, gay men by other men, and bisexual men by both men and women.

I then conduct a series of logistic regression models to analyze how race, sexuality, and disability predict different trajectories of informal and campus help-seeking among sexually victimized college men, as well as if help-seeking depends on the assault occurring within Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization of the assault, and perceptions of campus supports. Over half of sexually victimized college men are predicted to engage in informal help-seeking, versus one-third who are predicted to connect with campus resources. Disabled queer men of colour – especially disabled bisexual Asian men – appear to have greater odds of campus help-seeking than more privileged men, who have heightened odds of accessing informal supports. Greek housing and alcohol consumption increase odds of informal help-seeking, but able-bodied Black men with other sexualities (e.g., asexual) seem to be the least likely to access informal supports. Alcohol consumption and minimization decrease odds of campus support use, though disabled queer men of colour still appear to have higher odds than more privileged men. Greek housing, however, has no effect on campus help-seeking. Holding positive perceptions of campus support diminishes odds of campus help-seeking; this could be due to reverse causality, where accessing campus supports creates positive perceptions among the men who use them.

Preface

This thesis is an original work by Samantha Cima. This thesis received ethics approval from the University of Alberta Research Ethics Board, "Patterns of Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men", No. 00121994, August 2, 2023.

To my mom; thank you for your continuous love and encouragement

To my dad; thank you for your eternal guidance

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Chapter 1.   Introduction

College campuses are often regarded as safe enclaves within the community; however, students still face a wide array of victimization (Daigle et al., 2019). Of growing concern for institutions, policymakers, and academics is sexual violence and victimization on campuses. Indeed, because of the high occurrence of college sexual assault (CSA), campuses are often referred to as "hunting grounds" for potential victims (popularized by "The Hunting Grounds" documentary; Dick, 2015). For example, among American undergraduate students, approximately 29% of transgender people, 25% of cisgender women, and 7% of cisgender men are sexually assaulted while pursuing their degree (Cantor et al., 2020).

Sexual victimization is associated with a variety of adverse psychosocial experiences, such as the development or worsening of psychological disorders (e.g., depression, anxiety; Backhaus et al., 2021; Maffini & Dillard, 2022), shame and self-blame (Ford, 2021; Walker et al., 2005), and withdrawal from social interactions (Rothman et al., 2021). College students may also face additional negative consequences regarding their studies, including decreased ability to concentrate in class, lowered grade point average, or dropping out of classes entirely (Kaufman et al., 2019; Molstad et al., 2023). For students at commuter colleges – where students travel to school for classes rather than living on campus – or students who move to a new town for their education, social supports to counteract the potential negative symptomatology may be even more limited. Research has demonstrated the crucial role both informal (e.g., friends, family) and formal (e.g., counselling, victim services) supports have on CSA survivors' recovery trajectories, including whether negative symptomatology is alleviated or exacerbated (Dundas et al., 2021). Further, delayed or nonexistent informal or formal help-seeking can worsen any symptoms and prolong the recovery process for CSA

survivors (Masho & Alvanzo, 2010). As such, scholarship has been dedicated to analyzing the institutional responses and programs available, as well as the different help-seeking pathways and barriers for CSA survivors.

Much of the literature on sexually victimized college students' help-seeking focuses on women and gender non-conforming people, as the genders and gender modalities most frequently affected by sexual violence (e.g., Backhaus et al., 2021; Bedera et al., 2023). That said, sexually assaulted college men are especially likely to delay or avoid help-seeking (Mennicke et al., 2022), as well as frequently experience (or fear) victim blaming and other deleterious responses from informal and formal supports, both of which can intensify adverse psychosocial consequences (Jackson et al., 2017). College men are also four to five times more likely to experience sexual violence than men who have not attended higher education (Forsman, 2017), risk of which further increases for queer, disabled, and non-white men (Brown et al., 2017; Coulter et al., 2017). This introduces a large demographic of CSA survivors whose help-seeking pathways have not received much attention within the literature.

The goal of my dissertation is to first establish an intersectional understanding of CSA among different genders, sexualities, races, and disability statuses, as well as the circumstances surrounding college men's sexual victimization. I then examine how race, sexuality, and disability intersect to shape sexually victimized college men's informal and campus help-seeking pathways. I choose to also analyze whether informal and campus help-seeking depends on the victimization occurring within Greek housing (fraternity or sorority), alcohol consumption, minimization of the sexual assault (e.g., believing their assault is "not a big deal"), and perceptions of campus support. While the focus of my dissertation is on college men and their help-seeking behaviours, much of what is considered throughout, such

as psychosocial consequences and rape culture, are applicable to people of other genders who experience CSA.

The help-seeking trajectories and barriers may differ among sexually victimized college men than students of other genders for a variety of reasons. Institutionally, research has demonstrated that much of the resources and policies in place are rarely culturally specific or attuned to intersectional inequalities; rather, such responses largely centre the white, heterosexual, cisgender woman (Harris, 2020). College men may be skeptical of whether these resources are appropriate for them; as well, they may experience victim blaming when reaching out, which may be enhanced with marginalized group membership (e.g., queer, disabled, or men of colour) (Gagnier et al., 2017). Rape myth acceptance is also rampant on campuses, with college students more readily accepting male rape myths (e.g., "real men" can fight back) than female rape myths (Hahn et al., 2020; Turchik, 2012). The reproduction (and internalization) of rape myths further increases risks of negative responses, as well as the likelihood the survivor delays or avoids help-seeking (Donne et al., 2018). As rape myths are intertwined with heteropatriarchy and white supremacy, help-seeking may be more precarious for queer men of colour, due to myths of hypermasculinity and hypersexuality (Curry, 2019).

Masculine pressures and constraints may also motivate different engagement with informal and formal supports among sexually victimized college men. Sexually assaulted men often report severe masculinity and sexuality conflicts and self-blame due to hegemonic masculine expectations of impenetrability, autonomy, and (sexual) dominance culturally required of men (Tewksbury, 2007). These masculine pressures can complicate the survivor's problem definition and recognition (e.g., if the sexual assault is labelled as such, or as consensual sexual contact), as well as induce anxiety about coming forward with allegations of sexual assault for fear of emasculation and/or disbelief (Connell, 2005; Liang et al., 2005;

Ralston, 2020). Such masculine constraints can filter into college men's decision to engage in help-seeking, including whether informal or campus supports are chosen or if the survivor avoids help-seeking altogether (Hlavka, 2016; Mushonga et al., 2021).

I therefore first hypothesize that once the decision to seek support is made, college men are more likely to access informal resources than campus-affiliated programs. Research has demonstrated that college students connect with informal supports much more often than campus resources to process the aftermath of sexual victimization (Holland et al., 2021a). For marginalized students, such as racial and/or sexual minorities, however, informal help-seeking can be a risky endeavour (Bedera et al., 2023). Therefore, I also hypothesize that marginalized college men are less likely to partake in informal help-seeking than their more privileged counterparts.

Greek culture, as it is largely associated with binge drinking, hypermasculinity, and hookups, may facilitate the normalization of sexual violence and victimization, including of men (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2020). Research has discovered that when sexual assault takes place at Greek parties, students are significantly less likely to label their experiences as sexual violence (Boyle & Walker, 2016). Similarly, survivors who consume alcohol are less likely to define the situation as sexual assault and are more likely to blame themselves (Kilpatrick et al., 2007). This blurring of consent and difficulties labelling sexual assault can diminish the likelihood of help-seeking. I hypothesize that college men whose victimization occurs within Greek housing, as well as those men who consume alcohol at the time of their victimization, will be less likely to engage in informal and campus help-seeking, with worsened odds for marginalized men.

The more students minimize their sexual assault, believing it is not a big deal or it did not impact them, the less likely these students are to seek informal and formal supports

(Holland et al., 2021b). The likelihood of minimization may be influenced by cultural factors; for example, disabled college men may feel more pressure to continually prove their strength, which may provoke greater tendencies of minimization and diminished odds of help-seeking (Robertson et al., 2020). Thus, I hypothesize college men who minimize their sexual victimization are less likely to partake in campus help-seeking, with worsened odds for marginalized men. Lastly, the perceptions college men hold about the supports available may also have an important role on help-seeking intentions. If college men hold negative opinions about the capacity of institutional responses to effectively support their needs – which could be amplified due to the structural inequalities (e.g., white supremacy) reproduced within academia – then the odds of accessing these resources is subsequently lowered (Mushonga et al., 2021). Therefore, I also hypothesize that college men with negative perceptions of supports are less likely to access campus programs, with diminished odds for marginalized men.

Help-seeking within my dissertation refers to the use of either informal and/or campus resources as a form of disclosure and support following sexual victimization. Informal help-seeking, therefore, signifies the use of interpersonal connections (e.g., family, friends), whereas campus help-seeking is limited to the use of campus-offered programs (e.g., Title IX offices, counseling). The type of support selected is only one step in the help-seeking process; the help-seeking journey also includes the survivor's processing of the event (problem identification and definition) and the decision to access support (Liang et al., 2005). I predominately use the term survivor over victim to refer to those affected by sexual violence. The victim label typically centres around passivity, weakness, and powerlessness; the survivor label, conversely, is seen as more active, strong, and resilient (Boyle & Rogers, 2020). Research has illustrated that the victim identity is associated with more negative

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psychological and emotional states than acquiring a survivor identity, with the victim identity being especially destructive for men (Boyle & Roges, 2020). Hence, I choose the survivor label, but will sporadically use victim or victim/survivor, to reflect the range of how individuals may identify following experiences of CSA.

Throughout my dissertation, I opt for the gendered language of men and women, but will occasionally use male or female, to refer to cisgender men and women. Since the survey data I use provided by the Association of American Universities (AAU) has collapsed transgender men and women together, I am unable to include individuals who identify as men – regardless of sex assignment at birth – within the gendered category of 'man/male.' That said, the masculine constraints and pressures discussed are often felt by transgender men in their journey to secure their masculinity, the precarity of which may be amplified based on their racial, sexuality, and disability group membership (Abelson, 2014). I use gender non-conforming as an umbrella term to encompass transgender, Two-Spirited, genderqueer, genderfluid, nonbinary, and gender questioning individuals. I also use the term queer as another umbrella term to represent the diversity of non-heterosexual sexualities, such as homosexual, bisexual, asexual, or questioning.

The heightened risk of sexual victimization as a college student is common within democratic societies, such as the United States (U.S.), Canada, and the United Kingdom (Daigle et al., 2019; Phipps & Smith, 2012). In response to this policy concern, the U.S. collects national data regarding college students' experiences of CSA and campus culture (AAU, 2019). Canada does not currently collect national-level data, though some provinces institute provincially wide surveys (e.g., Leger, 2023). Further, CSA rates are slightly higher in the U.S. than these other countries. For example, one in seven Canadian women and one in 20 Canadian men experience CSA during their degree (Burczycka, 2020), compared to one in

four American women and one in 15 American men (Cantor et al., 2020). For these reasons, I concentrate my analysis on the U.S.

College enrollment within the U.S. has seen a subtle decline in recent years, with enrollment dropping by roughly 3.3% in 2020 – primarily due to the COVID-19 pandemic – the largest decrease since 1951 (Hanson, 2022). Still, in 2020, over 19 million students enrolled in postsecondary education across the U.S. and are at risk of sexual victimization (Hanson, 2022). As college diplomas and degrees have become a staple of economic success and stability within capitalist societies (U.S. Department of Education, 2022), institutions have a responsibility to protect students from sexual victimization, as well as ensure all CSA survivors have access to supports that adequately meet their needs. As such, while I focus on American students, there is much to be extrapolated and applied to Canada and other nations.

Increased media coverage has highlighted the depth of rape culture on Canadian campuses, including "pro-rape" chants at the University of British Columbia (Tam, 2013), degrading Facebook pages discussing raping women students within Dalhousie's Faculty of Dentistry (Halsall, 2015), sexual assault committed by University of Ottawa's men's hockey team members (Andrew, 2014), as well as more recently, the drugging of 30 women during Western University's fall orientation week (Dubinski, 2021). Yet, much of "the media interest in these events and the pressure on university administrators to respond quickly and decisively have no doubt been fueled by high-profile developments occurring simultaneously in the United States" (Sheehy & Gilbert, 2017, p. 292). In 2011, the U.S. government made substantial legislative changes at the federal level under Title IX, charging institutions with the responsibility to swiftly respond to cases of CSA, as well as implement effective preventative policies and resources for survivors (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). Canada, however, does not have similar federal mandates, introducing considerable variability across

and within provinces in how institutions respond and prevent CSA (Sheehy & Gilbert, 2017). Beginning with the Ontario provincial government in 2015, British Columbia (2016), Manitoba (2017), Quebec (2017), Prince Edward Island (2018), and Nova Scotia (2018), have drawn from Title IX legislation, requiring all provincially funded institutions to create and implement their own stand-alone sexual assault policies (Liddle, 2022). Other provinces have not followed suit, and there are still discrepancies within provinces in terms of the policies and resources offered to support survivors and prevent CSA (Brockbank, 2021).

There is much Canada can learn from the U.S.'s federal legislative framework, including best practices and pitfalls to address and circumvent (Brockbank, 2021). Academics have critiqued both the U.S. and Canada for their legislative responses (or lack thereof), including how elements of these frameworks can serve as institutionally implemented barriers to help-seeking (Holland et al., 2021a). For example, some U.S. institutions require the survivor to partake in the adjudication process (Amar et al., 2014); this can prevent individuals from accessing campus supports as they may only want to use these resources for healing, rather than formal sanctions (Newins & White, 2018).

Further, while Canadian campus culture differs from the U.S., for example, in its emphasis on Greek culture and alcohol consumption, these facets are still prevalent within Canadian institutions (Daigle et al., 2019). Thus, if these aspects present as barriers to help-seeking, Canadian institutions should be aware of how Greek culture, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support can impact help-seeking intentions and better address these factors within policy and practice. Canada also shares a legacy of colonization, slavery, and structural inequalities predicated on white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, and ableism, within which Canadian postsecondary education was forged (Henry et al., 2017). While the nuances and exact history differs from the U.S., these power structures still shape

academia within Canada, including representation of minoritized students/faculty, scholarships and other funding, and culturally sensitive resources (Henry et al., 2017). Therefore, Canadian CSA policies can be better tailored to specifically prioritize the needs of marginalized populations (based on race, sexuality, and disability in my dissertation), as well as how certain factors may act as barriers for certain demographics more so than others.

The rest of my dissertation is divided into six chapters. Chapter 2 discusses the relevant body of literature pertaining to college sexual victimization generally and college men as survivors specifically. It provides an overview of the intersectional landscape of CSA, the different psychosocial consequences survivors may experience, as well as the current understanding of help-seeking behaviours and barriers for college students. The institutional responses to prevent and handle cases of CSA are also discussed and critiqued. Thus, factors correlated with CSA and their effect on help-seeking are analyzed from the individual, interpersonal, and structural level. Chapter 3 presents the chosen theoretical lenses of intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking. I assess each theory individually first, discussing each theory's various strengths and limitations as applied to sexually assaulted college men. Afterwards, I explain how the theories work together to elucidate the intersectional help-seeking patterns of sexually victimized college men, recognizing the potential contentions between these theories. This theoretical framework clarifies how sexually assaulted college men may have different pathways to informal and campus help-seeking contingent on how their gender privilege intersects with race, sexuality, and disability status.

The methodological approach is found in Chapter 4. First, I justify my five hypotheses based on the literature, followed by a discussion of the data source, participant demographics, and the Campus Climate Survey. I also provide an overview of logistic regression, the method

of analysis, and how quantitative methodologies can uncover intersectional inequality while remaining true to the foundational theoretical components. The results of my dissertation are broken into two chapters to reflect my two research questions. Chapter 5 presents the results of my first research question, what are the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men? First, a comparison of the rates of CSA among different genders, sexualities, races, and disabilities is shown. This is followed by an examination of the sociodemographic components of sexually victimized college men, including offence characteristics, psychosocial consequences, and help-seeking behaviours. The results of this chapter are purely descriptive. Chapter 6 then displays the main results, in response to my second research question, what are the intersectional predictors of college men's help-seeking behaviours post-sexual victimization? This chapter provides the logistic regression models predicting informal and campus help-seeking for sexually victimized college men depending on race, sexuality, and disability, and the covariates of Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support.

Lastly, Chapter 7 concludes my dissertation. It summarizes the entire thesis and discusses how the theoretical framework enlightened or contradicted the results found. The conclusion provides recommendations for future research and policy suggestions for how institutions can promote help-seeking post-sexual victimization, given an intersectional understanding of men's pathways. It ends with how the results can be mapped onto Canada.

Chapter 2.   Literature Review

College sexual assault (CSA), either on campus or its surrounding community, has garnered increased attention by academics, higher education policymakers, as well as college students and staff members (Moylan et al., 2021). While most institutions have their own policies, procedures, and supports to combat and prevent sexual violence, previous work has shown that these initiatives have largely been constructed with the white, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied woman in mind (Harris et al., 2020). This specific focus can serve as an immediate barrier to help-seeking for students of other demographics, as they may perceive these supports as unsuitable for them. Though scholarship is beginning to evaluate institutional responses and help-seeking intentions from an intersectional perspective (Harris et al., 2020; Karunaratne & Harris, 2022), much of this literature still excludes men survivors. This is problematic as research has shown that men are much more likely to stay silent and internalize their sexual victimization than survivors of other genders (Mennicke et al., 2022). It is therefore imperative to unpack the intersectional pathways of help-seeking for sexually victimized college men.

Despite growing evidence of the sexual victimization of men, including increased risk during college (Forsman, 2017), much research on CSA still follows a heteronormative script. That is, much of the CSA literature focuses exclusively on female victimization and male perpetration, with few notable studies centring on sexual and gender minorities (see for e.g., Backhaus et al., 2021; Bedera et al., 2023; Coulter & Rankin, 2020) or college men survivors (see for e.g., Budd et al., 2019; Littleton et al., 2020; Turchik, 2012). Of the research evaluating sexually victimized college men, most analyses typically only centre the role of gender and/or sexuality (e.g., Coulter & Rankin, 2020), with fewer studies concretely

analyzing race (e.g., Coulter et al., 2017) and disability (e.g., Holloway et al., 2022). How gender, sexuality, race, and disability status intersect to shape the help-seeking intentions and behaviours for sexually victimized college men is, therefore, considerably understudied. This dissertation begins to fill this gap.

To illustrate the factors associated with college men's sexual victimization and help-seeking, this literature review focuses on the following sections: (1) what we currently know about college sexual assault; (2) the negative psychosocial ramifications associated with sexual victimization; and (3) help-seeking behaviours and barriers to engaging with supports for male student survivors.

2.1. College Sexual Assault

Colleges and universities are plagued by sexual violence (DeLong et al., 2018). Due to its pervasiveness, CSA is recognized as a serious public health concern on campuses across North America. Alarmingly, the student body is predominately composed of individuals most at risk of sexual victimization (those between the ages of 18 and 24) (Budd et al., 2019). With postsecondary degrees increasingly the job market standard, more and more students are placed at risk of sexual victimization each year.

Sexual assault refers to "situations where a person is unlawfully coerced or physically compelled by another person to commit a sexual act" (Fang, 2019, p. 469).[1] Sexual assault and sexual violence are used interchangeably to encompass any form of unwanted sexual contact, from unwanted touching to forced penetrative rape, or even being made to penetrate.

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[1]This definition of sexual assault is chosen as it encapsulates the wide range of sexual acts an individual may not consent to, rather than more narrow definitions. Such a definition is preferred to garner a more accurate picture of the landscape of sexual violence, where research has demonstrated that men have an easier time recognizing their experiences as nonconsensual when these broader definitions are provided (Ford & Maggio, 2020). Legal definitions in particular are avoided, due to state differences in how sexual assault and rape are classified across the U.S.

CSA describes any unwanted sexual experience that occurs during a student's post-secondary tenure; not exclusively sexual victimization that occurs on campuses. Unwanted sexual contact that occurs off campus at a local bar, in a dorm, or in Greek housing would be included in this definition of CSA. This definition does not require the perpetrator be affiliated with any higher institution; however, the victim/survivor must be a post-secondary student at the time of the assault.

Sexual assault is unfortunately quite common, where roughly one in two transgender people, one in three women, and one in six men experience some form of unwanted sexual contact in their lifetime (Rymer & Cartei, 2019; World Health Organization, 2021; 1in6, 2023). Once entering higher education, all genders are at an increased risk of sexual assault during their degree. Among undergraduate students in the U.S., roughly 29% of transgender people, 25% of cisgender women, and 7% of cisgender men experience some form of CSA (Cantor et al., 2020). Another study of two institutions in New York City discovered that 38% of gender nonconforming students, 28% of women, and 12.5% of men experienced CSA (Mellins et al., 2017). Despite having a lower risk than women and gender nonconforming people, college men are four to five times more likely to experience sexual victimization than men who have not attended post-secondary (Forsman, 2017; Sinozich & Langton, 2014). For example, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) found 4% of men between the ages of 18 and 24 who were not enrolled in college experienced unwanted sexual contact, compared to 17% of college men (as cited in Sinozich & Langton, 2014). While a considerable discrepancy exists in estimating prevalence rates, research has found between 27% to 73% of college men experienced some form of unwanted sexual contact during their post-secondary education (Ford & Maggio, 2020; Peterson et al., 2011).

Marginalized college students have an increased likelihood of sexual victimization, including repeat experiences (Harris et al., 2020). Pivotal research by Coulter and colleagues (2017) analyzed the independent and interactional effect of gender, sexuality, and race on past-year experiences of CSA from 2011 to 2013. Findings confirm other research that demonstrates sexual minority men experience three times the rate of sexual violence compared to heterosexual men (Coulter et al., 2017; Coulter & Rankin, 2020; Tillapaugh, 2017). When intersecting gender and race, Black trans students (55.6%) are significantly more at risk compared to white trans students (18.2%) (Coulter et al., 2017). Among cisgender men, Coulter and colleagues (2017) discovered 6.2% of Black, 5.4% of "other" or mixed race, 4.0% of Latino, 3.2% of white, and 2.9% of Asian or Pacific Islander students had past-year experiences of CSA. Crucially, gender alters the effect sexual identity and race have on CSA prevalence rates; while cisgender women are more likely to experience sexual assault compared to cisgender men, both minority sexual identity (e.g., bisexuality) and racialization (e.g., Black) increases the likelihood of sexual assault significantly more for cisgender men than women (Coulter et al., 2017). Regardless of gender, students with a disability are also much more likely to experience sexual assault during their college degree (Kirkner et al., 2022). Among cisgender men, approximately 15% of students with autism spectrum disorders and 17% of students with other disabilities (not on the spectrum) experienced unwanted sexual contact (Brown et al., 2017). Despite such staggering rates and heightened risk within institutions, much of the CSA literature still focuses on (cisgender) female victimization and male perpetration.

Gauging prevalence rates is fraught with difficulties and contradictions, especially among men. The vast majority of sexual assault goes unreported to the police and formal services (Conley et al., 2017). Such is the case for CSA as well, with approximately 90% of

college students refusing to report their assault to police or campus officials (Conley et al., 2017). While underreporting is common regardless of gender, research has shown male survivors are less likely to disclose compared to their female counterparts (Donne et al., 2018). This trend may be influenced by masculine scripts and the gendering of sexual violence that make coming forward with sexual victimization treacherous terrain. Because (sexual) victimization is often seen as weakness, it is perceived as antithetical to "real" manhood (i.e., strength and power), which increases the likelihood sexually victimized men experience masculinity conflicts (Hlavka, 2017; Javaid, 2016). Further, common stereotypes regarding sexual assault construct perpetrators as always men and victims/survivors as always women (Turchik & Edwards, 2012); such gendering of sexual assault can prevent men from coming forward for fear of being feminized or disbelieved (Cohen, 2014). In fact, many men struggle to even define their experiences as sexual assault due to this gendered understanding of who is a legitimate victim (Ralston, 2020).

Estimating prevalence rates is further complicated due to methodological variation across studies. Studies differ markedly in their definitions and assessments of sexual assault, which impacts the prevalence rates found. Research on sexual assault in general, and CSA specifically, varies in how sexual assault is defined, with more narrow definitions producing smaller prevalence rates and vice versa (Peterson et al., 2011). For example, only 2% of college men report sexual assault when it is defined as forced intercourse resulting in sexual injury with their most recent dating partner (Rouse, 1988), compared to 73% when defined as any form of unwanted sexual contact with a dating partner through different perpetrator tactics (Waldner-Haugrud & Magruder, 1995). There is also considerable variation in how sexual assault is measured. Some studies use a single variable to assess one type of sexual violence (e.g., forced penetrative rape) or will focus on one perpetrator method (e.g.,

incapacitation); others create a composite variable of multiple types of unwanted sexual experiences or will centre on several perpetrator methods (Mellins et al., 2017). Generally, studies that focus on a plethora of acts and ask behavioural questions about the different types of sexual violence and perpetrator tactics provide more accurate prevalence rates (Mellins et al., 2017). Asking behaviourally specific questions "avoids the pitfall of participants using their own sexual assault definitions and does not require the respondent to identify as a victim or survivor, which may lead to underreporting," especially for men (Mellins et al., 2017, p. 2).

Since sexual assault is so widespread amongst campuses, substantial research has been devoted to understanding the correlates of CSA, which I outline in the next subsection.

2.1.1. Correlates of College Sexual Assault

The predictors of CSA can be grouped into three main camps: individual, interactional, and institutional. At the individual level, gender and/or sexual minority status, race, disability, age, and year in college are correlated with CSA experiences (Kirkner et al., 2022; Rogers & Rogers, 2021). Interactionally, alcohol/drug consumption (Conley et al., 2017), a high number of sexual partners (Ford, 2017), as well as membership in Greek life (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2021) and/or school-sponsored athletics[2] (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007) are strongly associated with CSA. Finally, institutional predictors of CSA include living on campus (Fisher et al., 2000) and smaller sized colleges and universities (Murnen & Kohlman, 2007). Importantly, these different levels of correlates are relational, where for example, queer students of colour involved in Greek life within smaller, predominately white institutions are at especially high risk of CSA. I will discuss rape and hookup culture, Greek

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[2]This dissertation opts not to discuss school-sponsored athletics as the dataset used to answer the research questions does not measure this. Future research should specifically evaluate the role of athletics in help-seeking trajectories for college survivors of sexual violence.

membership, and alcohol/drugs, focusing on how these aspects may interfere with survivors' willingness and ability to seek help post-victimization.

Rape and Hookup Culture

The broader rape culture and popular sexual trend of "hooking up" is critical to understanding CSA. Rape culture refers to "the complex social processes by which sexual violence is treated as normal, natural, and insignificant" (Quinlan, 2017, p. 6). Hinging on patriarchal, heteronormative understandings of gender, rape culture reproduces male aggression and female submission as normal and desirable in romantic or sexual encounters (Brownmiller, 1975). This rape culture makes it particularly likely that acts of sexual violence and predatory behaviour get explained away as consensual or, at the very least, are minimized (Orth et al., 2020). For example, the female survivor is perceived as "wanting it" because she did not scream and run away, while the male survivor is positioned as a sexual champion for "scoring" (i.e., having presumed consensual sexual relations, especially with a gender they are attracted to). Unfortunately, campuses are not immune to rape culture, with collegiate sports, Greek organizations, and more male-dominated Faculties (e.g., the natural sciences and engineering) serving as hotspots for rape culture (Quinlan, 2017).

An important indicator of rape culture is rape myth acceptance. Rape myths are false views and prejudicial beliefs about the perpetrators and survivors of sexual violence (Hammond et al., 2017). Rape myth acceptance, then, depicts the degree to which individuals support and reproduce various rape myths, leading to increased victim blaming and normalization of sexual violence (Hancock et al., 2021). Regardless of gender,[3] survivors are commonly compared to the archetype of real rape, where rape is seen as legitimate, or "real,"

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[3]Male rape myths are discussed in-depth in section 2.3.1, as they relate to help-seeking intentions.

when forcible intercourse occurs, weapons and/or physical force is used, and/or the assailant is a stranger (Du Mont et al., 2003). Yet, most sexual violence does not meet this archetype, especially when it comes to the survivor's relationship with their perpetrator (e.g., roughly 90% of sexual violence is committed by someone known to the survivor) (Gourley, 2016; Hancock et al., 2021). The degree to which different rape myths are accepted and internalized perpetuates the normalization of predatory behaviour and relations, especially as victim-blaming silences survivors (e.g., for fear of further reprisal) (Orth et al., 2020). In fact, higher rape myth acceptance is associated with a decreased likelihood of defining and reporting the situation as sexual violence, including for the (male) survivors themselves (Hahn et al., 2020).

College students tend to have a higher rape myth acceptance. Research has found that college students are less able to recognize situations as sexual violence when stereotypical attributes are removed from the equation (Hahn et al., 2020). For example, college students readily define an attack in a dark alley by a stranger as rape; instances involving substances or acquaintances are not so easily classified as sexual violence (Deming et al., 2013; Hahn et al., 2020). Moreover, college students have a greater acceptance of male rape myths (such as men cannot be raped or only gay men are raped) than female rape myths, especially when the perpetrator is a woman (Turchik, 2012). This rape myth acceptance, either internally or socially, can decrease college men's willingness to seek assistance, as they may deem their experience inconsequential or dubious.

Survivors are more likely to be blamed for their victimization when minimal (or no) physical force was used and/or alcohol consumption was involved (Hahn et al., 2020). Such a relationship may increase the extent to which CSA resulting from "hook ups" are naturalized, with the potential for these survivors to receive an exceptional amount of blame. "Hooking up," while riddled with definitional discrepancies, is generally understood to "mean any form

of sexual activity, ranging from kissing to intercourse, that occurs outside of a romantic relationship with no necessary assumption of future contact" (Ford, 2017, p. 381). Hookups have become a normalized, everyday aspect of college life, with roughly three quarters of students engaging in at least one hookup during their degree (England et al., 2007). However, hookups are predictive of sexual assault, with research indicating almost 80% of unwanted sexual experiences occur during hookups (Flack et al., 2016; Ford, 2017; Sutton & Simons, 2015). Further, alcohol is frequently used both before and during hookups, where parties and other social events act as key sites to meet potential hookup partners (England et al., 2007). Hook up facilitated CSA, therefore, is tightly connected with alcohol consumption, partying, as well as Greek organizations.

Greek Life

Greek organizations (fraternities and sororities) are a cornerstone of campus culture in the U.S. Currently, there are over 1,500 Greek organizations spanning universities and colleges across the U.S (McCabe, 2022). Greek life, while providing individuals with a sense of community and social cohesion, is frequently associated with risk factors for sexual victimization, like partying, (binge) drinking, hazing rituals, and even rape myth acceptance (Luetke et al., 2021). In fact, fraternity group members are much more likely than sorority members and the rest of the college population to reproduce rape culture through high rape myth acceptance (Bannon et al., 2013; Cameron & Wollschleger, 2021). One reason for such a relationship may be the degree to which traditional gender roles are supported within Greek organizations.

Fraternity members, as opposed to sorority members and other college students, are more likely to support traditional, patriarchal views about men and women (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2021; Robinson et al., 2004). Such a finding may not be surprising, as the

inception of fraternities served to preserve "true" manhood and masculinity, ideas that coalesce around men's dominance and sexual power over women (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2021). These foundational, hypermasculine notions are still seen within the organizations today, with research indicating that fraternity members view women as their subordinates and feel entitled to women's bodies (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2021; Harris & Schmalz, 2016). In fact, fraternity members are more likely than other college men (as well as the broader public) to endorse coercive sexual encounters with women (Bannon et al., 2013). This culture of entitlement can encourage complicity and silence, as deviant or criminal behaviour is ignored or not seen as problematic, enhanced by rape myth acceptance (Quinlan, 2017).

A crucial element of Greek life is partying, which centres around binge drinking and hooking up (Rogers & Rogers, 2021). While such a subculture invariably places students at more risk of sexual victimization, Boyle and Walker (2016) discovered that this party culture is directly linked to rape culture and the acknowledgement of victimization. Specifically, those "students who attend parties hosted by fraternities or athletic teams were even *more likely* to excuse perpetrators and hold stereotypical, inaccurate definitions of rape – agreeing that for an act to be 'rape' it has to involve a weapon or physical violence" (p. 1404; emphasis in original). Even further, individuals who attend parties hosted by fraternities are significantly less likely to acknowledge their own experiences as sexual victimization (Boyle & Walker, 2016). As Greek parties are an integral part of college life, the underreporting and normalization of CSA within these spaces is likely even more pronounced.

Hence, due to Greek organizations' connection to alcohol and partying, casual sex and hook ups (especially within fraternities as a form of sexual currency), as well as traditional understandings of gender and rape myth acceptance, membership in Greek life is associated with increased risk of both sexual victimization and perpetration (Bannon et al., 2013; Luetke

et al., 2021). Research has predominately centred on sorority members' sexual victimization and fraternity members' sexual perpetration. Sorority women are much more likely to be victimized, with fraternity men significantly more likely to perpetrate CSA than the rest of the student body (Bannon et al., 2013). For example, when compared to the rest of female students, sorority women are approximately 75% more likely to experience CSA (Bannon et al., 2013).

Little attention has focused specifically on fraternity members' sexual victimization. Seminal research by Luetke and colleagues (2021), however, discovered over a quarter of fraternity members experience some form of sexual assault during their college tenure. Importantly, fraternity members who were also a member of a sports team were even more likely to experience sexual victimization than fraternity members who were not on a team (Luetke et al., 2021). As collegiate sports tend to have similar hypermasculine values, rape myth acceptance, and drinking behaviours as fraternities, being a member of both groups places one at more risk for sexual victimization and perpetration (Luetke et al., 2021; Rogers & Rogers, 2021). Notably, due to the more hypermasculine arena fostered within fraternities, members may have a difficult time coming forward with experiences of victimization for fear of severe reprisal from their brothers and peers.

Alcohol and/or Drugs

Alcohol and drugs are often studied as correlates of sexual violence, especially within higher education. Research has demonstrated that those who drink frequently and/or binge drink are at an increased risk for both sexual violence perpetration and victimization (Ford, 2017; Hines et al., 2012). Cannabis use is also related to a greater likelihood of CSA victimization (Rogers & Rogers, 2021); however, the combined usage of both cannabis and alcohol (a common mixture) substantially increases risk of sexual victimization beyond the

singular effect of either of these substances (Read et al., 2021). Both substances are readily available and heavily consumed within college parties, and as such, alcohol and/or drugs are involved in a profound number of CSA cases.

Between half and three-quarters of all CSA cases involve the use of alcohol or drugs (by the survivor, perpetrator, or both) (Ford, 2017; Krebs et al., 2009; Rogers & Rogers, 2021). Transgender students are more likely than cisgender students to report unwanted sexual experiences occurring while under the influence of alcohol and/or drugs (Connolly et al., 2021); significant differences between cisgender men and women survivors do not similarly exist (Budd et al., 2019). Marijuana is the most common drug involved in CSA, with roughly half of men and women reporting they were high at the time of their victimization (Kilpatrick et al., 2007; Navarro & Clevenger, 2017). Other drugs, specifically date-rape drugs (e.g., sedatives, Rohypnol), are used considerably less often than alcohol and/or cannabis (Herbenick et al., 2019). Women, however, are twice as likely to be intentionally drugged compared to men (Basile et al., 2021; Swan et al., 2017).

Of concern, then, is how postsecondary institutions address these known correlates of CSA to better respond to and prevent cases of sexual victimization.

2.1.2. Institutional Responses to College Sexual Assault

Institutional responses to support survivors and prevent future victimization are constantly under scrutiny (Budd & Frye, 2023). The increased attention towards CSA has largely been attributed to the Obama Administration and The U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights (OCR) 2011 Dear Colleague Letter (DCL) (Harris et al., 2020). The DCL frames sexual assault as a form of sex-based discrimination and identifies over 7,000 non-profit universities and colleges responsible for responding to and preventing sexual

violence (Harris et al., 2020). In 2014, the OCR established the White House Task Force to Protect Students from Sexual Assault (referred to as the Task Force henceforth), charged with the duty of compiling best practices in CSA prevention (DeLong et al., 2018). The Task Force has since published a *Checklist for Campus Sexual Misconduct Policies*, a guide to how institutions can better expand their CSA initiatives, including support options for survivors, reporting procedures, and prevention efforts (DeLong et al., 2018).

About two-thirds of U.S. higher education institutions provide formal supports for sexual violence survivors (Harris et al., 2021). It appears public institutions are more likely to offer services and resources than private institutions (Sutherland et al., 2021). The supports provided range from institution to institution, but typically include some combination of counselling services, campus police, sexual violence centres, Title IX offices, health centres, and/or victim advocates (Fleming et al., 2021). These campus-affiliated resources, however, concentrate more so on formal reporting than they do on confidential, anonymous reporting (Harris et al., 2021). Even online services are skewed in favour of formal reporting avenues (like the police or Title IX offices), rather than serving as a safe place for survivors to disclose and get referrals (Dunlap et al., 2018). Such a focus may deter access, as those who do not want to formally report may avoid these supports. Some student survivors and advocates call for institutions to better tailor their supports in a manner that encourages survivor agency, control, and confidentiality (Harris et al., 2021). This call to action is even more relevant when evaluating Title IX offices and mandatory reporting protocols.

The Title IX Statute of the 1972 Education Amendments Act prohibits "sex-based discrimination within institutions that receive federal funding" (as cited in Holland & Cipriano, 2021, p. 1055). Accordingly, all federally funded institutions are responsible for developing and implementing policies for the prevention, reporting, investigation, and

adjudication of all sexual violence related complaints[4] (Seaman-Grant, 2021). Most campuses

have a dedicated Title IX office and a Title IX coordinator in charge of ensuring the various

sexual violence policies and procedures are executed, with survivors getting the resources

they need to restore their campus life (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). Such measures can include

disciplinary action against perpetrators found responsible for sexual violence (e.g., being

removed from campus) and providing survivors with counselling services, changing their

course schedule, or helping them with no contact orders (Holland & Cipriano, 2021).

Title IX dictates mandatory reporting of all sexual assault claims made to any

qualified personnel (Holland et al., 2021a). Qualified personnel, or mandatory reporters, are

one of two classes: "campus security authorities" or "responsible employees" (Holland et al.,

2021a). Each institution is required to designate employees as campus security authorities,

which are those in charge of campus safety with significant responsibility for both students

and campus events (e.g., campus security, residence staff) (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). A

responsible employee, however, refers to any employee who

> Has the authority to take action to redress the harassment, who has the duty to
> report to appropriate school officials sexual harassment or any other misconduct
> by students or employees, or an individual who a student could reasonably
> believe has this authority or responsibility. (US Department of Education, 2001,
> p. 13)

This means instructors and other faculty members, including teaching assistants (who are also

at risk for CSA, as graduate students), also have an obligation to report to campus officials

(Newins & White, 2018).

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[4]The influence of the Obama administration on Title IX is waning. In 2018, with the Trump administration, the
Department of Education revised the Title IX guidelines to promote a narrower definition of sexual harassment
and holds institutions less responsible for preventing CSA (especially re: off campus sexual assault) (Harris et
al., 2021). The Biden administration has since proclaimed a dedication to "restore the Title IX guidance for
colleges, including the 2011 Dear Colleague Letter" (as cited in Seaman-Grant, 2021, p. 295).

It is often thought that mandatory reporting will help the survivors who come forward, yet research on this issue is mixed (Holland & Cipriano, 2021; Newins & White, 2018). Students report varied feelings about the effectiveness of mandatory reporting (Mancini et al., 2016; Newins & White, 2018). For example, some students perceive positive outcomes, like receiving access to services, while others indicate negative consequences, such as removal of autonomy (Mancini et al., 2016). One study found that most students are unsure if they would disclose to a mandatory reporter, however, importantly, CSA survivors were the least likely to seek out a mandatory reporter (Newins & White, 2018). Therefore, mandatory policies under Title IX may serve as an institutionally implemented barrier for survivors to come forward (to be discussed in more detail in section 2.3).

Thus far I have illustrated the pervasiveness and correlates of CSA, as well as examined institutional responses aimed at preventing and addressing college sexual victimization. Important to the help-seeking journey are the various psychosocial consequences CSA survivors may face, which I unpack in the next section.

2.2. Negative Psychosocial Experiences Post-Sexual Victimization

Research into the deleterious effects of sexual violence is extensive and well-documented (Backhaus et al., 2021; Carey et al., 2018; Rothman et al., 2021; Tewksbury, 2007; Walker et al., 2005). Sexual violence survivors often report a plethora of negative psychosocial ramifications because of their victimization and the aftermath of trauma, such as physical injuries (e.g., broken bones, deep tissue bruising, sexually transmitted infections; Rothman et al., 2021; Seña et al., 2015; Sinozich & Langton, 2014; Zilkens et al., 2018), eating disorders (Capitaine et al., 2011; Fergerson & Brausch, 2022; Ganson et al., 2022), anger (Groth & Burgess, 1980; Kassing & Prieto, 2003; Peterson et al., 2011), and substance

abuse (Palmer et al., 2010; Turchik, 2012). Research has also discovered that minority students are more likely to report negative consequences, such as suicidal ideation, depression, and eating disorders, than their nonmarginalized counterparts (Backhaus et al., 2021; Gold et al., 2007; Kirkner et al., 2022; Maffini & Dillard, 2022).

2.2.1. Psychological or Emotional

Psychological Disorders

Sexual assault survivors are much more at risk of developing psychological disorders (including the co-occurrence of two or more), such as suicidal ideation, depression, anxiety, and/or post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), than the general population (Carey et al., 2018; Choudhary et al., 2012; Nickerson et al., 2013). College students, who are already at risk for worsened mental health, are even more susceptible to developing psychological disorders post-victimization (Carey et al., 2018; Rothman et al., 2021).

Importantly, cognitive distortions about sex, as well as beliefs about power and control, may increase the likelihood some men develop PTSD following their sexual victimization (Snipes et al., 2017). The more men believe that consensual sex involves power and control, the more likely these survivors develop PTSD (Snipes et al., 2017). That is, the more men equate sexual interactions as a power dynamic to garner control, the more likely being sexually victimized threatened their power beliefs (Snipes et al., 2017). With their power beliefs threatened, a negative shift in their worldview occurred that disrupted their understanding of power and their placement on the power hierarchy, which subsequently increased their risk of developing PTSD (Snipes et al., 2017). This partial mediating effect was found only for sexually victimized men, not women (Snipes et al., 2017).

Fear

Survivors commonly report three main types of fear post-sexual victimization: fear for one's life; fear of being alone (particularly with men); and fear of disclosure (Davies et al., 2010). Especially important for this dissertation, fear of revealing sexual victimization permeates all levels of disclosure, from informal to formal, and can stem from a variety of issues, such as fear of disbelief, victim blaming, or being deemed homosexual (Lowe & Rogers, 2017). This fear may also be exacerbated by other marginalized identities due to historical tensions (e.g., colonization, slavery, and current school-to-prison pipelines) and distrust of authorities (Harris, 2020). Sexually victimized men may also fear disclosure due to the genuine concern that they could be wrongly implicated as the perpetrator (Hogan et al., 2021). This concern may be particularly pronounced among men of colour, whose victimization is often misconstrued as perpetration (Curry, 2019). Such fears of disclosure directly impact the willingness of survivors to report and utilize any supports, especially those offered by Title IX, as mandatory reporting may heighten their fears of being disbelieved or implicated as the assailant.

Identity Confusion and Condemnation of the Self

The majority of sexually victimized men (roughly 70%) divulge severe and long-term confusion with their sexuality and masculinity post-victimization (Ford, 2021; Walker et al., 2005). This confusion is most often exhibited by men who are sexually assaulted by other men (Coxell & King, 2010). Sexually victimized heterosexual men may begin to question their heterosexuality, as well as exhibit some form of externalized homophobia, expressing homophobic remarks and views towards gay men or other male survivors (Davies et al., 2010). Sexually victimized homosexual men may exhibit internalized homophobia, hating themselves and their sexual orientation, and even questioning the truthfulness of their

homosexuality (Davies et al., 2002; Davies et al., 2010). This confusion may be furthered in cases where the man is aroused or ejaculates, as many believe these functions cannot happen involuntarily or without consent (Bullock & Beckson, 2011; Groth & Burgess, 1980). Physically responding to the sexual violence causes many male survivors to question their sexuality if perpetrated by a gender they are not attracted to, which can cause serious conflicts with their self-identity (Tewksbury, 2007).

Many sexually victimized men also struggle with their understanding and re-securing of their masculinity (Ralston, 2020). This masculinity conflict may occur for several reasons, such as the belief that men cannot experience sexual victimization or the misconception that men should be strong enough to prevent any unwanted attack (Walker et al., 2005). These masculinity (and even sexuality) contentions may be intensified by racial stereotypes of hypersexuality and hypermasculinity. The historical hypersexualization of Black, Hispanic, and Indigenous men has constructed the myth of sexual insatiability, where men of colour are often portrayed as dominant sexual perpetrators against white women (Curry, 2019). The hypermasculinization of Black, Hispanic, and Indigenous men adds further expectations that they are always already violent and able to defend themselves (Zounlome et al., 2021). For Asian men, however, the opposite is true. Asian men have long been desexualized and feminized in the dominant culture (Hoang, 2014); experiences of sexual victimization, as it has been feminized, may enhance these stereotypes. In fact, in one study, undergraduates (69% white women) view Black men as the most masculine, compared to Asian and white men (Zounlome et al., 2021); the degree to which these racial stereotypes are internalized may increase the extent of identity conflicts surrounding masculinity and sexuality for sexually victimized men.

Common emotional consequences for sexually victimized men are self-blame and guilt, often influenced by sexuality and masculinity conflicts. Over 80% of male survivors in Walker and colleagues (2005) study blamed themselves for their victimization, as they believed dominant masculinity scripts that they should be able to defend themselves and end the assault. Guilt is frequently experienced, especially when the survivor feels they created the conditions for their victimization, such as being in the wrong location or failing to fight back (Walker et al., 2005). This then fosters feelings of shame and embarrassment, as sexually victimized men may feel they clash with normative expectations related to their masculinity, sexuality, and/or race (Tewksbury, 2007).

2.2.2. Academic and Social Consequences

All the physical or emotional effects described above invariably affect both academic and social performance and capabilities. The experience of CSA drastically impacts all elements of academic functioning, including class attendance, concentration, satisfaction, and performance (Molstad et al., 2023). Common academic consequences associated with CSA include an inability to complete work or assignments, dropping classes or entirely out of school, lowered grade point average (GPA), loss of interest in chosen field, and/or difficulty understanding course materials (Kaufman et al., 2019; Molstad et al., 2023; Rothman et al., 2021). For example, GPAs among sexual violence survivors in one university dropped from a B- average to a C+ average post-victimization, with roughly 34% of CSA survivors dropping out of university compared to the overall dropout rate of 30% (Mengo & Black, 2016). These effects may be even more pronounced for those survivors whose victimization happens on campus or involves a university-affiliated perpetrator (e.g., faculty member, fellow student), as they may encounter greater challenges in frequenting campus spaces and attending classes.

Socially, withdrawal is particularly common amongst CSA survivors, especially if experiencing other psychological disorders (Rothman et al., 2021). Any perceived stigma or fear of blame may also motivate survivors to further withdraw from interpersonal connections and intense feelings of anger may distance the survivor as well (Rothman et al., 2021). Such social withdrawal filters into survivors' capacity and ability to maintain healthy, long-term romantic relationships (Rothman et al., 2021).

Considering the range of negative psychosocial experiences that college survivors may encounter, evaluating help-seeking behaviours becomes especially crucial to ensure that student needs are adequately addressed.

2.3. Help-Seeking Behaviours

Seeking help is central to the survivor's recovery, as it involves not only validating their experiences but also processing any adverse symptoms they may be facing (Dundas et al., 2021). However, seeking help is often challenging for men, regardless of the issue; the majority of men report delaying or outright denying assistance for their various ailments and life stresses (Hogan et al., 2021). Masculine scripts frame help-seeking as weak, as a "real" man should be agential, capable of managing themselves and their trauma without outside influences (Turchik, 2012). Needing support and assistance from formal or informal networks, therefore, can be a source of shame for men, as they perceive themselves as powerless and lacking control (Gagnier et al., 2017). Formal help-seeking refers to the use of supports offered by service providers, such as the police, criminal justice system, counsellors, victim service workers, and health care services (Aujla, 2021). It also includes campus-affiliated resources provided by the survivor's institution. Informal help-seeking, in contrast, denotes the utilization of interpersonal networks (e.g., family, friends, co-workers) as a form

of disclosure and support (Aujla, 2021). Such resistance to formal or informal supports invariably risks exacerbating the various psychosocial ramifications already experienced by survivors; it is thus imperative that the intersectional correlates of sexually victimized college men's pathways to help-seeking are analyzed.

Formal support options are rarely utilized by sexual assault survivors (Mushonga et al., 2021). Looking at the general population, only about 14 to 43% of sexual assault survivors access the formal resources available (DeLoveh & Cattaneo, 2017). Less than 20% of sexually victimized men seek any kind of professional help following their victimization, and of those who do, there is a severe delay (oftentimes years following the assault) in this service access (King & Woollett, 1997; Masho & Alvanzo, 2010). While daunting, these formal help-seeking rates are even more staggeringly low within the college population. Between 0 to 16% of college survivors access formal resources, with the vast majority (approximately 90%) refusing to disclose to the formal outlets (Conley et al., 2017; Mushonga et al., 2021). When formal supports are accessed, college students are much more likely than the general population to seek out counselling and other mental health services (Mennicke et al., 2021). However, the likelihood of formal service access further diminishes with sexual and racial minority status, due to the violent history of societal oppression these groups have faced (and continue to face) (Mennicke et al., 2022). Interestingly, research on formal service access by students with disabilities is mixed. Kirkner et al. (2022) found female student survivors with disabilities are more likely to access formal supports than their non-disabled female counterparts. This contradicts research by Holloway and colleagues (2022) who discovered only seven percent of student survivors with disabilities (both male and female) disclosed to campus-offered counselling services, with 90 percent stating they did not tell anyone in an official role.

Instead, sexual assault survivors, either in the general population or within postsecondary, are much more likely to utilize informal supports (Holland & Cortina, 2017). Roughly 70% of college survivors reported their victimization to an informal connection, such as their friends or family (DeMatteo et al., 2015). While sexually victimized men are more prone to disclose to informal supports than formal services, there is still a severe delay in this disclosure, if it happens at all (Mennicke et al., 2022). Sexually victimized college men are less likely to disclose to even informal networks, when compared to college women (Mennicke et al., 2022). For example, fraternity members may be unlikely to disclose to their peers, as the culture in this space may increase the likelihood that these men will be met with negative reactions. Research also suggests that Black students are significantly less likely to disclose to informal networks compared to their white counterparts (Harris et al., 2021).

Thus, not all informal connections are viable options for disclosure. Friends are typically the preferred informal mode of reporting over family members for college students, especially for queer people (Bedera et al., 2023). Many (queer) college students avoid police and healthcare following their victimization in fear that their parents will find out about the abuse (Bedera et al., 2023). In fact, most of the queer female student survivors in Bedera and colleague's (2023) study who did disclose to their family only did so because they were outed; for example, a police officer visited the home, or a friend told their family. When compared to heterosexual survivors, queer female students report much more severe and negative reactions from family members, including denying or questioning their sexuality and ignoring their sexual assault (Bedera et al., 2023). Therefore, crucial to the conversation of help-seeking is the reactions of others.

Often, survivors use the opinions of others to gauge their role in the assault, as well as understand their victimization (Dundas et al., 2021). Positive reactions to sexual assault

disclosure, such as believing and listening, help the survivor make sense of the event and mitigate feelings of confusion and madness (Dundas et al., 2021). Constructing the survivor as helpless, conflating 'victim' as their master status, questioning their legitimacy, or blaming the individual for their victimization, conversely, have negative ramifications for the survivor (Dundas et al., 2021). The pervasiveness of rape myths increases the extent to which sexually victimized college men will be met with victim blaming and other harmful reactions when disclosing (to be discussed in the next section) (Javaid, 2018). This, in turn, may decrease the willingness of sexually victimized college men to disclose, informally or formally, for fear of negative responses.

Despite the risk for negative responses, survivors tend to prefer disclosing to informal networks over formal options as they predict greater odds of positive reactions and less blame (Franklin & Garza, 2021). Another common motivator behind reporting to informal networks is to gain support and knowledge about the formal resources available, especially for men (Ahrens et al., 2009). There is a general lack of knowledge amongst sexually victimized men regarding which formal services are gender neutral or able to cater to men, if any even exist (Gagnier et al., 2017). In the general public, sexually victimized men often resort to using anonymous crisis hotlines as they perceive a lack of support available to them (Young et al., 2018). These anonymous crisis lines are primarily used either to disclose their sexual victimization or for referrals to formal counselling as they are unaware of those resources welcoming of men (Young et al., 2018). Interestingly, while men are less likely than women to receive service recommendations from crisis workers, sexually victimized men are also more likely to decline any resources that are offered (Young et al., 2018). Research by Franklin and Garza (2021) further develop this finding. Franklin and Garza (2021) discovered race acted as a moderating variable between victim culpability and referral access. That is,

when the victim was Black, respondents were more likely to attribute blame to the victim and, subsequently, less likely to offer resources; such a moderating effect did not similarly happen with white victims (Franklin & Garza, 2021). Therefore, the extent to which stereotypes are internalized by service providers, informal networks, and the survivors themselves may mitigate both the degree to which resources are offered to sexually victimized men, as well as the likelihood that these men accept them.

What may be an important mediator of support access, then, is survivors' perceptions of the resources. Research has demonstrated that survivors' beliefs regarding how support services will respond to sexual violence disclosures significantly predicts college students' intent to use these services (Mushonga et al., 2021). Positive perceptions of institutional responses to CSA are associated with greater odds of help-seeking intentions, both formally and informally (Mushonga et al., 2021). Conversely, negative perceptions decrease the likelihood that survivors plan to access informal or formal supports (Mushonga et al., 2021). The degree to which students hold positive or negative views of CSA resources does depend on gender and sexuality. Transgender and gender nonconforming, as well as sexual minority students, held more negative opinions of resources than their cisgender or heterosexual counterparts; comparing cisgender folks, women held more negative perceptions than men[5] (Mushonga et al., 2021). While Mushonga and colleagues (2021) discovered cisgender men are the least likely to have negative perceptions of campus supports, Allen et al. (2015) found

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[5]An important limitation to this study is that all students were surveyed on their perceptions of how the university would respond to a hypothetical disclosure, not solely sexual assault survivors (Mushonga et al., 2021). Thus, gender and sexual minorities, who are more primed of their risk for sexual violence, may be better equipped to foresee the deleterious responses all survivors' may receive, even if they themselves are not a survivor. How perceptions differ amongst only those who have experienced sexual assault is a worthwhile focus.

college men were significantly more likely than college women to perceive campus resources as unhelpful for survivors (regardless of gender).

2.3.1. Barriers to Help-Seeking

Given the extreme paucity of help-seeking among sexually victimized college men, it is essential to evaluate the various barriers to disclosure for this demographic. All the psychosocial ramifications discussed above can hinder help-seeking intentions and behaviours, as survivors may deem their experiences as inconsequential, blameworthy, and/or extremely shameful and stigmatizing (Mushonga et al., 2021). Further, the various correlates of sexual victimization discussed previously also act as barriers, as rape and hookup culture, Greek membership, and substance use severely normalizes sexual victimization and therefore diminishes the survivor's ability to recognize their experiences as sexual assault. I discuss three categories of barriers to help-seeking (which correspond with my empirical analysis): rape myths and victim blaming; minimization or denial; and institutional barriers.

Rape Myths and Victim Blaming

As mentioned previously, rape myths refer to stereotypical views about both the perpetrators and survivors of sexual violence (Hammond et al., 2016). The most consistently cited male rape myths are:

> (a) men cannot be raped; (b) "real men" can defend themselves against rape; (c) only gay men are victims and/or perpetrators of rape; (d) men are not affected by rape (or not as much as women); (e) a woman cannot sexually assault a man; (f) male rape only happens in prisons; (g) sexual assault by someone of the same sex causes homosexuality; (h) homosexual and bisexual individuals deserve to be sexually assaulted because they are immoral and deviant; and (j) if a victim physically responds to an assault he must have wanted it. (Turchik & Edwards, 2012, pp. 211-212)

These myths reproduce hegemonic ideals surrounding men's domination (i.e., "real men"), women's submission, and heteronormativity that prohibit the recognition of men's sexual victimization beyond (homosexual) male-on-male aggression (Turchik & Edwards, 2012).

These rape myths are pervasive and societally supported, including amongst sexually victimized men themselves (Hammond et al., 2017). Sexually victimized men may internalize these rape myths, believing they are unable to be sexually violated, re-working the event as consensual, blaming themselves for the violence, or deeming their experience undeserving of help-seeking (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Hammond et al., 2017). In turn, by adopting rape myths of men's immunity to victimization, male survivors may subsequently feel shame and conflicts with their masculinity and/or sexuality (Tewksbury, 2007). This may consequently spark fear regarding disclosure, as their manhood and/or sexuality will likely be questioned (Mushonga et al., 2021). As a result of the internalization of various rape myths, sexually victimized men may feel unworthy or fearful of reporting to and accessing formal and informal supports (Hammond et al., 2016).

When members of the public legitimize and reproduce these rape myths, sexually victimized men are at an increased risk of negative responses to their sexual victimization disclosure. Sexually victimized men have the potential to be denied/disbelieved as survivors by informal connections, police, and service providers (Donne et al., 2018; Donnelly & Kenyon, 1996; Javaid, 2015; Kassing & Prieto, 2003; Rich & Seffrin, 2013); to be blamed for their victimization (Davies et al., 2006; Davies & Rogers, 2006); have their masculinity and sexuality questioned, potentially enhanced by racial identity or disability status (Ralston, 2020); and subsequently experience re-victimization as a result of these negative responses (Jackson et al., 2017). Not even service providers, who are trained specifically to deal with sexual victimization, are immune to rape myths. One analysis discovered that counsellors-in-

training were not exempt from rape myths, and in fact, many counsellors-in-training endorsed harmful rape myths that led to blaming male clients for their sexual victimization (Kassing & Prieto, 2003). Interestingly, some service providers and criminal justice personnel are aware of the debilitating service offered to male clients, with one counsellor stating, "it would be helpful if the [male] victims didn't seek any help at all" (as cited in Javaid, 2018, p. 179).

As men are perceived to be physically dominant and capable of defending themselves against unwanted sexual advances, men are often blamed behaviourally for their victimization, where individuals blame men's actions (or lack thereof) as the cause for the sexual violence (Davies & Rogers, 2006). The sexual orientation of the survivor and the sex of the perpetrator have also been shown to influence the degree of victim blaming. When the sex of the perpetrator matches the sexual orientation of the survivor, individuals are more likely to be blamed for their victimization (Davies et al., 2006). Specifically, homosexual men assaulted by men and heterosexual men assaulted by women are attributed more blame for their victimization as they are perceived to have consented to the sexual encounter (Davies et al., 2006). With female perpetration, men are blamed more for their victimization as all men should be able to overcome sexually passive and weak women, as characterized by gendered sexual scripts (Fisher & Pina, 2013). Persons of colour are also more likely to be victim blamed. Black and Latina women (portrayed as vignettes to a college sample) were perceived as promiscuous or having a certain flair in their personality or actions that was used as justification for their sexual victimization (Lewis et al., 2019). Conversely, no such justifications were made for the white female vignettes; participants unequivocally stated the sexual victimization was not her fault (Lewis et al., 2019). Thus, men of colour will likely experience more victim blaming than white men due to racialized gendered scripts of (hyper) masculinity and sexuality.

Minimization or Denial

Minimization denotes the "perception that the assault and/or the impact of the assault on survivors' mental or physical wellbeing is not 'serious enough' to warrant using a formal resource," or even disclosing to informal networks (Holland et al., 2021b, p. 277). The minimization of trauma is one of the most consistently reported reasons survivors cite for why they did not access formal or informal supports (Holland et al., 2021b). As men are supposed to be tough and strong, sexually victimized men are significantly likely to minimize or outright deny their victimization (Ralston, 2020). A participant in Ralston's (2020) study, for example, agreed that his experiences count as sexual assault by the legal definition, but refused to label them as such for they did not cause him any emotional problems.

The degree to which minimization occurs depends on the type of sexual violence experienced. Survivors of penetrative rape are much less likely to minimize the encounter compared to those who endure unwanted sexual encounters or incapacitated sexual assault (Holland et al., 2021b). This points to a key component of minimization: problem recognition. That is, the extent of minimization or denial relies on the survivor's definition and labelling of the encounter. Sexually victimized men's problem recognition is heavily impacted by rape myths and the legitimacy of male sexual victimization. As rape myths and the patriarchy have described men's bodies as impenetrable, many men cannot comprehend their own (sexual) vulnerability, let alone articulate it (hooks, 2004). Curry (2019) notes how this discursive barrier is even more onerous for racial minority men, as hypermasculinity negates conversations around vulnerability and perceived weakness. For example, despite evidence and corroborative accounts, young boys still refused to disclose their victimization to forensic interviewers and in many cases, labelled their assault as consensual to some degree (e.g., using phrasing such as "I slept with her") (Hlavka, 2017).

This minimization or denial is even more likely when analyzing sexuality. Struckman-Johnson and Struckman-Johnson (1994) initially discovered that men who were sexually assaulted by a woman experienced *less* psychological distress than men whose perpetrator matched their gender identity. Given compulsory heterosexuality, it may be easier for a heterosexual (or bisexual) man to re-frame their sexual victimization as consensual when it is perpetrated by a woman, as this is in line with societal scripts of both masculinity and heterosexuality (Javaid, 2018). A bisexual survivor in Ralston's (2020) study could not label his experience as sexual victimization, but instead noted that he "gave in to" sex with women as the path of least resistance and to avoid having his sexuality questioned: "a couple of times it would be socially better if I just went, just went along with it. It is just alright I guess we're doing it" (p. 135). Therefore, not perceiving a problem or minimization of distress is heavily influenced by normative gender, race, and sexuality scripts and creates a barrier to disclosure.

Institutional Barriers

There are also barriers to help-seeking unique to the college setting. First, as mentioned, the various *policies, procedures, and services* in response to CSA have largely excluded minoritized students apart from cisgender women (Harris et al., 2021; Okello, 2023). This specific focus can serve as an immediate barrier to help-seeking, preventing other genders, sexualities, races, as well as differently abled folks from accessing services due to the perception that these supports are unsuitable for their demographic. Disabled survivors with varying needs may not see campus-offered resources as accessible and may be re-victimized in their attempt to utilize and/or get accommodations in the service provision (Brown et al., 2017). Queer survivors often report discrimination, harassment, and outright violence from formal support channels, intensified for queer survivors of colour (Bedera et al., 2023). Students of colour face prejudice and discrimination based on their race throughout

all levels of academia; however, these obstacles are exacerbated in predominately white

institutions (PWIs) (Zounlome et al., 2021). That is, compared to more racially diverse

institutions, students of colour at PWIs are especially likely to be stereotyped, experience

microaggressions, and feel unwelcomed (Zounlome et al., 2021). Queer disabled men of

colour may be particularly wary of institutional resources, especially at PWIs, as they may

expect negative and discriminatory treatment. For men of colour at PWIs, resistance to formal

help-seeking may also be heightened due to cultural-historical fears of being implicated as the

perpetrator (Curry, 2019).

The *size of the institution* (including PWIs) can serve as another barrier for racial and

sexual minorities, as well as disabled students. The smaller the institution, the harder it is for

students of colour to find in-group members, obviously worsened in small PWIs (Ratajczak,

2022). Students of colour at small PWIs are less likely to report their sexual victimization to

even their informal networks, which is especially the case for those students with smaller

social circles (Ratajczak, 2022). Ratajczak (2022) discovered this was motivated by an

omnipresent fear of losing peers; losing social networks had greater negative impacts on

students of colour with small social circles, as it became more difficult for these students to

replace their race-based connections within smaller PWIs. This may also be true for queer

and/or disabled (i.e., autism spectrum or other disorders that make social interactions

challenging) survivors, as replacing these networks in smaller institutions without much

visibility may be difficult.

Information dissemination and availability of resources is another hurdle. First,

institutions differ in how the problem of CSA is defined (e.g., sexual assault, sexual violence,

or sexual misconduct), but not all institutions make this definition clear and accessible for

students and faculty (Dunlap et al., 2018). Dunlap and colleagues (2018) conducted a content

analysis of 75 postsecondary websites across the U.S. and discovered the vast majority (83%) did not provide a link to any sexual violence resources. Most college websites connect student survivors with campus-affiliated resources, with only 11% including off-campus, community options (Dunlap et al., 2018). Overwhelmingly, "90% of institutions included information about where to make an official Title IX report, but less than half of those sites contained information explaining to students the difference between informal disclosures and formal reports to university officials" (Dunlap et al., 2018, p. 445). Just over one-third of institutions included information regarding anonymous reporting (Dunlap et al., 2018).

Hence, the campus-affiliated resources are much more focused on formal reporting, as mentioned previously, rather than simply allowing survivors a safe space for anonymous and confidential disclosure (Harris et al., 2021). This is further exacerbated by the *mandatory reporting* within Title IX, which likely serves as a deterrent to disclosure, rather than a motivator. Once a student confides in a "mandatory reporter" (regardless of whether the student knows who qualifies as a mandatory reporter and if the individual they are disclosing to meets this definition), the survivor does not have control over the situation anymore (Holland et al., 2021a). The mandatory reporter must live up to the name and report the case, including the student's identity, to campus officials and the Title IX coordinator, who decide how to handle, investigate, and adjudicate the sexual assault complaint (Holland et al., 2021a). The survivor is thus stripped of their autonomy and control, which is pertinent to sexual assault healing (Shalka, 2020). For men, who are continually positioned as agential and in control, especially of their bodies and decisions, this mandatory reporting could be particularly deterring.

Further institutional barriers include requiring survivors to partake in the *adjudication process* and the risk of being disciplined under stringent *alcohol and drug policies* (Amar et

al., 2014). Approximately one-third of U.S. post-secondary institutions require that survivors are involved in the adjudication process; despite obvious issues with agency, this poses additional problems if the survivor disclosed to a mandatory reporter for the sake of disclosure, not for formal reporting or investigation (Gonzales et al., 2005). Additionally, most campuses have policies to prevent alcohol and drug use, yet these policies may in and of themselves deter help-seeking (Gonzales et al., 2005). Given that most cases of CSA involve substance use by the survivor, in tandem with the fact that some of those most at risk for CSA are legally underage (under 21 years), survivors may especially fear reprisal under strict alcohol policies.

2.4. Conclusion

It is evident through this literature review that CSA is a prevalent issue across U.S. institutions, giving rise to a wide array of negative consequences. All genders, but especially women and transgender students, experience heightened odds of sexual victimization once entering college, which is worsened depending on multiple marginalization (Coulter et al., 2017; Forsman, 2017). While there are various correlates associated with CSA, I discussed rape and hookup culture, Greek life, and alcohol/drugs as these inform my theoretical lenses and empirical analysis. Given higher education's responsibility to prevent and address cases of CSA, this review outlined and critiqued institutional responses for their impact on help-seeking. Lastly, the informal and formal help-seeking behaviours of sexually victimized college men were presented, attuned to how race, sexuality, and disability may differentially shape these trajectories. I also assessed the various barriers to help-seeking among college men, operating from the individual to the institutional level.

This literature review highlights the lack of intersectional research on the help-seeking patterns of college men. Most CSA research centres women as the students most frequently affected by sexual violence. Yet, there are unique masculinity constraints – as intersected with race, sexuality, and disability – which may mobilize different help-seeking pathways among sexually assaulted college men. To begin to fill this gap, I conduct an intersectional analysis of sexually victimized college men's informal and campus help-seeking trajectories. The following chapter will demonstrate how the combination of intersectionality, masculinities theory, and the social ecological model of help-seeking will shed light on the findings of my dissertation.

Chapter 3.   Theoretical Lenses

This chapter outlines the chosen theoretical framework of my dissertation. The main theories I use to explain sexually victimized college men's help-seeking pathways are intersectionality, multiple masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking. I also assess elements of radical feminism, queer theory, and critical disabilities theory within this chapter as they inform and/or critique aspects of the above theoretical lenses. First, I introduce intersectionality theory, including its foundation in Black feminist thought and the core theoretical components, followed by a discussion of intersectionality as applied to men and college men's help-seeking. Multiple masculinities theory is presented to overcome the limitations of using intersectionality theory for studying men. I first discuss the foundational elements of masculinities theory, then explain how this theory is useful to analyze the sexual victimization of college men. Afterwards, I situate how the combination of intersectionality and masculinities theory provides greater nuance in understanding sexually assaulted college men's help-seeking, while recognizing the challenges with merging the two.

Neither intersectionality nor masculinities, however, is attuned to help-seeking patterns, and as such, the next section introduces the social ecological model of help-seeking. I give background information on the broad history of social ecological models, with a specific focus on Campbell and colleagues' (2009) and Liang et al.'s (2005) frameworks, which I integrate for a holistic picture of the help-seeking process. Lastly, I discuss how these three theories – intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking – can be combined to explain sexually victimized college men's intersectional help-seeking pathways, including the issues with using these three theories together.

3.1. Intersectionality Theory

Black feminist thinkers (Combahee River Collective, 1977; Walker, 1983) have long highlighted how race is overlooked in feminist activism, resulting in the systemic erasure of Black women and their needs in policy and practice (Springer, 2002). Black feminist theorists challenged the feminist homogenization and naturalization of the white woman's perspective, pointing out the interplay between power and oppression and their interlocking influence on structures and individuals (Combahee River Collective, 1977). This work by Black feminist thinkers within the second wave of feminism (1960s to 1990s) serves as the foundation for intersectionality theory, coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989; 1991) and significantly developed by Patricia Hill Collins (2000; 2004). Intersectionality theory interrogates the interconnected systems of power and marginalization that mutually co-construct sociohistorical structures, relations, and identities (Collins, 2004). Because of the multiple constitution of power axes, gender cannot be analyzed in isolation from other forms of subjugation, such as race, class, or sexuality (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Intersectionality does not treat each category (race, gender) as a separate, additive entity, but rather recognizes that these various categories and their power relations intersect to create specific positions, experiences, and structures within the world (Crenshaw, 1991).

There are six core aspects to intersectionality as an analytical tool: social inequality, power, relationality, social context, complexity, and social justice (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Social inequality refers to the unequal distribution and access of resources and positions within society (Murphy et al., 2009). Power within intersectionality is bi-directional and relational. Large-scale systems (e.g., structures, policies, governments) influence day-to-day interactions and organizations, but individuals can also alter global political systems with

their behaviours and activism (Collins, 2000). As power relations are interconnected, intersectionality does not recognize, for example, pure racism or sexism; "rather, power relations of racism and sexism gain meaning in relation to one another" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 27).

Intersectionality analyzes four domains of power. The structural domain refers to how different organizations and governmental bodies are structured, questioning how intersecting power relations shape the institutional context (Crenshaw, 2014). The cultural domain reflects the societal messages transmitted through the circulation of media and ideas (Collins & Bilge, 2016). The disciplinary domain encapsulates the informal social rewards and punishments occurring within everyday practices and interactions that shape appropriate paths for individuals (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Lastly, the interpersonal domain refers to individual (inter)actions, emphasizing the multiplicity of individual identities and how these various categories differentially shape individual power and positionality (Murphy et al., 2009).

The significance of relationality is stressed throughout intersectionality, not just within power relations. Relationality dismisses "*either/or* binary thinking, for example, opposing theory to practice […]. Instead, relationality embraces a *both/and* frame. The focus of relationality shifts from analyzing what distinguishes entities, for example the differences between race and gender, to examining their interconnections" (Collins & Bilge, 2016, p. 27, emphasis in original). It is thus central that the relationality of power and structures are analyzed within their social context. The social context includes the specific historical, political, social, and intellectual settings that construct thoughts and behaviours, in relation to systems of inequality (Murphy et al., 2009). Since social inequality, power, relationality, and social contexts are all intermingled, intersectionality is characterized by complexity (Davis, 2011). Lastly, social justice involves questioning the status quo and claims of social equality

to strive for greater social justice for underserved and oppressed groups; this tenet, however, is not a requirement of intersectionality (Collins & Bilge, 2016).

Crenshaw (1991) distinguishes between three main types of intersectionality. Structural intersectionality focuses on how the locus of gender, race, sexuality (and so on) uniquely shapes lived experiences as distinctly different from more privileged individuals (Crenshaw, 1991). This could include how CSA help-seeking trajectories are differentially mobilized based on social position and group membership. Political intersectionality recognizes how individuals with multiple subjugated group memberships (e.g., women of colour) are "situated within at least two subordinated groups that frequently pursue conflicting political agendas" (Crenshaw, 1991, p. 1241). For example, the widespread women's movement was originally grounded on the experiences of white women, ignoring Black feminist thinkers and women of colour's specific experiences of gendered racism (Collins, 2000; Walker, 1983). Representational intersectionality is attuned to how individuals are constructed within popular culture, assessing both the images circulated and how the critiques of these representations still reproduce tropes (Crenshaw, 1991).

Feminism has developed substantially through intersectionality theory, recognizing that the category of 'women' cannot be fully understood without interrogating how gender intersects with other power modalities and inequalities, such as class, sexuality, and/or race (McCall, 2005; Lorber, 2005). Accordingly, many sexual violence researchers adopt an intersectional feminist lens, including in assessing psychosocial symptoms and protective factors (e.g., López et al., 2022), disclosure patterns (e.g., Edwards et al., 2022), and rape myth acceptance (e.g., Kiebler & Stewart, 2021) among women survivors. Less often, however, is intersectionality employed within critical masculinity studies.

As intersectionality recognizes shared group membership based on oppression (Collins, 2000), it follows that men are not the prime consideration – nor should they be – within this theory (Okello, 2023). Indeed, intersectionality struggles to fully contextualize the experiences of privileged group members, as powerful groups are not the focus of this theory (Collins, 2000). As such, though intersectionality can provide some clarity regarding the help-seeking patterns of the most privileged men in this study (i.e., white, heterosexual, able-bodied men), such as better availability and accessibility of resources, it falls short in fully capturing these experiences (Crenshaw, 1989). Instead, intersectionality theory has the most relevance when assessing the lives of men from subordinated groups, given the interlocking forces of heteropatriarchy, ableism, and white supremacy (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004).

Research engaged with marginalized men is increasingly implementing intersectional frameworks. Studies have documented disparities in mental health and health outcomes (including a large focus on HIV related issues) (e.g., Abshire et al., 2021; Barrington et al., 2021; Collins-Anderson et al., 2022; Morrow et al., 2020), career choices and advancements (Bakshi & Fernando, 2022; Hodges & Budig, 2010; Ljunggren & Eidevald, 2022), educational attainment and access (Cabera et al. 2021; Patrón & Burmicky, 2023), as well as differences in lived experiences (e.g., Beese & Tasker, 2021) among men of various races, sexualities, abilities, classes, and/or geographies (e.g., rural or urban). Intersectional frameworks are also imperative to discussions on how to engage boys and men in feminism and gender violence prevention activism (e.g., hooks, 2004; Keddle et al., 2022). Though research is growing, intersectionality is less often applied to analyze the sexual victimization of (marginalized) men, especially within the collegiate setting (e.g., Curry, 2019; Coulter et al., 2017; Javaid, 2018; Meyer, 2022; Okello, 2023).

The limited application of intersectionality within research on (college) men's sexual victimization, beyond men being a privileged group, may also stem from the power-based nature of sexual violence. Feminists have long argued that rape is not about sex but about power (Canan & Levand, 2019); as the group with patriarchal power, the sexual victimization of men may seem dubious, or at the very least, a rarity. Of the different streams of feminism, radical feminism may be the most resistant to intersectional inquiries of men's sexual victimization. Radical feminism also emerged within the second wave of feminism, critically interrogating the patriarchy as the root of women's global subordination to men (Lorber, 2005). Radical feminism critiques liberal feminism's acceptance of the dominant social structure, arguing that women's liberation will not come without complete eradication of the patriarchy and related power structures (Lorber, 2005). Intersectionality and radical feminism thus share an understanding of how power and subjugation can give rise to subordinate group positionalities, as well as the omnipresent nature of these power structures and the need to overturn them (albeit radical feminism places most importance on gender modalities and the patriarchy) (Brenner, 2013). Though there are many variations of radical feminism, including Black radical feminist thinkers bell hooks (2004) and Alice Walker (1983), the work of Catharine A. MacKinnon (1987) and Andrea Dworkin (1981) tends to receive the most attention and is most likely to be at odds with men's sexual victimization.

According to radical feminists such as Dworkin (1981) and MacKinnon (1987), rape is specifically about the sexual subordination of women to men. For Brownmiller (1975), rape is "nothing more or less than a conscious process of intimidation by which all men keep women in a state of fear" (p. 15). This framing challenged the notion that rape was rare and committed by only evil or deranged men; instead, radical feminists demonstrate how the sexual domination of women by men is a normalized, everyday aspect of a heteropatriarchal

society (MacKinnon, 1987). For radical feminists, so long as women are subordinated to men, women can never give true, free consent to heterosexual sex within a patriarchal society (Dworkin, 1981). Within this framework, it makes sense that men's sexual victimization, as the gendered group with patriarchal power, is not analyzed.

Despite the voices of Black radical feminists (e.g., Davis, 1986; Lorde, 1984), popularized streams of radical feminist ideology (e.g., Dworkin, 1974; MacKinnon, 1987) often treat 'women' as a largely homogenous group, disregarding how gender oppression is differentially experienced based on race, sexuality, and so on (Farr, 2019). The subjectivities of white, heterosexual, cisgender women are predominately centred, and women (and gender non-conforming people) with other identities of oppression are not necessarily embraced within radical feminist activism, including within discussions of sexual violence (Farr, 2019).

Only analyzing the sexual victimization of women by men overlooks the plethora of power dynamics co-constructed with and by gender that uniquely shapes the contexts surrounding sexual violence. This framing is heteronormative, obscuring the power dynamics that exist on male-on-male sexual victimization, as well as denying female-perpetrated sexual assault. Despite recognizing men as the perpetrators of sexual violence, ignoring male-on-male sexual victimization overlooks the power struggles and lived experiences of sexual violence against men, which may be enhanced within queer communities (Maxwell & Scott, 2014). This exclusion misses how men can use (sexual) violence against other men as a mechanism to foster further gender power over certain feminized men, as well as over other genders within the broader patriarchal landscape (Connell, 2005). Disregarding women as perpetrators and men as victims (by men or women) reifies heteronormative understandings of gendered sexual roles, where men are always the sexual aggressors and women are always sexually conquered (Maxwell & Scott, 2014). This risks re-positioning women in line with

patriarchal stereotypes of femininity as passive, weak, and incapable of dominance, especially

of men, that feminism works to subvert. Such a framing, therefore, also conceals the power

imbalances that exist within gender, where men and women are afforded different degrees of

power within their gender hierarchy depending on their intersections with other systems of

inequality (Connell, 2005). Through this, the sexual victimization of disabled queer men of

colour is often left to the margins, despite their increased risk (Meyer, 2022).

> As Okello (2023) states:
>
> Mapping the un/believability of Black males' vulnerability to rape and sexual violence in higher education is not an attempt to erase, overstep, or stand in opposition against Black women, Black trans people, and Black non-binary people who experience inordinate amounts of violence in and beyond higher education contexts; instead, I am demonstrating the ways white supremacy, too, refuses Black males' humanity and meaning-making processes called forth by Black males' historicized positionalities. (p. 275)

Similarly, the evaluation of college men's sexual victimization depending on systems

of inequality demonstrates the full reach of these power structures.

While there are several inequalities relevant to help-seeking pathways (e.g.,

class[6] or citizenship status), my analysis focuses on the interconnections between

gender, sexuality, race, and disability. As I am focused on college students, I also

implicitly evaluate age. Research has long linked the importance of examining

gender, sexuality, and race when assessing sexual victimization (Crenshaw, 1989;

Javaid, 2018); less attention has been devoted to how these structures intersect with

disability. For example, the hypermasculinity stereotypically portrayed among men

of colour, particularly Black and Brown men, frequently renders the sexual

victimization of men of colour invisible (Curry, 2019; Okello, 2023). Further,

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[6]Though class is extremely important to conversations of help-seeking, the dataset used within my dissertation did not collect information regarding social class or economic status.

disabled men are often reluctant to report victimization due to societal gendered expectations, amplified by their disability, that they should manage problems on their own (Powers et al., 2008). Disabled men of colour, therefore, may face unique pressures to reposition themselves as strong and autonomous, which may construct different pathways of help-seeking, including nondisclosure or delayed access.

Intersectional analyses of sexuality rely upon queer theory. Queer theory – emerging through gay and lesbian liberation movements – recognizes the constellation of non-heterosexual subjectivities, interrogating the power and meaning between sex/gender/sexuality and systems of sexual knowledge, practice, and identity (Hall & Jagose, 2013; Segwick, 1993). It represents the continuum of queerness in opposition to heterosexuality, and is therefore, not solely interested in gay or lesbian positionalities, but any manifestation outside the norm (Allan, 2020). Queer theory challenges and provides context to the rigid enforcement of heteronormativity within the patriarchy, including its interconnections with other systems of domination (Allan, 2020). It also helps understand the diverse gendered sexual expectations placed upon college men.

Critical disability theory, originating from the disability rights movement, contextualizes the power dimensions that underlie ableism and its relation to other systems of inequality and power (Annamma et al., 2016). It interrogates the social construction of disability, recognizing the barriers at individual, environmental, and societal levels, including within academia (Waldschmidt, 2017). This theory demonstrates how disability discrimination is normalized within society, often resulting in disability being overlooked in policy and practice (Robertson & Larson, 2016). Critical disability theory identifies the unique barriers disabled men face

depending on the type of disability (e.g., physical or intellectual) and how their

disability intersects with gender, race, and other categories of oppression to create

distinct modalities and experiences (Robertson et al., 2020).

I use intersectionality theory to unpack how sexually victimized college men

may engage in help-seeking behaviours and experience unique barriers based on how

their gender privilege intersects with race, sexuality, and disability status. For

instance, men with greater sociohistorical privilege are better positioned to access

campus resources compared to those with less privilege, given academia was forged

within these power structures (Duran, 2021). Intersectionality has pointed to the

historical exclusion of marginalized groups within academia, especially the

suppression of Black and Indigenous feminist thought, as well as how more recent

efforts at equity, diversity, and inclusion often result in tokenism and the reification

of power systems (Collins, 2000). As such, marginalized men may face specific

barriers in help-seeking due to oppressive sociopolitical structures and interactions

that shape the campus climate and sexual violence resources (Collins, 2000).

Privileged men may also experience their own barriers to support access. Because of

the normalized cultural expectations regarding men's (sexual) violence and

dominance, some service providers or the men themselves might seriously question

the credibility of college men's reports of sexual victimization, particularly when

these men hold privileged group memberships (Gagnier et al., 2017; Ralston, 2020).

3.1.1. Gaps in Intersectionality Theory

Intersectionality, while a powerful framework, faces several theoretical critiques.

Questions arise concerning whether a subjugated group can generate a fixed subjectivity

(Battle-Baptiste, 2011), the homogenous treatment of group identities across different

diasporas (Collins, 2000), and the open-ended nature of intersectionality, lacking clear

definitions, parameters, and methodology (Davis, 2011). For my dissertation's context,

intersectionality's limitations become apparent. This theory is not fully attuned to the gender

dynamics and hierarchies that exist within the privileged group of men, as intersectionality

does not focus on powerful groups (Collins, 2000). While intersectionality proves valuable in

contextualizing the interlocking experiences of racism, heteronormativity, and ableism, it

struggles to completely capture the nuanced impact of these systems on the help-seeking

intentions of men with diverse masculinities and positions within the hierarchy of men. Thus,

intersectionality is most useful in describing marginalized men's help-seeking, though it still

falls short in fully comprehending how these interconnected power structures shape men's

worldviews and experiences depending on masculine pressures and norms.

A related challenge arises when analyzing the subgroup of men who share only

privileged group membership. The white heterosexual able-bodied men in this study lack a

group identity forged through oppression, a key characteristic of intersectionality theory

(Collins, 2000). While intersectionality can offer some insights, such as easier access to

informal and campus resources, it fails to fully explain the help-seeking patterns of sexually

victimized college men who solely hold privileged group membership (Crenshaw, 1991). To

address these gaps when applying intersectionality to men, I turn to masculinities theory.

3.2. Multiple Masculinities Theory

In response to the mythopoetic men's movement that centred on functionalist and

essentialist approaches to explaining masculinity, the second wave of masculinity studies

stressed the multiplicity of masculinities (Knight, 2019). One of the most influential theories

to arrive from this wave is Connell's multiple masculinities theory, further developed by Messerschmidt (2016; 2018). Multiple masculinities theory recognizes that there is not one unitary masculinity, but a range of masculinities that are constructed and performed dependent upon other masculinities and femininities, as well as other social structures (Connell, 2005). Masculinities theory has been essential to parsing out how men differentially benefit from the patriarchal dividend, based on how their masculinity intersects with other systems of power (Connell, 2005). The field of critical masculinities studies has developed substantially through Connell's masculinities theory, such as inquiries into war and global domination/terrorism (Duncanson, 2020; Roose & Cook, 2022), work and family life (Henriksson, 2020; Hodges & Budig, 2010), health and mental health outcomes (Gough, 2018; Robertson & Shand, 2020), criminal behaviour and violence against women (Bonnycastle, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2018), as well as men's sexual victimization (Javaid, 2018; Ralston, 2020).

Masculinities are fleeting and highly precarious, with most men failing to fully meet the hegemonic requirements of manhood (Vandello et al., 2008). Such precarity introduces a hierarchy within men and masculinities, where men are afforded different access to patriarchal privilege depending on their other group memberships (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Vandello et al., 2008). Indeed, "the idea of a hierarchy of masculinities grew directly out of homosexual men's experience with violence and prejudice from straight men" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 831). These power relations that create a hierarchy among men are referred to as internal hegemony, which aids in the external legitimization of unequal gender relations between men, women, and gender non-conforming people (Christensen & Jensen, 2014). Connell's (2005) masculinities theory recognizes four masculinities – hegemonic, complicit, subordinate, and marginalized – as relationally, socially, and historically

constructed. These masculinities gain meaning not only in relation to each other, but in relation to femininities (Connell, 2005). Under the patriarchy, anything feminine is feared and othered (Pascoe, 2011). Men's performances of masculinity are subsequently scrutinized – internally and externally – for any femininity, with intense social exclusion and punishment for men deemed effeminate (Pascoe, 2011).

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the currently most accepted form of masculinity that legitimizes men's domination of women (Connell, 2005). While only a few men will embody hegemonic masculinity, it is normative, representing the most prized way of being a man that requires all men to relationally situate themselves to it (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity – intersected with other systems of domination – rewards white, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle/upper-class, cisgender men (hooks, 2004); those who do not share this most privileged group membership, cannot, under the patriarchy, achieve "true" or "real" masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2016). Since hegemonic masculinity is normative and desirable, men without these intersections may still strive to demonstrate their hegemony (Messerschmidt, 2018). Further, even those men with privilege are not automatically afforded dominance within the hierarchy of men; it must be continually proved in all spaces and times (Connell, 2005). Within masculinities, hegemonic masculinity gains its cultural ascendance through its relations with complicit, marginalized, and subordinate masculinities.

Most men reap rewards from the patriarchal structure, despite not actually displaying hegemonic masculinity; these men are complicit in the maintenance and legitimation of male domination (Connell, 2005). Marginalized masculinities are those that are missing characteristics that facilitate the achievement of hegemonic masculinity, such as having a disability or being a member of a racial minority group (Connell, 2005). Subordinate masculinities represent those that are in opposition to hegemonic masculinity, and are

therefore, deviant (Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018). The best example of subordinate masculinities is gay subjectivities, where gay men are placed at the bottom of the hierarchy as they are the most feminized (Connell, 2005).

Sexual victimization, as it is most often equated with women, subordinates male survivors, regardless of – but also enhanced by – sexuality (Javaid, 2018). The ideals of hegemonic masculinity, which emphasize traits like invulnerability, impenetrability, dominance, and control, are disrupted by sexual victimization (Hlavka, 2016). Consequently, male survivors are often seen as "lesser" and subordinated to the rest of men, viewed through a feminized lens within the patriarchy, because of their sexual victimization (Davies & Rogers, 2006; Hlavka, 2016). The historical framing of sexual violence as a crime committed only by men against women amplifies the feminization experienced by male survivors. For queer men, this potential feminization is intensified. Within the patriarchy, queerness is a threat to heteropatriarchal norms and men's dominance, leading to the subordination of queer identities and relations (Connell, 2005). Constructed as already effeminate within heteropatriarchy, queer men's victimization can further reinforce perceptions of their feminization and subordination (Hlavka, 2016; Javaid, 2018).

Masculinities theory is needed to demonstrate how men are differentially positioned within a hierarchy of men, which impacts the degree to which men benefit from the patriarchal dividend (Connell, 2005). Within this hierarchy, even sexually victimized college men with only privileged group membership lose status in relation to non-victimized men, which is also affected by understandings of women's sexual victimization. Because sexual victimization has largely been equated with womanhood, particularly with white, heterosexual, cisgender women, other victims/survivors are relationally situated to this stereotype to judge the legitimacy of their claims and right to service (e.g., see police

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reactions to Black women or men, compared to white woman, as victims of sexual violence [Javaid, 2018; Kelley, 2023]). Masculinities theory is also useful to demonstrate the pressures college men may – internally or externally – feel to portray themselves in stereotypically masculine ways following sexual victimization, due to fears of being relegated to a lesser masculine status; pressures which may alter based on men's race, sexuality, and disability.

3.2.1. Gaps in Masculinities Theory and Integrating with Intersectionality

Masculinities theory has faced criticism for several aspects of its conceptual framework. These critiques include an unclear understanding of who precisely embodies hegemonic masculinity, the categorization of various types of masculinities (e.g., toxic versus healthy), and the conflation of hegemonic masculinity as a static (negative) character type (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Waling, 2009). For my specific purposes, masculinities theory falls short in comprehensively grasping the intricate social relationships that construct and exist within masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The original conceptualization of masculinities theory centred on a single power matrix – the global domination of men over women – that did not fully consider intersectionality (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). While Connell (2005) alludes to intersectionality, such as acknowledging how white men's masculinities relate to both white women and Black men, a more explicit comprehension of "the agency of subordinated groups as much as the power of dominant groups and the mutual conditioning of gender dynamics and other social dynamics" is imperative to fully grasp how power operates within the gendered group of men (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 848). Masculinities theory does incorporate sexualities, races, and so on, to highlight various masculine positions, but it is not necessarily equipped to unpack the full scope of power/oppression these sociohistorical structures have on the broader social

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landscape, particularly beyond gender (Christensen & Jensen, 2014). Intersectionality theory can provide this structure.

Masculinities theory can also inadvertently reinforce whiteness and heteronormativity. While the distinctions between the different masculinities are essential to demonstrate the internal hegemony operating within the group of men, "subordinate masculinities were implicitly associated with a white femininity or a white queerness and marginalized masculinities were linked in part with heterosexual masculinities of colour," which excludes queer men of colour (Meyer, 2022, p. 15). Research has since expanded understandings of the masculine hierarchy as it intersects with sexuality and race, demonstrating, for example, how queer men of colour are hypermasculinized or hyperfeminized, while simultaneously being sexually pathologized and fetishized within the LGBTQ+ community (Ocampo, 2012; Winder, 2015). Thus, incorporating intersectionality and masculinities theory not only deepens the analytical capacity of masculinities theory but also better captures the complex dynamics underlying gendered power relations (Christensen & Jensen, 2014).

Integrating masculinities and intersectionality does raise theoretical issues. Intersectionality assumes dynamic group membership, which includes the gendered group of men (the issues with such already addressed above) (Collins, 2000). The category of 'man' is usually interpreted as synonymous with masculinity (Abelson, 2019). As queer theory recognizes, especially influenced by postmodern notions of identity, masculinities are not a fixed social position determined by group membership, and similarly, are not exclusively tied to men (Abelson, 2019; Halberstam, 1998). Intersectionality also requires masculinity theorists to expand analysis beyond gender, grappling with multiple, co-constructing systems of power rather than analyzing these categories separately or haphazardly (Christensen & Jensen, 2014).

The combination of intersectionality and masculinities theory provides insight into how sexually victimized college men, as a distinct subgroup of men, may encounter oppression within their privilege – specifically within the category of 'men' – due to their experiences of sexual victimization. Sexually victimized men are often disbelieved and victim blamed, feminizing them as 'lesser men' or 'gay' within a patriarchal framework, which is enhanced for marginalized men (Meyer, 2022). While men as a collective are not oppressed, gendered violence even against men can work to reinforce the patriarchy. Responses to men's sexual victimization, including from male victims themselves, often align with patriarchal concepts of 'real men,' such as emotional stoicism and impenetrability, which are also racially and sexually nuanced (Turchik & Edwards, 2013). The degree to which these ideals are embraced, whether internally or externally, sustains hegemonic masculinity as the ideal standard for men to aspire to, further promoting men's dominance (Messerschmidt, 2016). Sexually victimized men who do not fully conform to patriarchal standards (e.g., queer men of colour) can face further marginalization, as their experiences can serve as 'proof' of their inferiority in comparison to more dominant groups of men (e.g., heterosexual white men), perpetuating the interconnected hegemony of power structures (Collins, 2004; Connell, 2005).

How sexually victimized college men navigate potential dissonances between their gender identity and victimization experiences (enhanced by other group memberships) holds significant implications for the existing gender hierarchy, particularly among privileged men. In opposition to patriarchal norms of manhood, sexual victimization can be viewed as a challenge to masculine status (Connell, 2005; Ralston, 2020). This raises a critical question: do sexually victimized college men reinforce adherence to hegemonic values, seeking to regain their sense of manhood and their associated gender power? Alternatively, do they reject these rigid constraints, working toward a more positive masculinity and equitable

gender relationships? This process may vary based on the power dynamics, resources, and social position available to sexually victimized college men, shaped through their gender, race, sexuality, and disability.

Notably, intersectionality connects the 'oppression-within-privilege' potentially faced by sexually assaulted college men to the broader systems of power that create both their privilege and mechanisms of exclusion; that is, the patriarchal, heteronormative, white supremacist, imperialist sociohistorical structures (hooks, 2004). This analysis illustrates how men can be harmed by the very systems they, even implicitly, uphold and how men navigate this new terrain within their help-seeking journey given power imbalances and struggles. The interplay of intersectionality and masculinities elucidates how sexually victimized college men may encounter oppression-within-privilege, which is enhanced for marginalized men, and how this unique positionality motivates different pathways of help-seeking.

While intersectionality and masculinities demonstrate the potential for displacement within the hierarchy of men due to sexual victimization, which may be elevated depending on minoritized group membership, neither of these theories are necessarily attuned to the help-seeking process. To better contextualize the different help-seeking journeys, the social ecological model of help-seeking is needed.

3.3. The Social Ecological Model of Help-Seeking

Social ecology stems from human ecology, aimed at understanding the interconnected relations between humans and their environment (Haight et al., 2020). Social ecological models situate the individual within their larger sociocultural setting, recognizing the various structural, environmental, and personal characteristics – such as gender, race, and education – that affect behaviour and outcomes (Golden & Earp, 2012). Social ecological models were

originally introduced by Bronfenbrenner (1977), with McLeroy and colleagues (1988) advancing ecological frameworks to health promotion programs. Social ecological models have since become popular within health-related research, including on dating violence (Claussen et al., 2022) and post-sexual assault recovery and help-seeking (e.g., Bhochhibhoya et al., 2021; Chynoweth et al., 2020; Fleming et al., 2021). These models are also often used with intersectionality theory (e.g., Acosta et al., 2022; Rieger et al., 2022), feminist approaches (e.g., Aldoory & Toth, 2021; Campbell et al., 2009), as well as within critical masculinity studies (e.g., Hergenrather et al., 2021; Rovito et al., 2022). Even the World Health Organization (WHO) and the Center for Disease and Control (CDC) employ renditions of social ecological models in their violence prevention efforts (CDC, 2022; WHO, 2023). I will discuss the foundational work of Bronfenbrenner (1977) as it serves as the groundwork for Campbell and colleagues (2009) and Liang et al.'s (2005) social ecological models, which I use to understand sexually victimized college men's help-seeking.

Bronfenbrenner (1977), in recognizing limits with naturalistic sciences, coined the ecology of human development to better understand the multifocal influences on human behaviour. The ecology of human development assesses how changing and disparate environments and social contexts interlock to shape human processing and behaviour (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). To illustrate the interactional and multifocal influences on humans, the ecological environment is central. The ecological environment refers to the nested nature of systems, where each structure is encompassed within the other, operating in an ongoing feedback loop (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). There are four structures within the ecological environment – the microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem – that reciprocally influence each other (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The microsystem denotes the various relations between the individual and their environment in a particular setting (e.g., school, work)

(Bronfenbrenner, 1977). A setting refers to a space with certain physical features that dictate specific activities and roles (e.g., student, teacher) for the participants in that setting (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). The mesosystem, then, is "system of microsystems," reflecting the interrelations between systems and/or other individuals within the ecological environment (Bronfenbrenner, 1977, p. 515). These settings will change throughout one's life and depend on the specific life characteristics of each person (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Expanding on the mesosystem is the exosystem. The exosystem features those informal and formal structures that individuals may not have direct contact with, but nevertheless dictate appropriate behaviour (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Mass media and agencies of the government would fall under the exosystem. Lastly, the macrosystem differs from other structures in that it does not refer to the circumstances influencing the individual but instead serves as (sub)cultural 'blueprints' for appropriate structures and behaviours in each level (Bronfenbrenner, 1977). Thus, the macrosystem represents societal understandings of a particular (sub)culture, heavily influenced by social, legal, and educational systems; the micro-, meso-, and exosystems, then, are the concrete representation of these ideological concepts (Bronfenbrenner, 1977).

Bronfenbrenner's (1977) framework was refined by Campbell and colleagues (2009) to understand the impact of sexual assault on women's mental health. This model serves as the predominant conceptual understanding of the social ecological model I will use. Campbell and colleagues (2009) assess the multiple influence of factors at the individual, assault, microsystem, meso/exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem levels for their interactional effect on women's mental health outcomes following sexual victimization (see Figure 1).
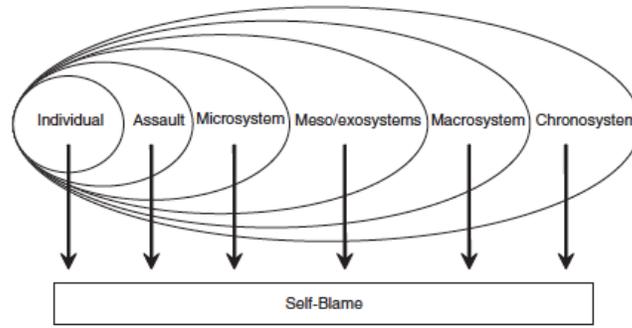
Figure 1. Campbell et al.'s (2009) Ecological Model of the Impact of Sexual Assault on Women's Mental Health

At the individual level, personal characteristics can affect mental health trajectories and help-seeking pathways (Campbell et al., 2009). Campbell and colleagues (2009) emphasize – in line with Collins (1998; 2004) – that most research on health outcomes following sexual victimization lacks a sociocultural perspective of race/ethnicity, where race and culture must be evaluated not just at the individual level, but also at the macro-level. This aligns with Collins (1998) who stresses the multiplicity of race, culture, gender, and so on, in the co-construction of structures and behaviours. As Collins (1998; 2000) has consistently demonstrated, however, interactions between individuals and their settings can be structured by race relations;[7] given the reciprocity embedded within social ecological models, race and culture must also be analyzed at the micro- to meso-levels. Further, this points to the need to evaluate all personal markers of oppression at all levels within the social ecological model for their interlocking effect on human behaviour and health outcomes (Collins, 2000). Campbell and colleagues (2009) additionally assess age, class, education, marital status, employment status, income, personality characteristics, mental health conditions, and coping styles as

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[7]For example, in her analysis of the family as a key site of intersectionality, Collins (1998) notes how "tactics such as the continual white flight out of inner cities […] and shifting white children into private institutions in the face of increasingly coloured schools effectively maintain racially segregated home spaces for white men, women, and children" (p. 68). Such strategies create legitimate places for individuals with different race relations to reside, which constructs their engagement within these spaces (Collins, 1998).

important individual level factors of post-sexual assault recovery. I expand this model by incorporating masculinity, sexuality, disability status, as well as the roles of attitudes and knowledge. For example, survivors hold different attitudes and beliefs regarding the legitimacy of their experience and the ability of support options to respond to their needs, which can affect the help-seeking journey (Mushonga et al., 2021).

The various assault characteristics may also differentially affect mental health and help-seeking following sexual victimization (Campbell et al., 2009). Campbell and colleagues assess the relationship to the perpetrator, threats of or actual violence, severity of violence, weapon use, and substance use at the time of the assault. For example, survivors under the influence often have an arduous time defining the event as non-consensual and may fear more blame from support options (Kilpatrick et al., 2007). I also analyze the gender of the perpetrator and the location of the assault. Due to heteropatriarchal stereotypes and rape myths, men who are victimized by women may fear more victim blaming and/or experience deeper masculinity conflicts, which could affect help-seeking tendencies. The location of the assault may also be important, as certain campus-affiliated spaces (e.g., Greek housing) may discourage disclosure. The more these assault characteristics are present, the more difficult help-seeking may be for sexually victimized college men.

At the microsystem, Campbell and colleagues (2009) evaluate the role sexual assault disclosures to informal supports (including their reactions) have on women's mental health symptoms. Formal support options – legal, community-based, or campus-affiliated – are incorporated within the meso/exosystem. Both informal and formal resources are central in the help-seeking journey, including the type and degree of support available, the reactions of those the survivor discloses to, as well as any historical tensions or institutional violence experienced by certain marginalized demographics (Mennicke et al., 2022). Although

Bronfenbrenner's (1977) foundational organization distinguishes between the meso- and exosystem, Campbell and colleagues (2009) argue such a distinction is not empirically possible within sexual violence research. Instead, Campbell et al. (2009) combine the meso- and exosystem, to create the meso/exosystem, due to its ambiguity in separation:

> For example, victims may seek assistance from a rape crisis center (RCC), which could be conceptualized as a formal help resource (i.e., exosystem) and in the process of helping the survivors, RCC staff may help establish connections with other formal systems (such as the legal or medical systems) and/or work with survivors to help them access more informal supports in their lives (i.e., mesosystems). Therefore, we distinguish our combined meso/exosystem level from the prior microsystem level by whether the interactions take place between informal supports (microsystem) versus formalized supports (meso/exosystem). (pp. 228-229)

The macrosystem includes rape culture, institutionalized racism, cultural differences in response to sexual assault, and rape myth acceptance (Campbell et al., 2009). For example, the degree to which rape culture and rape myth acceptance are embedded within campus, including in sexual violence resources and among the student body, will affect help-seeking trajectories. I also evaluate macrosystem influences of Greek and hookup culture, as well as institutionalized sexism, heteronormativity, and ableism. These macro-level influences trickle down to construct intergroup and individual rape myth acceptance and simultaneously, the individual and intergroup realization of rape culture perpetuates its systemic existence.

Campbell and colleagues (2009) expand Bronfenbrenner's (1977) model with the chronosystem, which reflects the social ecological model's core components of reciprocity and ability for change over time. The chronosystem "examines the cumulative effects of multiple sequences of developmental transitions over the life course," for example the effect of repeat victimization (Campbell et al., 2009, p. 229). Cumulative trauma (i.e., multiple experiences of any trauma) and its effect on mental health and help-seeking tendencies is important at this level. For Campbell et al. (2009) cumulative trauma is differentiated from

the individual level of influence, arguing that revictimization is an ecological phenomenon. For example, childhood victimization is understood within the nexus of the child's individual traits, informal and formal supports, and sociocultural influences; if revictimized as an adult, survivors' processing and subsequent help-seeking trajectories will include the multifocal influences of their childhood victimization (Campbell et al., 2009). Bronfenbrenner's (1977) model is further developed with the integration of self-blame. Self-blame operates as a "meta-construct that results from interactions across all levels of the social ecology" (Campbell et al., 2009, p. 229). This is especially pertinent for sexually victimized college men, as shame and self-blame are often omnipresent, frequently mitigating their use of informal and formal supports (Holland et al., 2021c; Tewksbury, 2007).

While Campbell and colleagues' (2009) social ecological model is extremely helpful to understand the multifocal influences affecting sexual violence outcomes, it does not explicitly evaluate the help-seeking process. Liang et al. (2005) extended social ecological models to create a model of help-seeking and change for women survivors of intimate partner violence. This social ecological model of help-seeking recognizes influences at the individual, interpersonal, and societal level that affect the different stages of the help-seeking process (see Figure 2). At the individual level, analysis involves gender, psychosocial consequences, relating styles, and coping mechanisms (Liang et al., 2005). Interpersonal influences include relationships and prior experiences with the abuser, social networks, cultural factors (e.g., culture of honour), reputations of the police with other survivors (e.g., as harmful or ineffective), and class regarding the costs of help-seeking (Liang et al., 2005). Lastly, sociocultural influences comprised of gender, class, religion, ethnicity, and culture shape inequities between men and other genders, access to resources, and the acceptability of violence and/or help-seeking among these groups (Liang et al., 2005). These three influences

then impact different stages of the decision to pursue assistance post-victimization. While

significant, I follow Campbell and colleagues (2009) organization of influences, as it provides

more nuance while still encapsulating the central tenets of Liang et al.'s (2005) model.
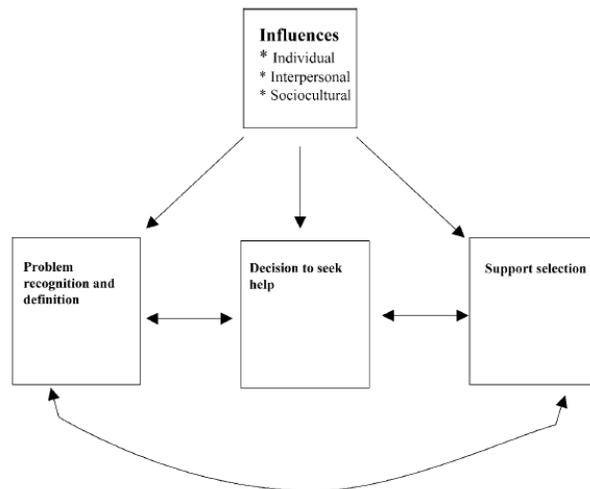
Figure 2. Liang et al.'s (2005) Model of Help-Seeking and Change

There are three stages in the help-seeking process. Problem recognition and definition

refers to how the victim defines the situation, as varying levels of victimization or otherwise

(e.g., as consensual sex or as unwanted sexual contact) (Liang et al., 2005). Whether a

problem is identified and how it is defined directly affects not only the decision to seek help,

but also the type of support selected. For example, if a survivor decides their experience is not

a "big deal," they may not want to burden informal supports with their disclosure and may

feel that formal resources are inapplicable for their situation. The decision to seek help is the

victim's/survivor's choice to get assistance in whatever form (e.g., disclosure to a friend,

anonymous crisis lines, counselling) (Liang et al., 2005). This is useful to understand the

different influences that affect a survivor's decision to access informal versus campus options,

but also deciding not to seek any help. Lastly, support selection is the type of support the

victim/survivor seeks help from, either informal or formal (Liang et al., 2005). Each step in

the help-seeking process affects the others and is influenced by the individual- to

chronosystem levels discussed above. For example, prior negative experiences attempting to disclose previous trauma to informal supports (i.e., chronosystem level) may influence how the victim/survivor defines their current victimization and decision to seek help.

The combination of Campbell et al.'s (2009) and Liang and colleagues' (2005) frameworks garners a holistic understanding of the social ecological model of help-seeking as applied to sexually victimized college men (see Figure 3). Using both these models encourages a more nuanced grappling with the multifocal, intersectional influences – such as structural inequalities, life course trajectories, rape culture, and self-blame – and how these factors affect informal and campus help-seeking among sexually assaulted college men.
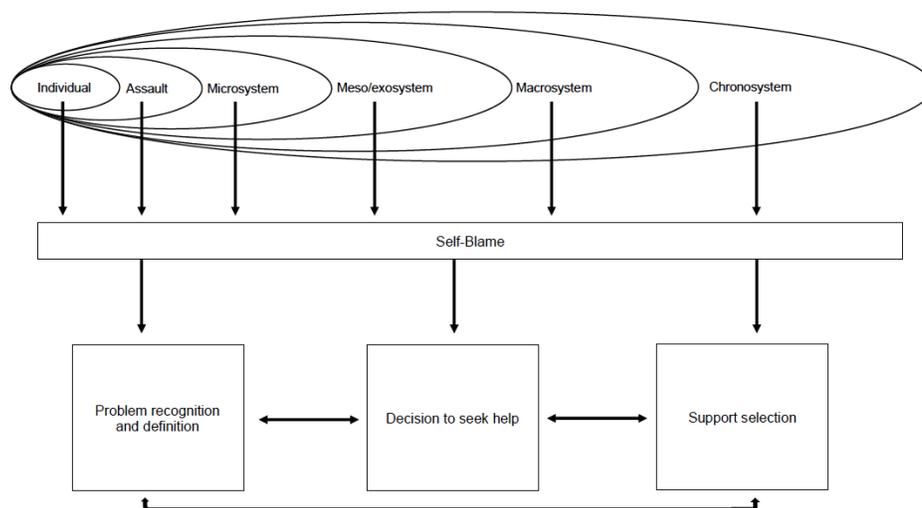
Figure 3. Combined Social Ecological Model of Help-Seeking

3.3.1. Gaps in the Social Ecological Model

While the social ecological model of help-seeking will contextualize the various factors related to different help-seeking trajectories, it does not differentiate the relative weight of influence each factor may have. This is not a major issue, as statistical modelling will demonstrate the degree of prediction for each variable. Social ecological models, however, can be difficult to empirically evaluate (Chatzinikolaou, 2012). Researchers often

pick disparate variables in the different levels of influence with different populations and subsets of samples (Chatzinikolaou, 2012); a consistent, replicable approach to the social ecological model of help-seeking within sexual assault scholarship, for example, is difficult to find due to the variability in research scope.

Most concerning is the assessment of culture and power. Though social ecological models allow the evaluation of culture, these models are not inherently representative of different cultures (Rowley et al., 2015). In an analysis of Indigenous health promotion, Rowley and colleagues (2015) noted several instances where the ecological model failed cultural recognition and complexity. For example, the social ecological model often blurred lines between the various levels of influence (especially interpersonal, community, and organization levels) within Indigenous communities, "where distinctions are often unclear regarding where roles of and within family group/clans, organisations and broader community start and finish. This limits the precision of the method" (Rowley et al., 2015, p. 6). This introduces potential problems when integrating social ecological models with intersectionality, which is discussed below.

3.4. Combining Intersectionality, Masculinities, and the Social Ecological Model

The theoretical lenses of intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model offers conceptual advantages for examining help-seeking among sexually victimized college men. Intersectionality theory highlights the pervasive and mutually reinforcing influence of power structures on the help-seeking trajectories of college men. It illustrates how college men's access to resources can vary based on how their gender privilege intersects with other dimensions of power and oppression. Given that men as a collective are not oppressed, intersectionality is best able to explain marginalized men's help-seeking and is less

effective in analyzing privileged men's use of resources. Intersectionality also lacks an understanding of the gendered dynamics operating within the category of 'men,' which prevents a comprehensive understanding of sexually victimized college men's help-seeking pathways. Masculinities theory overcomes these limitations. Masculinities theory illuminates the masculine hierarchy and how sexually assaulted men, including those with the most social privilege, may experience subordination to non-victimized men due to patriarchal expectations (Javaid, 2016; Messerschmidt, 2016). While combining intersectionality and masculinities poses challenges (already discussed above), the integration of both approaches facilitates an examination of how oppression-within-privilege unfolds for sexually victimized college men, enhanced by their other social positions, which may mobilize different help-seeking pathways.

Intersectionality and masculinities theory do not focus on the intricacies of the help-seeking process, including its distinct stages. Here, the social ecological model of help-seeking provides a crucial structural framework. This model establishes how various structural to individual factors (e.g., rape myths, Greek culture, sexuality) influence college men's problem definition and recognition, the decision to seek help, and the type of support selected (Liang et al., 2005). Importantly, the social ecological model of help-seeking introduces the role of interrelations, experiences, and identities that are not fully born out of power/privilege, which neither masculinities nor intersectionality necessarily recognize. For example, prior relationships and interpersonal conflict can affect the help-seeking trajectories of individuals, especially past experiences with disclosure (Campbell et al., 2009). The attitudes and knowledge of support services also affect willingness to engage in help-seeking and the type of support selected (Liang et al., 2005). Such elements, while not necessarily

arising through interlocking forces of oppression/privilege, are still essential to the help-seeking process and may differentially construct college men's trajectories.

Collectively, these three theories offer a comprehensive framework for understanding sexually victimized college men's transition through the different stages of help-seeking, depending on the degree of emasculation they perceive/experience, the resources available and unique barriers that may exist due to their social position, as well as the different influences that are not fully born out of power structures (e.g., knowledge of services). The multi-focal nested view within social ecological models bridges with intersectionality and masculinities, recognizing how societal to individual factors interconnect to influence social organization, behaviour, and development (Haight et al., 2020). Complexity is key to all three theories, not just within the multiple factors that co-construct experiences, but also regarding the ability for change (Haight et al., 2020). These theories all argue that social structures, relations, and positions are dynamic and constantly changing, albeit in disparate ways and speeds (Haight et al., 2020). Given the analytical power gained from integrating intersectionality, masculinities, and social ecological models, this theoretical combination has been central within analyses of school bullying (Thornberg, 2015), fatherhood and its role on maternal and child health (Dychtwald et al., 2021), experiences of recently incarcerated Black men with HIV/AIDS (Sun et al., 2018), and help-seeking behaviours of Arab-Muslims (Alhomaizi et al., 2018).

The merging of these theories also helps overcome limitations with each individual theory. Both masculinities and intersectionality have been critiqued for their openness and ambiguity in application (Christensen & Jensen, 2014). Social ecological models add much needed structure into the assessment of help-seeking trajectories (i.e., through the different stages) and how markers of privilege/oppression – outlined by intersectionality and

masculinities – differentially shape informal and campus support use. However, social ecological models do not explicitly evaluate power dynamics; the researcher decides whether to include modalities of inequality within analysis. While social ecological models recognize various factors that affect the help-seeking process, which multifocal influences are focused on is up to the researcher, and as such, these models do not consistently, nor necessarily adequately, critique the systemic and relational role of hierarchies present within these power structures, including those that exist within the privileged gendered group of men (Haight et al., 2020). Intersectionality and masculinities force the social ecological model of help-seeking to relationally examine power and oppression, including how this manifests within the group of men, in the production of informal and campus help-seeking pathways.

There are, of course, contentions when combining these theories. The nested approach within social ecological models does risk additivity, where researchers may attribute, for example, assault characteristics + cultural factors + rape culture as contributing to the help-seeking process, instead of analyzing how these aspects intertwine to motivate different informal and campus support access. Social ecological models also do not require analysis of the multiplicative effect of the various influences, despite recognizing their interdependent and reciprocal relationship (Golden & Earp, 2012). This risks contradicting the multiplicity required of intersectionality. The social ecological model of help-seeking does not explicitly grapple with group identities forged through power dynamics, which is foundational of intersectionality, nor are social ecological models attuned to the hierarchies that exist within various groups, like masculinities. Intersectionality and masculinities, however, are much less interested in identities, experiences, and structures that are not created within power struggles; this contradicts social ecological models, which recognize the role of multiple factors beyond power relations that affect informal and campus help-seeking.

Despite their differences, the combination of intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking provides the greatest analytical power to holistically assess sexually victimized college men's help-seeking pathways. With the theoretical lens unpacked, the next chapter sets up the methodological framework underpinning my dissertation.

Chapter 4. Methodological Approach

4.1. Research Questions and Hypotheses

My dissertation aims to identify the intersectional pathways to help-seeking for sexually victimized college men. To begin to fill this gap, I focus on two research questions. First, to gauge the general landscape of college male sexual victimization, I ask, what are the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men? To answer this question, I evaluate gender, race, sexuality, disability, type of sexual violence, location of the victimization, gender of the perpetrator, the perpetrator's relationship to the university and victim, the presence of alcohol/drugs, and the different psychosocial consequences. Second, to meet the main goals of this research, I also ask, what are the intersectional predictors of college men's help-seeking behaviours post-sexual victimization? This research question permits the testing of the following five hypotheses, which are discussed in detail below.

Hypothesis One: Sexually victimized college men are more likely to use informal supports than campus resources. Men with marginalized identities (race, sexuality, and/or disability) are less likely to use informal supports than their more privileged counterparts.

Due to male rape myths and the stigma often associated with the sexual victimization of men, once the decision to seek help is made, college men are more likely to access informal connections (Mennicke et al., 2022). Sexually victimized college men may view campus resources as inapplicable or impermissible, enhanced by the predominate focus of CSA programs on white heterosexual women (Harris, 2020), and may fear victim blaming or harmful reactions by service providers (Donne et al., 2018). This may be more pronounced for marginalized men; for example, colonial, white-supremacist legacies have historically erased men of colour's victimization, instead emphasizing culpability (Curry, 2019). Therefore, it is most likely sexually victimized college men will choose informal supports

over campus resources. While sexually victimized college men may be more likely to choose informal supports over formal options, research has shown that queer students of colour are much less willing to partake in informal help-seeking, for example, for fear of being outed, intra-group ridicule, or race-sexuality-based victim blaming (Bedera et al. 2023; Ratajczak, 2022). Therefore, marginalized college men are less likely to disclose their sexual victimization to informal connections compared to their more privileged counterparts.

Hypothesis Two: Sexually victimized college men whose victimization occurred within a Greek house (fraternity or sorority) are less likely to use informal and campus supports than sexually victimized college men whose victimization did not occur in a Greek house, with worsened odds for marginalized men (re: race, sexuality, and/or disability)

As Greek houses (fraternities or sororities) are common purveyors of campus parties, where the consumption of copious amounts of alcohol and hookups are encouraged – if not expected, especially for men – college men who are sexually victimized within these spaces may be especially unlikely to disclose to either informal or campus resources due to fear of stigma, disbelief, and/or ridicule (Boyle & Walker, 2016). The sexual victimization of men occurring within Greek housing may instead by championed and normalized, which may be particularly likely for marginalized men. For example, disabled men, who are often positioned as asexual, may be celebrated as they are perceived as not having many sexual opportunities (Robertson et al., 2020). Thus, those college men whose victimization occurs within Greek housing may be less likely to engage in informal or campus help-seeking, even more so for minoritized men.

Hypothesis Three: Sexually victimized college men who consumed alcohol at the time of their sexual victimization are less likely to disclose to informal and campus resources than sexually victimized college men who did not consume alcohol at the time of their sexual victimization, with worsened odds for marginalized men (re: race, sexuality, and/or disability)

Survivors who are under the influence (voluntary or otherwise) during their sexual victimization are less likely to acknowledge their experiences as sexual violence (Kilpatrick et

al., 2007), which decreases odds of help-seeking. For college men, alcohol consumption –
especially binge drinking – serves as a marker of masculinity and a key site of male
socialization, which may further limit informal help-seeking for fear of social reprisal
(Capraro, 2007). Rape culture may also obscure the sexual victimization of college men, as
they are championed for their intoxicated sexual conquests, instead of recognizing the
encounter as sexual violence, which again, may be intensified for marginalized men based on
stereotypes of hypersexuality or asexuality (Curry, 2019; Robertson et al., 2020). Such
understandings may also be internalized by the survivor himself, preventing him from
defining the situation as sexual assault. Therefore, sexually victimized college men who
consume alcohol at the time of their victimization are less likely to engage in informal and
campus help-seeking, with marginalized men being even less likely.

Hypothesis Four: Sexually victimized college men who minimize their experience (e.g., they do not think it is a "big enough deal") are less likely to use campus-offered programs, with worsened odds for marginalized men (re: race, sexuality, and/or disability)

Research has demonstrated sexually victimized college men are especially likely to
minimize the extent of their suffering, or outright deny any pain (Mennicke et al., 2022).
Minimization influences the survivor's problem recognition, where they may not define their
experience as sexual violence or needing of assistance, which decreases the likelihood these
survivors access campus resources. If marginalized men internalize hegemonic ideals of
manhood and strive to reap the rewards promised to them by way of gender privilege but
denied based on their minoritized identities (Connell, 2005; Reeves & Stewart, 2017), the
more likely these men may be to minimize their victimization to appear in a more
hegemonically masculine way (e.g., strong, in control, and emotionally stoic). Therefore,
college men who minimize their sexual assault will be less likely to engage in campus help-
seeking, with diminished odds for marginalized men.

Hypothesis Five: Sexually victimized college men who have negative perceptions of campus support services are less likely to use campus-affiliated resources, with worsened odds for marginalized men (re: race, sexuality, and/or disability)

Prior research has found perceptions of support services to be critical in students' help-seeking intentions, where positive perceptions lead to heightened odds the survivor will access the campus supports and vice versa (Mushonga et al., 2021). Sexually victimized college men may hold negative perceptions on the capacity and ability of campus support services to help, as well as their own legitimacy in attempting to gain access, which can inhibit their use of these services (Gagnier et al., 2017). Negative opinions of campus resources may also be intensified for marginalized men, as the historical tensions and social inequalities may increase fears of revictimization and denial of service (Collins, 2004; Javaid, 2018). As such, sexually victimized college men with negative perceptions of campus supports are less likely to access these resources, with minoritized men being even less likely.

To weigh in on these hypotheses, I use 2019 data from the Association of American Universities (AAU), which is discussed in the next subsection.

4.2. Data Source and Participant Demographics

The AAU administered an online survey in 2019 to gauge the prevalence of sexual assault, intimate partner violence, and harassing behaviours across U.S. postsecondary institutions. The 2019 study is a follow-up to a 2015 Campus Climate Survey[8] also administered by the AAU, allowing an analysis of any changes in victimization and campus climate trends over time. The 2019 study was guided by the following research questions:

How extensive is nonconsensual sexual contact?
How extensive are sexual harassment, stalking, and intimate partner violence (IPV)?
What are students' experiences with campus programs and resources?

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[8]Due to differences in the variables of interest between the 2015 and 2019 surveys, I only use the 2019 data.

What are students' perceptions and experiences related to sexual assault and other sexual misconduct?
Have the prevalence, knowledge, and perceptions of risk for sexual assault or misconduct changed since 2015? (ICPSR, n.d., p. ii)

Thirty-three postsecondary institutions across the entire U.S. participated in the survey. Of the 33 institutions, 32 are AAU member universities, with 21 institutions participating in both the 2015 and 2019 versions. These 33 institutions were not randomly selected. This is especially important as there is a lot of variability in the estimates of different victimizations across the 33 schools (Cantor et al., 2020). The AAU ruled out school characteristics as cause for this variability, specifically evaluating school size, type (private or public), the number of crimes within the school's Cleary Act statistics, and climate/community measures. The AAU concludes this variance is largely due to sampling error and non-response bias within the 33 schools. While non-response bias on its own cannot explain the high rates of victimization found, it can certainly contribute to discrepancies amongst institutions (Cantor et al., 2020). As such, the results from this dataset are not to be causally generalized beyond this specific cluster of schools; though, since the schools spread across the entire U.S., this dataset is still very informative.

Probability sampling, however, was utilized to compile participants within each institution. Probability sampling ensures the random selection of participants, where each student in the population has an equal likelihood of being selected (Bell et al., 2023). To be eligible to participate, individuals had to be at least 18 years old and enrolled as an undergraduate, graduate, or professional student in a participating institution at the time of the study. Incentives were offered at some institutions, ranging from $5 to $20 (U.S. funds). Data collection occurred during the Spring semester, between February 1, 2019, to May 10, 2019.

Further details on survey recruitment and procedures can be found within the *Report on the AAU Campus Climate Survey on Sexual Assault and Misconduct* (Cantor et al., 2020).

Of a total sample size of 830,936 students, 181,752 students completed the survey, making the final response rate 21.9% (ICPSR, n.d.).[9] Importantly, this final response rate varied by sex, where 17.5% of men completed the survey compared to 26.1% of women (Cantor et al., 2020). The rate of completion was highest amongst undergraduate women (8% to 80%) and lowest amongst undergraduate men (4% to 64%). There is a near equal split in completed surveys between private and public institutions. Table 1 provides an overview of the sociodemographic characteristics of people who completed surveys. The gender 'transgender/gender non-conforming includes transgender, questioning, and not listed; the sexuality 'other' encapsulates those who identify as asexual, queer, questioning, two or more categories, or not listed.

The AAU 2019 data can meet the goals of this dissertation, while overcoming limitations of current CSA research. First, the 2019 AAU Survey collected substantial, in-depth data related to all intersectional correlates of analysis (gender, sexuality, race, and disability) and help-seeking patterns (from informal to formal resources and reasons for nondisclosure) of interest to this dissertation (see subsections 4.3 and 4.5.1). Second, much CSA research on men is limited in scope due to sample sizes. This occurs either in representation of schools across the U.S. or representation within categories of analysis; that is, much CSA research only evaluates one or two institutions from a certain region in the U.S.

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[9]Two criteria define a completed survey: (1) the student completed the survey in at least five minutes. This was only applied to those students who went through the entire survey to be able to capture the amount of time it took to complete; (2) the student answered one or more questions in the following sections: sexual harassment, stalking, and nonconsensual sexual contact (Cantor et al., 2020).

or have limited samples that make concrete statistical generalizations difficult (e.g., Ford, 2021; Luetke et al., 2021; Turchik, 2012). While the 33 institutions included in the 2019 study were not randomly selected, they are distributed across the entire U.S., making analysis much more nuanced across different regions. The limited sample sizes in the current CSA research for categories of analysis are especially prevalent with genders other than women and races other than white. The AAU Survey overcomes these issues, as there is substantial representation (over 1,000 participants) in each category of analysis, allowing meaningful comparisons and statistical generalizations.

Table 1. Sociodemographic Breakdown of Completed Surveys

		Completed Surveys (%)
Gender	Woman	60.2
	Man	38.1
	Transgender/gender non-conforming	1.7
Sexuality	Heterosexual or Straight	82.1
	Gay or Lesbian	3.6
	Bisexual	6.5
	Other	7.8
Race	White Only	57.3
	Black Only	4.4
	Asian Only	21.3
	Other or Multi-Racial	7.2
	Hispanic or Latinx	9.7
Any Disability	Yes	27.0
	No	73.0
Disability Type	ADHD	2.4
	Chronic Mental Health Condition	14.0
	Chronic Medical Condition	2.0
	Other Type of Single Disability	2.3
	Two or More	6.3
	None of the Above	73.0
Student Type	Undergraduate	59.5
	Graduate	36.2
	Professional Student	4.3
Age	18 years	8.1
	19 years	14.8
	20 years	13.9
	21 years	13.0
	22 years	9.0
	23 years	5.7
	24 years	5.2
	25 years and older	30.3
N		181,752

4.3. Survey Instrument

The Campus Climate Survey is an online survey designed to assess the extent of victimization on campuses across the U.S., including perceptions and knowledge about sexual

violence resources and the overarching campus culture. The survey extensively documents sexual victimization, focusing on two different types of non-consensual sexual contact – penetration and sexual touching – by four perpetrator tactics – the use, or threat, of physical force; an inability to consent or stop what was happening; coercion; and a lack of active, ongoing voluntary agreement. Participants are asked about various offence characteristics, such as the location of the incident, alcohol/drug consumption, and various psychosocial consequences experienced, as well as their use of informal and formal supports for any experience of sexual misconduct. Respondents are also probed for their perceptions on the capacity of their university to respond effectively to sexual assault disclosures.

There are some limitations with the scope of the data. Demographically, the AAU follows suit with how sexuality and gender have predominately been measured, which, while instructive, may collapse or overlook some sexual/gender identities or practices (Denier & Waite, 2016). Lesbian and gay sexualities are collapsed into one level indicative of sexual orientation and gender diverse people are largely grouped together. For example, transgender people are grouped into the gender category of "other," preventing analysis of transgender men and women; such a decision is likely due to limited numbers of each category to stand alone (same with non-binary people). Still, such measurement strategies do limit potential analysis. While a diversity of races/ethnicities are captured within the survey, Indigenous peoples are amalgamated into the category of "other/multi-racial," preventing a meaningful analysis of CSA rates and help-seeking patterns among Indigenous populations.

While the AAU measures victimization occurring within Greek housing, there is no measure for actual Greek membership. Knowing whether a student is a member of a sorority or fraternity can provide important insights into the campus culture related to sexual violence. Lastly, the AAU has important and extensive variables on the reasons victims/survivors

choose not to disclose their sexual victimization, including minimization, involuntary arousal, and a fear of negative reactions. However, the scope of these questions is limited; respondents were asked the reasons they did not disclose their victimization only to *campus-offered programs*, not in relation to other formal supports (e.g., local police) or informal connections. This, therefore, restricts analysis only to campus programs, forgoing understanding of the reasons survivors do not disclose to other formal and informal options. Future renditions of the AAU survey should consider such changes. Nevertheless, the survey has extensive variables allowing the goals of my dissertation to be met.

The Campus Climate Survey is also reliant on self-reports. It has long been documented that individuals may alter their responses to appear more socially desirable, or to alter the results of the research in positive or negative ways (Baldwin, 2000). This is especially relevant for sexually victimized college men, as they may downplay the extent to which they identify as victims or experienced negative psychosocial consequences to appear more masculine. For example, when assessing the frequency of sexual victimization, the Campus Climate Survey asks respondents to indicate which year their victimization occurred. The options here are extremely specific based on the year and semester, which may not give realistic estimates due to recall difficulties; for example, Fall 2017 to Summer 2018, prior to Fall of 2015, or before becoming a student at the university are options the respondents must choose from. This survey also requires participants with multiple victimization experiences to rank them in order from most to least impactful. Not only is this a difficult and onerous requirement to place on the participant, there also may be a resistance from men to attribute any of their victimizations (if they even define them as such) as impactful due to dominant scripts of masculinity.

Despite these issues, there is no ethical way to test the experience of sexual victimization and help-seeking on campus in a purely objective approach (e.g., to have an experimental and control group). Therefore, self-report data remains the most effective way to tackle this topic. This is particularly the case when analyzing men, as anonymous surveys may increase their likelihood of identifying as a victim and being candid about their help-seeking and psychosocial consequences, rather than face-to-face research methods. When face-to-face, sexually victimized college men may engage in more boundary work, attempting to secure their identities around images of power, rather than letting their guards down.

4.4. Data Analysis Plan

4.4.1. Operationalization and Measurement of Variables

The case of interest is sexually victimized college men, which is defined as cisgender men enrolled at a postsecondary institution who experienced some form of sexual violence during their college tenure. The decision for men to reflect sex assignment is not my preferred choice; rather, because transgender men and women are combined within the gender category of transgender/gender non-conforming in the survey, it is not possible to separate transgender men from transgender women to be included within the gender category of "men."

The first focal dependent variable is college sexual victimization. CSA refers to any form of unwanted sexual contact occurring during college tenure, but not necessarily on campus or perpetrated by campus-affiliated individuals. The scope of sexual violence is synonymously referred to as sexual assault, sexual misconduct, and nonconsensual sexual contact throughout the Campus Climate Survey. The specific forms of sexual violence centred on are sexual touching and penetration by the perpetrator tactics of physical force, coercion, inability to consent, and without voluntary agreement. Table 2 provides the terms and

verbatim definitions used by the AAU, which were also provided to participants (Cantor et al., 2020, pp. v-vi). All these variables are binary, where 0) no and 1) yes.

Table 2. AAU Terms and Definitions

Term	Definition
Coercion	Refers to when someone threatened serious non-physical harm or promised rewards to make an individual do something they did not want to do (e.g., threatening to give the individual bad grades or cause trouble for the person at work).
Inability to Consent or Stop What was Happening	Refers to when the student was unable to consent or stop what was happening because they were passed out, asleep, or incapacitated due to alcohol or drugs.
Oral Sex	Occurs when someone's mouth or tongue makes contact with someone else's genitals.
Physical Force	Refers to the use of force or threats of physical force against an individual. Physical force could include someone using their body weight to hold the person down, pinning their arms, hitting or kicking them, or using or threatening to use a weapon against them.
Sexual Assault and Sexual Misconduct	Refers to a range of behaviours that are nonconsensual or unwanted. These behaviours could include remarks about physical appearance or persistence sexual advances. They also could include threats of force to get someone to engage in sexual behaviour such as nonconsensual or unwanted touching, sexual penetration, oral sex, or attempts to engage in these behaviours.
Sexual Penetration	Occurs when one person puts a penis, fingers, or object inside someone else's vagina or anus.
Sexual Touching	Refers to kissing; touching someone's breast, chest, crotch, groin, or buttocks; or grabbing, groping, or rubbing against another person in a sexual way, even if the touching is over the other person's clothes.
Without Voluntary Agreement	Refers to sexual contact that occurs without the individual's active, ongoing voluntary agreement (e.g., initiating sexual activity despite the person's refusal; ignoring cues to stop or slow down).

Two variables are used to gauge sexual victimization. First, to get a general sense of the full breadth of sexual victimization on campus, whether the respondent experienced any *sexual misconduct* since entering college (0) no and 1) yes) is used. This will produce higher prevalence rates than the specific forms of sexual violence, as it includes a wide range of acts, such as nonconsensual sexual touching, but also sexual harassment and stalking related incidents of sexual violence. The second variable, which is used as the main measure of sexual violence, is whether the respondent experienced any form of *sexual assault* during their degree. This is a composite, binary variable (0) no and 1) yes) created from nine different types of sexual assault: penetration involving physical force; attempted penetration involving physical force; sexual touching involving physical force; penetration involving inability to consent or stop what was happening; sexual touching involving inability to

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consent or stop what was happening; penetration involving coercion; sexual touching involving coercion; penetration without voluntary agreement; and sexual touching without voluntary agreement. This variable, therefore, represents the more severe types of sexual violence which students are most likely to seek out informal or campus resources for. For the different types of sexual assault, respondents were invited to fill up to four incident reports, from most to fourth most impactful. Since the drop off rate for the second most to forth most impactful experiences were quite high, particularly with the variables of interest, I decided to only focus on the most impactful incident of CSA in analyses.

The second outcome variable is *help-seeking*. This is divided between formal and informal help-seeking, as well as nondisclosure. In this dissertation, formal help-seeking is limited specifically to the use of campus-affiliated programs and resources provided by the survivor's institution. For the measure of formal, campus support, the original variable of whether the respondent contacted any university-affiliated program about any type of sexual misconduct is used, where 0) no and 1) yes. Informal help-seeking, in contrast, denotes the utilization of interpersonal networks (e.g., family or friends) as a form of disclosure and support. The measure for informal help-seeking is a composite variable created from four variables within the Campus Climate Survey: for their most impactful incident of CSA, those who told their friend, family, sexual or romantic partner, or someone else (all originally binary, with 0) no and 1) yes). This computed variable was recoded, where 0) did not contact informal support and 1) did contact informal support.

Nondisclosure occurs when the victim/survivor does not tell anyone, informal or university-offered resources, about any experience of sexual violence. To create a measure of those who did not seek help, two variables were combined. First, respondents were asked if they utilized a series of informal and formal resources for their most impactful experience of

CSA. Of interest is the variable of if the respondent did not tell anyone else of their

experience, which is coded as 0) no and 1) yes. This variable was combined with the measure

for formal support – whether any campus-offered programs for any experience of sexual

misconduct were used. As I am interested in those who did not tell anyone else (therefore

coded as 1 for yes) and those who did not seek out university-offered programs (coded as 0),

reverse coding of the first variable was completed. Then, these two variables were combined

to create the total nondisclosure variable, where 0) did not disclose to anyone and 1) disclosed

to someone.

Gender, race, sexuality, and disability are the main independent variables. Gender

reflects the culturally constructed roles, behaviours, expectations, and identities associated

with men, women, and gender nonconforming people. There are four categories of analysis

for gender: 1) woman, 2) man, 3) transgender man/woman, questioning, not listed (henceforth

referred to as transgender/gender non-conforming), and 4) decline to state.[10] This variable is

then recoded so that those who declined to state are treated as missing data, leaving three

gender categories of analysis. Race refers to the socially constructed division of individuals

into groups based on physical and biological characteristics. To create the final race variable,

two variables were combined. The initial race variable consists of four levels: 1) white only,

2) Black only, 3) Asian only, and 4) other or multi-racial. Additionally, a second variable was

used to capture Hispanic/Latinx identity, which was categorized as 1) yes and 2) no.

Acknowledging that Hispanic/Latinx individuals can embody diverse racial backgrounds

(PEW Research Center, 2021), I modified the original race variable to include Hispanic

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[10]There is a 5-category gender variable available which separates non-binary and genderqueer individuals from the overall category of transgender/gender non-conforming. The categories of analysis dwindle substantially when evaluating intersectional layers of marginalization with this 5-category variable which is why the 4-category gender variable was chosen.

students within analysis. I recoded the original variable to exclude individuals who identified as Hispanic and then combined the two variables to establish a fifth race category denoting Hispanic identity, consistent with the literature (IPUMS, n.d.).[11] After recoding this final race variable to have a meaningful zero, the final levels are: 0) white only, 1) Black only, 2) Asian only, 3) other or multi-racial, and 4) Hispanic or Latinx.

Sexuality, with how it was measured, depicts sexual orientation. There are five categories within sexuality: 1) heterosexual or straight, 2) gay or lesbian, 3) bisexual, 4) asexual, queer, questioning, or not listed, 5) two or more categories, and 6) decline to state. Similarly, sexuality was recoded to have a meaningful zero and to reclass those who declined to state as missing data. The category of asexual, queer, questioning, or not listed was also combined with two or more categories to create the new level of 'other' (0) heterosexual or straight, 1) gay or lesbian, 2) bisexual, 3) other). Disability reflects the range of learning, sensory, mobility, and mental health related disorders and conditions. There are two important variables to measure disability: if the student identifies with a disability and the type of disability. Student identification with a disability (binary, 1) yes and 2) no) will serve as the main indicator for disability used in analyses and was recoded to have a meaningful zero (0) no, 1) yes). Type of disability has six levels, coded as 1) attention-deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), 2) chronic mental health condition, 3) chronic medical condition, 4) other type of single disability, 5) identifies with two or more disabilities, and 6) none of the above.

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[11]Hispanic/Latinx identity is considered an ethnic identity more than a racial one, as individuals of Hispanic/Latinx origin can belong to a diversity of racial backgrounds (PEW Research Center, 2021). However, including Hispanic/Latinx as its own level within race recognizes the complexity of identity and the unique history and experiences of Hispanic folks within the U.S (PEW Research Center, 2021). Such inclusion gives a better and more accurate understanding of the diversity within the student population, especially as it relates to help-seeking intentions.

There are also several important covariates. Victimization within Greek housing refers to whether any experience of CSA occurred within either a fraternity or sorority house. This variable is binary, with 0) occurred somewhere other than Greek housing and 1) occurred within Greek housing. The original variable used to create the measure of Greek housing had 11 categories[12] of where their most impactful experience of CSA occurred, including fraternity and sorority housing. I decided not to emphasize the distinction between fraternity and sorority housing, as there were only 66 completed surveys within the sorority house category, compared to 4,252 within the fraternity house category (irrespective of gender).[13] The other nine categories in the original location variable were recoded into the first level of "occurred somewhere other than Greek housing." Alcohol consumption reflects whether the individual was drinking alcohol before the incident of CSA occurred. This original variable is binary, where 1) yes and 2) no; therefore, it was recoded to create a meaningful zero: 0) no and 1) yes.

Minimization tactics depict the belief that the victimization was not serious enough to warrant the use of university-offered sexual violence programs. To create the final variable of minimization, the original variable of the most important reason respondents did not contact university-offered sexual violence programs for their most impactful incident of CSA was

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[12]The original categories are: 1) University residence hall/dorm; 2) Fraternity house; 3) Sorority house; 4) Other space used by a single-sex student social organization; 5) Other residential housing; 6) Classroom, lab, or fieldwork setting; 7) Faculty or staff office; 8) Restaurant, bar or club; 9) Other non-residential building; 10) Outdoor or recreational space; and 11) Some other place. This original variable will be used in descriptive statistics.

[13]As this is limited to their most impactful experience of CSA, this is a different N than if the second to fourth most impactful incident of CSA were also included. Though, due to the drop-off rate from the second to fourth most impactful incident of CSA, the difference in Ns are minor.

used. This original variable has 24 different reasons,[14] four of which are used to reflect the

dynamics of minimization, with the remaining 20 recoded as "other reasons." The recoded

variable of minimization thus has two levels: 0) did not minimize and 1) minimized.

Perceptions of campus support denote the degree to which participants view the university as

appropriately responding to sexual misconduct claims. A composite variable exists within the

dataset already, gauging respondents who feel it is either "very" or "extremely" likely that

university officials will do all of the following when a sexual misconduct report is made: take

the report seriously, conduct a fair investigation, and take action to address causes of the

issue. This variable is binary, with 0) no (they don't think it's very or extremely likely – i.e.,

they think it is either not at all, a little, or somewhat likely) and 1) yes (they do think it is very

or extremely likely).

4.4.2. Logistic Regression

To assess my hypotheses, I use a series of logistic regressions. Logistic regression

predicts the effects of categorical independent variables on a dichotomous dependent variable

(Kleinbaum & Klein, 2010). Such models are widely used in social science and

epidemiological research, as many variables and outcomes are categorical, if not dichotomous

(e.g., the absence or presence of a trait). Binary logistic regressions are, therefore, concerned

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[14]The original levels are: 1) I did not know where to go or who to tell; 2) I felt embarrassed, ashamed, or that it would be too emotionally difficult; 3) I did not think anyone would believe me; 4) I did not think it was serious enough to contact any of these programs or resources; 5) I did not want the person to get into trouble; 6) I feared negative academic, social, or professional consequences; 7) I feared it would not be kept confidential, 8) I could handle it myself; 9) I feared retaliation; 10) I didn't think these resources would give me the help I needed; 11) Incident occurred while school was not in session; 12) GA17 other; 13) I was not injured or hurt; 14) The reaction by others suggested that it wasn't serious enough to contact any of these programs or services; 15) I contacted other programs or services that I felt were appropriate; 16) I had trouble reaching the program or service; 17) I was too busy; 18) The event happened in a context that began consensually; 19) Because of the person's gender, I thought it would be minimized or misunderstood; 20) I might be counter-accused; 21) Alcohol and/or other drugs were present; 22) Events like this seem common; 23) My body showed involuntary arousal; and 24) GA17a other.

with the probability that the dependent variable equals 1 (presence of the outcome variable) (Menard, 2013). The logit transformation, or logged odds, alters the probabilities to represent a linear, instead of a nonlinear, relationship with the independent variable(s) (Pampel, 2021). As logistic regression works with probabilities, the logged odds transformation computes odds ratios, representing the probability of an event over a non-event. When the odds ratio is greater than 1, the odds of the outcome occurring increase, demonstrating a positive relationship (Hilbe, 2009). When the odds ratio is less than 1, the odds of the outcome decrease, illustrating a negative relationship (Hilbe, 2009). As such, there are slight differences in the interpretation of the coefficients of a binary regression. Specifically, the intercept, b_0, represents the logged odds when the independent variable, X_1, equals zero (Menard, 2013). The slope, b_1, reflects the change in the logged odds for a unit change in X_1 (Menard, 2013). The slope is then exponentiated (e^b) so that the interpretation is in odds ratios, which allows the exponentiated slope to be manipulated into a percentage [($e^b - 1$) x 100%], demonstrating a percent increase or decrease in the expected odds. In my analysis, I present odds ratios and predicted probabilities for ease of interpretation.

Logistic regressions, however, provide the odds of the outcome variable while holding all other variables constant. Because of this, the odds of informal help-seeking among Hispanic men, for example, do not include their scores on sexuality, disability, and other covariates. To garner a better intersectional understanding of informal and campus help-seeking, predicted probabilities are used. The predicted probabilities demonstrate the likelihood of the outcome variable, depending on their scores on all independent variables of interest and controls (Pampel, 2021). This allows me to calculate the predicted likelihood college men engage with informal and campus resources depending on their race, sexuality,

and disability, as well as any relevant covariates (e.g., alcohol consumption). I calculate

predicted probabilities across the population. With this approach, the main predictors of

interest – race, sexuality, and disability, as well as Greek housing, alcohol consumption,

minimization, and perceptions of support – are held at their specific representative value, with

all control variables averaged across the population. This method of calculating predicted

probabilities allows a more nuanced understanding of the variations of informal and campus

service use present across and within different subgroups of sexually victimized college men.

First, the log-odds are calculated for each group (e.g., disabled heterosexual Hispanic men)

using each predictor's coefficient and representative values, as well as the coefficients of each

control and their average value across the population (Pampel, 2021). Then, the logistic

function is used to transform the log-odds into probabilities (Pampel, 2021).

Logistic regression allows the goals of my dissertation to be met, as it permits the use

of categorical independent variables (race, sexuality, and disability) to predict scores on a

binary dependent variable (presence or absence of help-seeking). Through this method, I can

evaluate how Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of campus

support influence the predicted odds of informal and campus help-seeking among college

men, considering their intersections with race, sexuality, and disability. Instead of resorting to

chi-square analyses or other lower-scale statistical tests, logistic regression permits more

directional and statistical understanding of the interactional effect of the categorical variables

of interest to this dissertation. Through the prediction afforded within binary logistic

regression, the relative importance of each independent variable and its combination, as well

as the direction and strength of the effect on help-seeking for sexually victimized college men

can be determined. As I can decipher which demographics of sexually victimized college men

have better or worse predicted probability of accessing informal and campus supports, this method also provides opportunities for more nuanced policy recommendations.

Incorporating Intersectionality within Quantitative Methodology

Though intersectionality theory is predominately used in qualitative research, this theory is increasingly incorporated within quantitative methodologies (Bauer, 2014). Intersectionality theory offers advantages to quantitative researchers, such as a more accurate documentation of individual and structural inequalities, increasing generalizability within different communities based on their unique milieu, as well as aiding in culturally specific and sensitive intervention and prevention tactics (Bauer, 2014).

In practice, missteps can occur that depart from the core intersectional tenets, such as models that treat the variables as purely additive or obscure the role of social power and/or structural inequality (Bauer et al., 2021). Thus, caution must be taken at each step in the research process to ensure adherence to the foundational aspects of intersectionality theory, including careful consideration on how multiple oppression will be measured and the incorporation of social structural power within models and analyses (Misra et al., 2021). One potential issue with intersectionality and quantitative methodologies is the measurement of oppression (Bauer, 2014). Bowleg (2008) argues it is extremely difficult for quantitative researchers to measure oppression in a manner that is not additive, as individual questions are asked about separate experiences, identities, or structures of marginalization which does not necessarily acknowledge interconnections. However, while the questions may indeed be additive in nature, analyses can be conducted that are not additive, but instead illuminate the impact of different social positions and powers through comparisons that permit much needed intersectional multiplicativity (Bauer, 2014).

To ensure that the complexity within intersectionality theory is methodologically maintained, there are three dominant approaches to intersectional methods: anticategorical, intracategorical, and intercategorical complexity (McCall, 2005). While these three approaches often blur lines, for this dissertation, intercategorical complexity will be utilized.[15] With intercategorical complexity, "scholars provisionally adopt existing analytical categories to document relationships of inequality among social groups and changing configurations of inequality among multiple and conflicting dimensions" (McCall, 2005, p. 1773). The main goal of the intercategorical approach, also known as the categorical approach, is to elucidate the inequalities, and their relationship, amongst social groups (McCall, 2005). As such, researchers in this domain are less concerned with problematizing and dismantling the existing categories of oppression, instead using these categories as useful 'anchor points' (McCall, 2005). These categories are not treated as stable, but rather, allow researchers to demonstrate most clearly the interconnected relationships amongst categories of oppression and their dynamic nature (McCall, 2005).

With this approach, the existence of complex differences between groups is tested within hypotheses. Such an approach "focuses on the complexity of relationships among multiple social groups within and across analytical categories and not on complexities within single social groups, single categories, or both" (McCall, 2005, p. 1786). Instead, the emphasis is on multiple groups and their comparison. Each addition of an analytical category requires analysis of the multiple groups that constitute that category (McCall, 2005). For example, if gender is the base analytical category, all genders must be compared – men, women, and gender nonconforming. Adding sexuality (e.g., heterosexual, gay or lesbian,

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[15] For in-depth discussion of anticategorical and intracategorical complexity see McCall (2005).

queer or questioning) into analysis requires each gender be cross compared with each sexuality – in this case, there are nine groups created. The more analytical categories that are included, the more complexity that is introduced into the model. This has the potential to introduce bias within modelling, particularly with low-prevalence outcomes (Mahendran et al., 2022). Specifically, low-prevalence outcome variables are extremely susceptible to outliers and, therefore, require large samples to generate an appropriate number of events, which is only aggravated by the number of intersectional subgroups (Mahendran et al., 2022). I thus focus on four main sources of inequality/difference: gender, race, sexuality, and disability. Though, due to the exploratory nature of my dissertation, as well as the smaller sample sizes that exist when subdividing into these intersectional categories (e.g., disabled bisexual Black men), I choose to conduct logistic regressions, which are largely additive. This introduces caution to my findings, which is discussed in more detail in the conclusion.

4.4.3. Analytic Strategy

The respondent level data was filtered into two smaller analytic samples: one of all completed surveys and a second of men's completed surveys. In both these analytical samples, only those without missing data on the intersectional predictors of interest (gender, race, sexuality, and disability) are included; any disparities between analytical samples are due to differences in the dependent variables and covariates. The first sample of all completed surveys is used to compare the different genders, races, sexualities, and disability statuses and their victimization rates, including the differences between sexual misconduct and sexual assault. This results in a total sample size of 168,481 students for the first analytic sample. The second analytic sample of men's completed surveys is used for the main aspects of my research questions. I will use this sample to provide the sociodemographic characteristics of

college men's sexual victimization, as well as to compute the various logistic regressions predicting informal and campus help-seeking. The total sample size is 64,270 college men. The data analysis plan below is separated by each research question. All analysis is done with the software program SPSS. Unweighted and weighted (final calibrated weight) estimates are provided.

The first research question is concerned with descriptive statistics surrounding various sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men. First, all genders, races, sexualities, and disability statuses are compared for the overall rates of sexual misconduct, sexual assault, as well as the four most occurring types of sexual violence: sexual touching with physical force, sexual touching with an inability to consent or stop what was happening, sexual touching without voluntary agreement, and penetration without voluntary agreement. This will provide a contextual understanding of the different genders and their experiences of CSA, while also remaining true to intersectionality's relational component. After the genders are compared, descriptive statistics of sexually victimized college men (intersected with race, sexuality, and disability) are compiled to meet the main goals of the first research question. Variables of interest here include age, student affiliation, gender of the perpetrator, number of perpetrators, location of the victimization, perpetrator's relationship to the university and victim, and various psychosocial consequences experienced.

To answer my main (second) research question, several sequential logistic regression models are conducted. The assumptions of a logistic regression are assessed to ensure the variables of interest meet the key assumptions (see Appendix A). I first build logistic regression models with the main independent variables – race, sexuality, and disability – and the outcome variable – informal or campus help-seeking. I then add a second layer to the model for important control variables (see below). The last step in the modelling process is to

include the specific covariate of interest for each hypothesis – Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, or perceptions of support. Separate models will be conducted for informal and campus help-seeking and compared when relevant (hypothesis 1). Because the covariates of interest are largely framed in terms of sexual assault, especially those related to informal supports, logistic regressions will use the composite variable of sexual assault to depict sexual victimization. Hypothesis 1 (only as it relates to campus supports) and hypothesis 5 will also provide logistic regressions predicting campus support use among men who experienced any form of sexual misconduct, as the variables of interest for these hypotheses are captured among all students, not just those with sexual assault experiences. Within the models, p-values less than 5% are interpreted as statistically significant.

In each model, I control for school type (public or private), crimes in the Cleary Report per students (1) low, 2) medium, 3) high), collapsed school level composite knowledge of campus definitions and resources (1) lower 25% of schools, 2) middle 50% of schools, 3) upper 25% of schools), collapsed school level composite opinions on the occurrence of sexual assault (1) lower 25% of schools, 2) middle 50% of schools, 3) upper 25% of schools), collapsed school level composite opinions on reactions by school to a report of sexual assault (1) lower 25% of schools, 2) middle 50% of schools, 3) upper 25% of schools), and the response rate for the school. Due to the non-random sampling of the participating schools (despite probability sampling of respondents from each school), it is important to control for college characteristics to limit potential effects demographic differences in schools have on help-seeking behaviours. I also control for personal characteristics, specifically age (18 years, 19 years, 20 years, 21 years, 22 years, 23 years, 24 years, 25 years or older) and student affiliation (1) undergraduate, 2) graduate, 3) professional). All these variables are recoded to have a meaningful zero.

Through this chapter, the various methodological components were outlined and unpacked, including my hypotheses, the data source, and how I use logistic regression to meet the goals of my dissertation. As I have two research questions, I divide my results chapters accordingly. The first results chapter centres the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually assaulted college men, followed by the second results chapter which presents the logistic regression models.

Chapter 5. Characteristics of College Men's Sexual Victimization

This chapter focuses on the first research question, what are the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men? I first compare the rates of CSA depending on gender, sexuality, race, and disability status. Then, I provide descriptive statistics surrounding college men's sexual victimization. All results presented are weighted; unweighted results are provided in Appendix B.

5.1. Rates of College Sexual Assault

Table 3 depicts the different types of CSA experienced by gender, sexuality, race, and disability status. Over half of women (56.7%) and transgender/gender non-conforming students (67.5%), compared to one in three men (34.5%), experience some form of sexual misconduct after starting college. Further, one in four women (25.1%) and transgender/gender non-conforming people (28.6%) experience more severe forms of sexual assault during their degree, compared to one in fifteen men (6.8%). The four most frequently occurring types of sexual assault – sexual touching with physical force, sexual touching without consent, sexual touching without voluntary agreement, and penetration without voluntary agreement – follow the same gender trends, with women and transgender/gender non-conforming students experiencing much higher rates than men. Queer students report more CSA victimization than their heterosexual peers; bisexual students, however, are most at risk. For example, nearly 33.0% of bisexual students experience sexual assault, compared to roughly 28.0% of students with "other" sexualities (e.g., asexual, questioning), 20.0% of gay or lesbian people, and 14.0% of heterosexual individuals.

Table 3. Types of College Sexual Assault by Demographic

	Any Sexual Misconduct	Any Sexual Assault	Sexual Touching with Physical Force	Sexual Touching without Consent	Sexual Touching without Voluntary Agreement	Penetration without Voluntary Agreement
	Percent					
Gender						
Woman	56.7	25.1	14.2	8.4	14.2	9.2
Man	34.5	6.8	3.0	2.1	3.5	1.6
Transgender/gender non-conforming	67.5	28.6	13.5	9.2	19.0	14.1
Sexuality						
Heterosexual	42.7	14.1	7.7	4.6	7.5	4.4
Gay or Lesbian	55.5	19.7	9.4	5.7	10.4	6.6
Bisexual	66.8	32.9	17.5	11.8	20.6	14.1
Other	65.5	27.9	14.0	9.4	18.1	12.5
Race						
White Only	50.1	18.4	9.7	6.3	10.4	6.5
Black Only	45.4	16.0	8.4	3.9	8.3	5.3
Asian Only	31.1	8.3	4.8	2.5	4.4	2.4
Other/Multi-Racial	51.3	18.8	10.4	6.0	11.3	6.7
Hispanic or Latinx	49.2	18.2	10.4	6.1	9.9	6.2
Disability						
Disabled	62.0	28.0	15.6	10.0	16.6	11.6
Non-Disabled	40.4	12.1	6.3	3.7	6.4	3.5
Total	771,780	738,133	763,965	758,320	748,171	750,793

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. Differences between any sexual misconduct and any sexual assault are due to the scope of the question, where sexual misconduct more broadly includes sexual harassment and sexual violence occurring through stalking and intimate partner violence, and sexual assault is refined to the nine types of sexual assault surveyed.

Rates of CSA victimization are highest among white, Hispanic/Latinx, and other/mixed students, with slightly lower rates among Black students. Asian students, however, are much less likely to report any type of CSA victimization than students of other races. For example, approximately half of other/mixed (51.3%), white (50.1%), Hispanic/Latinx (49.2%), and Black (45.4%) students experience sexual misconduct at some point during their education, compared to one in three Asian students (31.1%). The results do not fully demonstrate an increased risk of CSA among students of colour, which could stem from the overrepresentation of white students within the dataset. Finally, disabled students report at least double the rate of sexual assault than their non-disabled peers; for example, 6.4% of able-bodied students experience sexual touching without voluntary agreement, compared to 16.6% of disabled students.

These results support research demonstrating the increased risk of sexual violence for minoritized populations once entering postsecondary (Forsman, 2017; Harris et al., 2021; Mellins et al., 2017). Due to the power-based nature of sexual assault, those who are more oppressed within society are also those who are more likely to experience greater rates of CSA than their less oppressed counterparts. The structural power of academia may explain these findings (Crenshaw, 2014). As higher education was originally reserved for the most elite in society – white, straight, middle-to-upper class, cisgender men – individuals who did not share this privileged group membership were systematically excluded and targeted (Collins, 2000; Duran, 2021). This foundational oppressive history of academia is still present today, including in limited funding for marginalized students and the lack of minority representation on campus (Duran, 2021). Such structural power invariably shapes campus climate, maintaining an environment in which the most privileged are the most protected (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). Since campus CSA policies predominately centre white, heterosexual, able-bodied, cisgender women (Harris et al., 2021), most minoritized students are not represented or safeguarded within these institutional policies. This institutional power affects interpersonal relations and identity formation, where minoritized students experience (interlocking) forms of racism, sexism, and ableism from their peers and faculty, which affects their own meaning making, including of any CSA experienced (Duran, 2021).

The results of this descriptive comparison demonstrate a need to look intersectionally at all genders as CSA victims/survivors, including men. Table 4 presents the different types of CSA among men intersected with sexuality, race, and disability. Queer men (e.g., 17.1% of gay men) experience over three times the rate of sexual assault than heterosexual men (4.9%). The higher rates among bisexual students found earlier diminishes, with near comparable rates of CSA amongst queer men. Disabled men (12.1%) also report over double the rate of

sexual assault than able-bodied men (5.2%). Rates of CSA victimization are highest amongst other/multi-racial men, with Hispanic/Latino, Black, and white men trailing closely. Asian men are much less likely to report any CSA victimization than men of other races. For example, 8.6% of other/mixed men, 8.3% of Hispanic men, and 7.7% of white and Black men experience sexual assault during their degree, compared to just 2.8% of Asian men. The lower rates of CSA found among Asian students, and Asian men in particular, may be attributed to racial gendered socialization. For example, "discussions of sexuality in Asian American households are often negative, heavily stigmatized, risk prevention-oriented, and focused on placing the burden on women to uphold familial integrity and reputation (Espinosa, 2022, p. 2). This may motivate greater rape myth acceptance and difficulty defining the situation as sexual assault for Asian victims/survivors (Espinosa, 2022; Liang et al., 2005). To protect the family and community from shame, Asian students may withhold disclosing their sexual victimization (even on anonymous surveys); for Asian men, prior experiences of being racialized as unmasculine may mobilize nondisclosure for fears of further shame, ridicule, and/or rejection (Campbell et al., 2009; Connell, 2005; Keum et al., 2023).

Such results confirm scholarship demonstrating marginalized men's increased risk of sexual victimization (Coulter & Rankin, 2020). True to intersectionality theory, evaluating CSA only by gender obscures important differences in how students of the same gender with divergent sexualities, races, and disabilities experience CSA. While women and transgender/gender non-conforming students outnumber men in sexual victimization, there is still a significant proportion of college men experiencing CSA, especially among minoritized men. It is thus important to understand the circumstances surrounding college men's sexual victimization and their help-seeking trajectories.

Table 4. Rates of College Sexual Assault Among Men by Sexuality, Race, and Disability

	Any Sexual Misconduct	Any Sexual Assault	Sexual Touching with Physical Force	Sexual Touching without Consent	Sexual Touching without Voluntary Agreement	Penetration without Voluntary Agreement
	Percent					
Sexuality						
Heterosexual	32.1	4.9	2.3	1.7	2.6	1.0
Gay	52.1	17.1	8.6	4.9	9.7	6.3
Bisexual	55.1	16.4	6.9	5.6	9.1	4.2
Other	57.7	16.1	6.2	4.3	9.2	5.7
Race						
White Only	37.6	7.7	3.2	2.5	4.0	1.9
Black Only	37.3	7.7	4.0	1.9	3.9	1.9
Asian Only	21.9	2.8	1.6	0.8	1.2	0.6
Other/Multi-Racial	40.0	8.6	4.0	2.7	5.3	2.0
Hispanic or Latino	38.1	8.3	3.7	2.6	4.0	1.8
Disability						
Disabled	47.9	12.1	5.4	4.2	6.7	3.4
Non-Disabled	32.0	5.2	2.4	1.6	2.7	1.1
Total	369,046	354,464	365,501	363,296	359,150	360,108

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. Differences between any sexual misconduct and any sexual assault are due to the scope of the question, where sexual misconduct more broadly includes sexual harassment and sexual violence occurring through stalking and intimate partner violence, and sexual assault is refined to the nine types of sexual assault surveyed.

5.2. Characteristics of Sexually Victimized College Men

Most sexually victimized college men are undergraduate (70.8%) or graduate (24.8%) students, with a few professional students (4.3%) (see Appendix B2). Over-half (63.3%) of sexually assaulted college men are white, compared to Asian (13.2%), Hispanic (11.4%), other/mixed (7.4%), and Black (4.7%). The majority of sexually assaulted college men are heterosexual (80.2%), as opposed to gay (9.3%), bisexual (4.9%), and men of other sexualities (5.6%). Most sexually victimized college men are not disabled (72.4%). Of those who are disabled, the most common disability type is a chronic mental health condition (11.5%), followed by two or more disabilities (6.6%), ADHD (4.8%), a different single disability (3.1%), and a chronic medical condition (1.5%).

Table 5 displays the offence characteristics surrounding college men's sexual victimization. The perpetrator is most often a friend (28.3%), an acquaintance (24.7%), or their partner at the time (20.3%). Overwhelmingly, the perpetrator is a fellow student

(75.6%). Alcohol consumption prior to sexual victimization by the perpetrator (61.5%) or the victim/survivor (63.5%) is quite common. The location of the incident varies, with most CSA happening in university residence halls or dorms (21.2%) or in other residential housing (22.2%). Interestingly, college men are most often sexually victimized by women (63.1%). This is predominately swayed by sexuality (see Appendix B2). The majority of heterosexual men (82.6%) are victimized by women, compared to 14.1% of heterosexual men victimized by men; however, gay men are overwhelmingly victimized by other men (93.7%) and bisexual men have a near equal split between men (53.7%) and women (40.7%) perpetrators.

Table 5. Offence Characteristics for Sexually Victimized College Men

		Percent
Number of Perpetrators	1 Person	86.2
	2 Persons	8.6
	3 or More Persons	5.2
	Total	*23,811*
Gender of Perpetrator	Woman	63.1
	Man	34.0
	Other Gender Identity	0.7
	Don't Know	2.1
	Total	*20,439*
Perpetrator's Association with University	Student	75.6
	Not Associated with University	15.4
	Alumni	2.0
	Faculty	1.3
	Total	*23,644*
Perpetrator's Relationship to Respondent	Friend	28.3
	Acquaintance	24.7
	Partner at the Time	20.3
	Previous Partner	11.9
	Classmate	11.1
	Total	*23,508*
Alcohol Consumption	Perpetrator's Use	61.5
	Total	*23,644*
	Respondent's Use	63.5
	Total	*23,598*
Location of Incident	Other Residential Building	22.2
	Some Other Place	21.3
	University Residence Hall/Dorm	21.2
	Restaurant, Bar, or Club	15.9
	Fraternity House	7.4
	Other Non-Residential Building	5.4
	Outdoor or Recreational Space	3.3
	Classroom, Lab, or Fieldwork Setting	1.7
	Sorority House	0.8
	Other Space Used by a Single-Sex Student Organization	0.4
	Faculty or Staff Office	0.4
	Total	*23,417*

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table 6 depicts the various psychosocial consequences experienced by sexually victimized college men. Feeling detached (18.9%) and helpless (6.9%) are the most frequently reported emotional consequences, whereas nightmares (10.2%) and headaches (6.9%) are the most common physical symptoms following CSA. Very few men report being physically injured (2.8%). In part, this could be due to the high proportion of (heterosexual and bisexual) men who are victimized by women in this sample; due to the survivor's internalization of male rape myths, such abuse by a woman may not be registered as injurious, emotionally or physically (Ralston, 2020). Over half (52.9%) of college men avoid their perpetrator following their sexual victimization, with 15.8% withdrawing from social interactions altogether. Academically, college men most often report a difficulty concentrating on course work (21.7%) and decreased class attendance (13.3%) because of their victimization.

Table 6. Psychosocial Consequences amongst Sexually Victimized College Men

		Percent
Emotional or Psychological	Concerned about Safety	12.0
	Helplessness	17.6
	Loss of Interest	13.7
	Detached	18.9
	Increased Drug or Alcohol Use	11.3
	Total	23,194
Social	Avoided the Person	52.9
	Withdrawal from Interactions	15.8
	Stopped Participating in Extracurricular Activities	8.0
	Total	23,194
Physical	Nightmares	10.2
	Headaches	6.9
	Eating Problems	6.2
	Total	23,194
	Physically Injured	2.8
	Total	23,097
Academic	Decreased Class Attendance	13.3
	Difficulty Concentrating on Course Work	21.7
	Difficulty Concentrating on Research	5.8
	Difficulty Going to Work	9.0
	Withdrew from Classes	4.6
	Considered Dropping Out	5.8
	Total	22,760

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Heterosexual men report these psychosocial consequences less often than queer men (see Appendix B2). While queer men have comparable rates of the different psychosocial ailments, bisexual men report slightly higher academic consequences. For example, roughly 38.0% of bisexual men indicate difficulty concentrating on course work following victimization, compared to 30.0% of men with other sexualities, 29.0% of gay men, and only 17.0% of heterosexual men. Most consistently, other/mixed men indicate greater rates of psychosocial difficulties, whereas Black men report the lowest rates, compared to men of other races. Interestingly, Asian men (6.4%) are the most likely to report being physically injured than men of other races (e.g., 3.1% of Black and 2.3% of white men). Disabled men are also much more likely to experience psychosocial difficulties than non-disabled men.

Finally, Table 7 presents sexually victimized college men's informal and formal help-seeking tendencies. Most college men who engage in informal help-seeking connect with friends (69.4%) to disclose their victimization. While family members are not sought out at high rates, queer men (e.g., 15.6% of bisexual men) are slightly more likely to use family members for informal support than heterosexual men (11.9%) (see Appendix B2). Disabled and able-bodied men disclose to friends at similar rates (70.1% and 69.0% respectively), though disabled men are more likely to connect with family (14.6%) and sexual/romantic partners (17.3%) than non-disabled men (11.4% for both). Two interesting informal help-seeking trends emerge among men of different races. First, though friends are the most common informal support used, Black men (50.8%) are less likely to connect with friends than men of other races (e.g., 64.4% of Hispanic men). Second, Asian men (6.2%) are at least half as likely to disclose to family members than men of other races (e.g., 13.7% of Hispanic men). Diminished disclosure to family members may stem from the gendered racial socialization of Asian American men, where Asian men are encouraged by their family to

"deny or suppress feelings regarding difficult life experiences," which would include sexual

victimization (Keum et al., 2023, p. 16). Such restrictive emotionality can induce further

feelings of shame, which can enhance likelihood of nondisclosure, especially to family

members (Keum et al., 2023).

Table 7. Informal and Formal Help-Seeking Behaviours for Sexually Victimized College Men

		Percent
Informal Supports	Friend	69.4
	Family	12.6
	Sexual or Romantic Partner	13.6
	Total	22,754
Formal Supports	At Least One Campus-Affiliated Program	10.3
	Total	127,775
	Counseling	44.0
	Health Centre	21.4
	Title IX Offices	15.6
	Victim Services	11.3
	Another Type of Program	12.7
	Total	12,952
No Support	Did Not Tell Informal or Campus-Affiliated Options	37.6
	Total	22,719

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. The variable of "at least one campus-affiliated program" includes whether any campus programs were contacted for any experience of sexual misconduct, including sexual harassment and stalking related incidents, attributing to the much higher N. The other formal supports were limited only to the 11 most common types of sexual misconduct, whereas informal support access was captured by their most impactful incident of sexual violence (not including stalking or other related sexual violence incidents).

Formal resources are used less frequently than informal supports. Only 10.3% of

college men contact at least one campus-affiliated program about their sexual victimization;

the vast majority, roughly 90.0%, do not engage with campus resources. Privileged men –

heterosexual, white, or able-bodied – typically connect with campus resources less often than

marginalized men (Appendix B2). For example, men of colour (e.g., 13.3% of Black men),

queer men (e.g., 16.8% of gay men), and disabled men (14.3%) have higher rates of accessing

at least one campus CSA program than their white (9.4%), heterosexual (8.8%), and able-

bodied (8.8%) counterparts. Minoritized men may have experience connecting with sexuality,

race, and/or disability specific resources or spaces on campus (e.g., LGBTQ+ centres) prior to

sexual victimization, which may facilitate their likeliness to reach out to campus CSA

programs. College men most commonly report that they did not contact any campus resource

for their sexual assault because they did not deem their victimization serious enough (37.4%) or they thought they could handle it themselves (20.5%) (see Table 8).

Of those college men who do seek formal resources (campus-offered or otherwise), the most common supports are counselling (44.0%) and Health Centres (21.4%). Once more, marginalized men access these formal options at higher rates than privileged men. Rates of Title IX Office access slightly depart from this trend, where disabled and non-disabled men are equally likely to connect with this resource (15.6%), as well as white men (17.1%) have higher rates of access than men of colour (e.g., 11.5% of Hispanic men). The diminished use of Title IX Offices among men of colour may be due to racial perceptions of this support, as all students of colour in Holland and Cipriano's (2021) study perceived Title IX Offices as functioning only to punish perpetrators of sexual violence. Title IX Offices may not be interpreted as a resource for emotional support among men of colour, instead only applicable when and if the victim/survivor wishes to expedite formal reporting.

Table 8. Most Important Reason for Not Contacting Campus CSA Programs for College Men

	Percent
I did not think it was serious enough to contact any of these programs or resources	37.4
I could handle it myself	20.5
I was not injured or hurt	7.3
I felt embarrassed, ashamed, or that it would be too emotionally difficult	5.7
The event happened in a context that began consensually	4.7
Because of the person's gender, I thought it would be minimized or misunderstood	4.4
I did not think anyone would believe me	3.3
I did not want the person to get in trouble	2.8
Events like this seem common	2.5
I did not think these resources would give me the help I needed	2.2
I feared negative academic, social, or professional consequences	2.1
I was too busy	1.0
The reaction by others suggested that it wasn't serious enough to contact any of these programs or services	1.0
I might be counter-accused	0.9
I feared retaliation	0.9
Alcohol and/or drugs were present	0.8
I feared it would not be kept confidential	0.7
My body showed involuntary arousal	0.6
I contacted other programs or services that I felt were appropriate	0.4
I did not know where to go or who to tell	0.3
Incident occurred while school was not in session	0.3
N	13,400

Over one-third (37.6%) of college men do not disclose their victimization to an informal or formal option. The stigma associated with sexual victimization and the – perceived or real – stain it imprints on men's masculinity may motivate such high rates of nondisclosure. Marginalized men remain silent more often than privileged men (Appendix B2); disabled men (41.5%), queer men (e.g., 45.8% of bisexual men), and men of colour (e.g., 51.9% of Black men) are more likely to withhold disclosing their sexual victimization than their non-disabled (35.3%), heterosexual (34.6%), or white (35.6%) counterparts. This is likely due to the opportunities available to privileged men that facilitate their disclosure more readily than marginalized men (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989). For example, queer men of colour may have a much more limited social network that could act as a safe space for informal disclosures compared to white heterosexual men (Ratajczak, 2022). Further, the shame experienced due to sexual victimization as a man – which is a strong inhibitor of help-seeking – is often enhanced for marginalized men, due to stereotypes of sexual power and promiscuity for queer Black and Brown men, or femininity and passivity for Asian and disabled men (Campbell et al., 2009; Curry, 2019; Liang et al., 2005; Robertson, 2020).

In this chapter, I presented the sociodemographic characteristics associated with CSA, with a specific focus on college men. My next results chapter unpacks the findings from the logistic regression models.

Chapter 6.   Intersectional Predictors of College Men's Help-Seeking

This chapter discusses the results of my second research question, what are the intersectional predictors of college men's help-seeking behaviours post-sexual victimization? I build sequential models[16] for both informal and campus help-seeking, testing first how sexuality, race, and disability predict help-seeking, followed by the influence of Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support.

Hypothesis 1: Informal versus Campus Help-Seeking

To compare informal and campus help-seeking, two series of logistic regression models are assessed. Table 9 presents the models predicting use of campus resources and Figure 4 provides the predicted probabilities. The first model in Table 9 depicts college men who experienced any form of sexual misconduct (including sexual harassment); the second model is refined to only those college men who experienced any form of sexual assault (e.g., sexual touching by force).[17]

Marginalized college men are significantly more likely to access campus resources following their sexual victimization than privileged men; the significance of race does change when comparing sexual misconduct and sexual assault. Queer men and disabled men have greater odds of campus support use than their heterosexual or non-disabled counterparts, regardless of the type of sexual victimization. Men of colour also have higher odds of utilizing campus programs when experiencing sexual misconduct than white men. For

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[16]All models presented are weighted (see Appendix C1 for full weighted models, including control coefficients and C2 for unweighted models).

[17]Sexual assault is used as the predominant measure of sexual victimization within the logistic regression models. Predicted probabilities are only provided for college men who experience sexual assault, not any type of sexual misconduct.

sexually assaulted college men, however, Asian men have 1.62 greater odds and other/mixed men have 0.85 worsened odds of campus help-seeking than white men; Black and Hispanic men do not significantly differ from white men. The greatest odds of campus help-seeking are among sexually assaulted bisexual men, who have 2.40 higher odds than heterosexual men. Disabled college men who are sexually assaulted also have 1.71 better odds of engaging with campus resources than non-disabled men.

Table 9. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men

		Any Sexual Misconduct		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2	1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.545***	1.546***	1.197*	1.164
	Asian Only	1.524***	1.505***	1.632***	1.619***
	Other or Mixed Race	1.132***	1.128***	0.839*	0.854*
	Hispanic or Latino	1.236***	1.213***	1.027	1.009
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.984***	2.027***	1.968***	2.031***
	Bisexual	1.663***	1.672***	2.291***	2.397***
	Other	1.830***	1.839***	1.693***	1.617***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.666***	1.632***	1.759***	1.710***
Controls					
Age			✓		✓
Student Affiliation			✓		✓
School Type			✓		✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources			✓		✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault			✓		✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA			✓		✓
Cleary Report Crimes			✓		✓
Total Response Rate			✓		✓
N		22,441	22,441	3,962	3,962

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization.*

Although not statistically significant, across the various races and disability statuses, bisexual men appear most likely to engage with campus supports, whereas heterosexual men seem least likely to connect with these services. For bisexual men, the likelihood of campus help-seeking seems to increase with disability status, where disabled bisexual men appear more likely to access campus resources. For example, 44.9% of disabled bisexual Asian men are predicted to access campus supports (the highest likelihood), compared to 37.1% of Black, 33.9% of Hispanic, 33.7% of white, and 30.4% of other/multi-racial disabled bisexual men.

Moreover, while queer men of different races and abilities appear more likely to use campus supports than heterosexual men, men with other sexualities seem slightly less likely than their gay or bisexual counterparts. Conversely, for heterosexual men, able-bodiedness seems to decrease campus help-seeking, where able-bodied heterosexual men appear less likely to engage with these resources. To illustrate, 9.8% of non-disabled heterosexual other/mixed men are predicted to partake in campus help-seeking (the lowest likelihood), versus 11.3% of white, 11.4% of Hispanic, 12.9% of Black, and 17.0% of Asian able-bodied straight men.
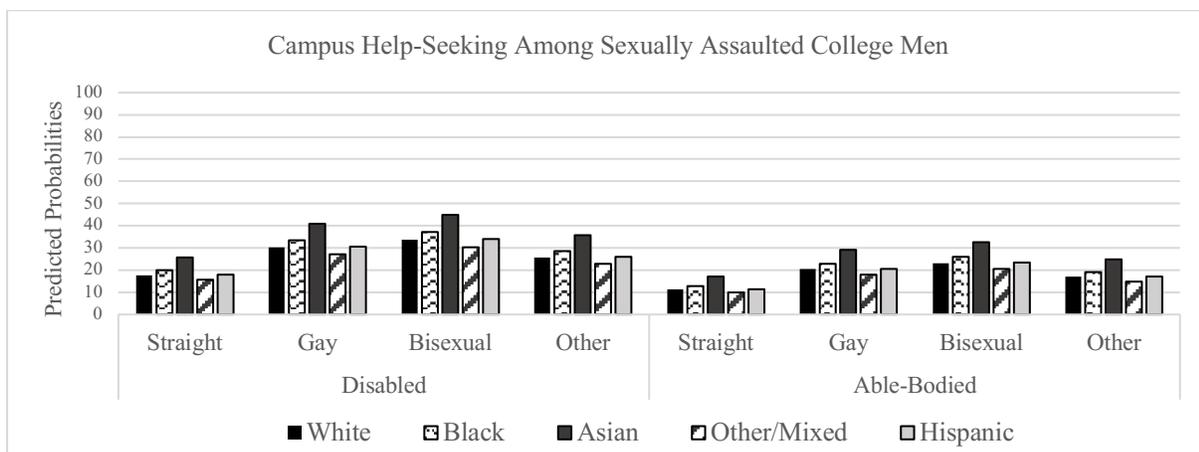
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.
Figure 4. Predicted Probabilities of Campus Help-Seeking

Table 10 depicts the models predicting informal help-seeking and Figure 5 displays the predicted probabilities. Only race and men with other sexualities (e.g., asexual) significantly predicts informal support access; disability status and other queer sexualities have no effect. Compared to white men, Black men have 0.42 lower odds, Asian men have 0.67 worsened odds, Hispanic men have 0.65 lessened odds, and other/mixed men have 0.89 diminished odds of informal support access. Men with other sexualities also have 0.82 worsened odds of informal help-seeking than heterosexual men. Most stark, Black men of various sexualities and disability statuses appear the least likely to connect with informal supports, despite the differences not being statistically significant. For example, 54.0% of

non-disabled Black men with other sexualities are predicted to engage in informal help-seeking (the lowest likelihood), compared to 64.5% of Hispanic, 65.4% of Asian, 71.3% of other/mixed, and 73.7% of white able-bodied men with other sexualities. Meanwhile, white men across sexualities and disabilities seem the most likely to access informal resources, though other/mixed men closely follow. For instance, 79.3% of disabled bisexual white men are predicted to use informal supports (the highest likelihood), versus 77.3% of other/mixed, 72.1% of Asian, 71.3% of Hispanic, and 61.6% of Black disabled bisexual men.

Table 10. Logistic Regressions Predicting Informal Help-Seeking for Sexually Assaulted College Men

		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	0.427***	0.415***
	Asian Only	0.712***	0.672***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.904	0.888*
	Hispanic or Latino	0.680***	0.645***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	0.995	0.964
	Bisexual	1.065	1.053
	Other	0.841**	0.816***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.032	1.064
Controls			
Age			✓
Student Affiliation			✓
School Type			✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources			✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault			✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA			✓
Cleary Report Crimes			✓
Total Response Rate			✓
N		3,776	3,776

*Notes: * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is informal support access among men who experienced sexual assault.*

Informal Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men
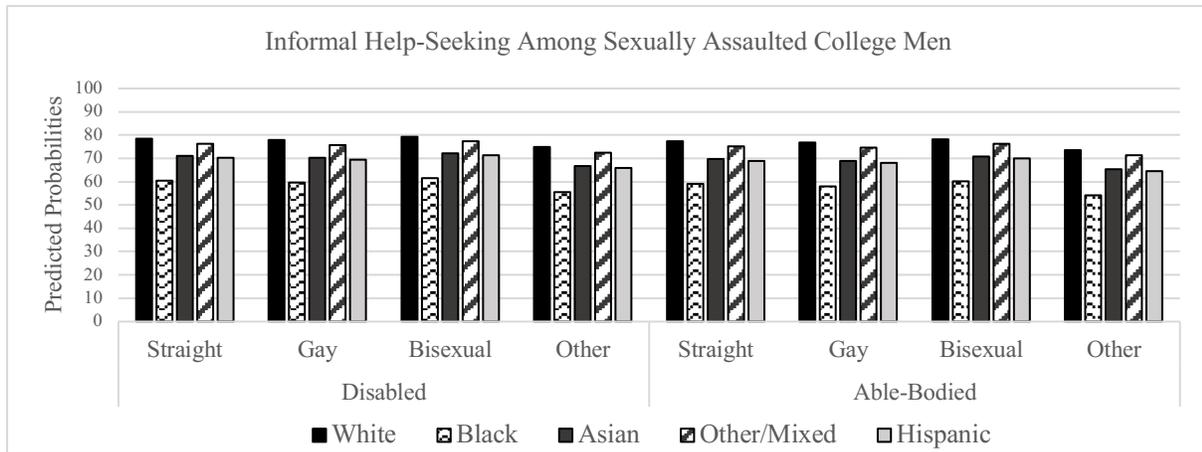
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.
Figure 5. Predicted Probabilities of Informal Help-Seeking

Therefore, hypothesis one is partially supported. The predicted probabilities demonstrate that sexually victimized college men are more likely to access informal supports over campus programs. It is predicted over half of sexually assaulted college men will engage in informal help-seeking, compared to approximately one-third predicted to partake in campus help-seeking.[18] Markers of marginalization, however, do not decrease the odds of accessing campus resources, where marginalized men have better odds of campus help-seeking than privileged men; disabled queer men of colour (except for other/mixed men) appear to have the highest odds of campus help-seeking, whereas non-disabled heterosexual other/mixed men seem to demonstrate the lowest odds. In contrast, disabled queer men of colour appear to have worse odds of informal help-seeking, while able-bodied heterosexual white men seem to have better odds. While marginalized men have worsened odds of informal help-seeking than privileged men, not all markers of marginalization decrease these odds as hypothesized. Hence, the reverse is true: marginalized college men are more likely to access campus

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[18]All races, sexualities, and disabilities demonstrate predicted odds of informal help-seeking above 50.0%. Further, all demographics have predicted odds of campus help-seeking at or below 33.0%, with four exceptions. Among disabled men, there are slightly higher predicted odds among Black bisexual men (37.1%), Asian bisexual men (44.9 %), Asian gay men (40.9%), and Asian men with other sexualities (35.7%).

programs following sexual victimization than privileged college men, who are more likely to connect with informal supports.

Hypothesis 2: The Role of Greek Housing on Informal and Campus Help-Seeking

Table 11 introduces Greek housing into the models to assess whether help-seeking depends on the location of the sexual victimization. Sexual assault occurring within Greek housing has no effect on campus help-seeking. Queer and disabled men still have greater odds of accessing campus supports than heterosexual and able-bodied men when controlling for the location of the incident. For example, gay men have 2.04 heightened odds of campus help-seeking than heterosexual men and disabled men have 1.72 better odds than non-disabled men. Black and Asian men have higher odds (1.18 and 1.55 respectively) of campus help-seeking than white men, whereas other/multi-racial men have 0.82 worsened odds; Hispanic racial identity still has no effect. The predicted likelihood of campus help-seeking does not differ substantially depending on the location of the incident (see Figure 6). While the differences are not statistically significant, non-disabled heterosexual men appear the least likely to use campus supports across the different races. To illustrate, among men whose victimization occurred in Greek housing, 9.6% of able-bodied straight other/mixed men are predicted to access campus programs (the lowest likelihood), compared to 11.4% of white, 12.0% of Hispanic, 13.1% of Black, and 16.5% of Asian non-disabled heterosexual men. Indeed, other/mixed men seem less likely than men of other races to partake in campus help-seeking when accounting for the location of the incident, regardless of sexuality and disability status. Disabled queer Asian men, conversely, seem the most likely to engage in campus help-seeking. For instance, when victimization occurs in Greek housing, 44.3% of disabled bisexual Asian men are predicted to use campus resources (the highest likelihood), versus

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37.8% of Black, 35.4% of Hispanic, 34.1% of white, and 30.0% of other/mixed disabled

bisexual men.

Table 11. Logistic Regressions Predicting Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men, Controlling for Location of Incident

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.218**	1.182*	0.427***	0.419***	0.408***
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.564***	1.553***	0.712***	0.700***	0.663***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.813**	0.824**	0.904	0.913	0.898
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.082	1.063	0.680***	0.669***	0.634***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.969***	2.036***	0.995	0.993	0.958
	Bisexual	2.291***	2.278***	2.395***	1.065	1.053	1.041
	Other	1.693***	1.750***	1.670***	0.841**	0.840**	0.813**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.771***	1.724***	1.032	1.024	1.055
Greek Housing (ref. Occurred Elsewhere)	*Occurred Within Greek Housing*		0.957	1.011		1.265***	1.188**
Controls							
Age				✓			✓
Student Affiliation				✓			✓
School Type				✓			✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources				✓			✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault				✓			✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA				✓			✓
Cleary Report Crimes				✓			✓
Total Response Rate				✓			✓
N		3,962	3,831	3,831	3,776	3,751	3,751

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Whose Victimization Occurred in Greek Housing

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Whose Victimization Occurred Elsewhere
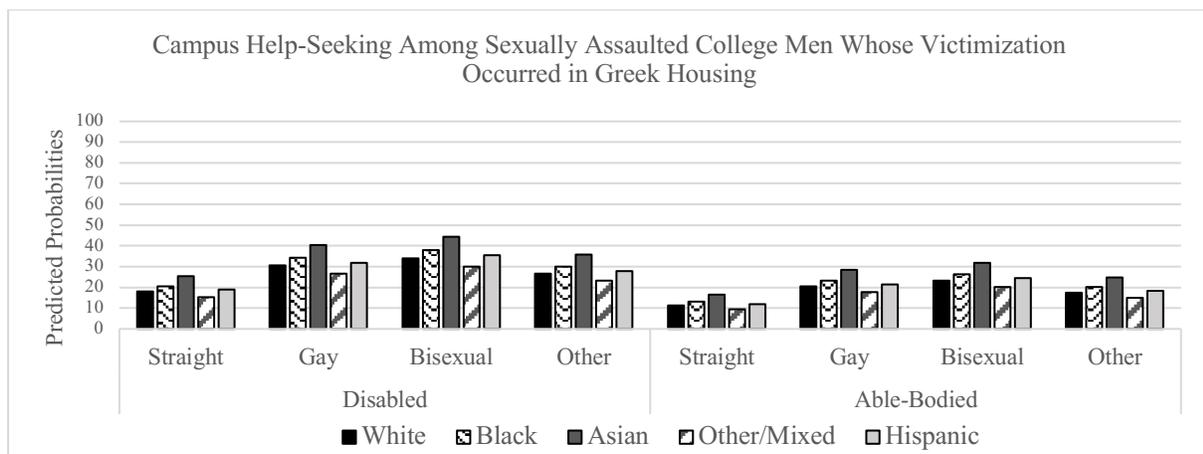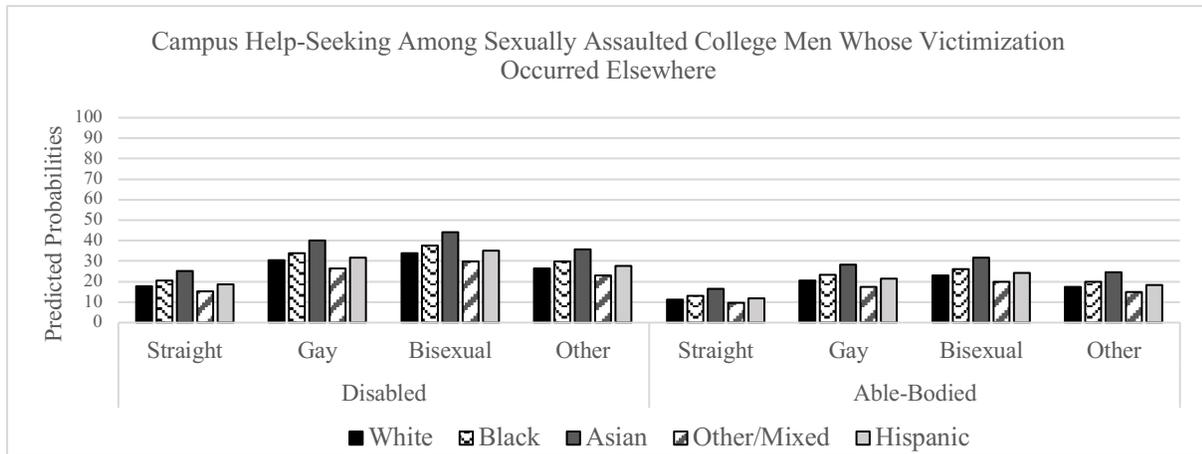
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault. Because Greek housing has no signficant effect on campus help-seeking, predicted probabilties are very similar between college men whose victimization occurred within Greek housing or elsewhere.

Figure 6. Predicted Probabilities for Campus Support Access Depending on Location of Incident

Greek housing does predict college men's use of informal support, though in an opposite way than hypothesized. College men whose sexual assault occurred within Greek housing have 1.19 greater odds of informal help-seeking than men whose victimization occurred elsewhere. When controlling for the location of the sexual assault, Black, Hispanic, and Asian men have worse odds (0.41, 0.63, and 0.66 respectively) of informal help-seeking than white men; other/mixed racial identity now has no effect. Men with other sexualities also have 0.84 lessened odds of informal help-seeking than heterosexual men. While Black men of various sexualities and abilities appear the least likely to engage in informal help-seeking, these odds seem to increase when their victimization occurs within Greek housing, though the differences are not statistically significant (see Figure 7). For example, 57.7% of non-disabled Black men with other sexualities are predicted to access informal resources when their victimization takes place within Greek housing, versus 67.8% of Hispanic and 76.8% of white able-bodied men with other sexualities; this compares to the 53.5% of non-disabled Black men with other sexualities that are predicted to partake in informal help-seeking when their victimization occurs elsewhere (the lowest likelihood), versus 64.0% of Hispanic and 73.6% of white able-bodied men with other sexualities. White men across sexualities and disabilities

still appear the most likely to use informal connections, with higher odds for those whose victimization took place in Greek housing; however, other/mixed men closely follow. To demonstrate, 81.0% of disabled heterosexual white men are predicted to access informal supports, compared to 79.3% of other/mixed, 74.0% of Asian, 73.2% of Hispanic, and 63.8% of Black disabled straight men whose victimization occurred within Greek housing.
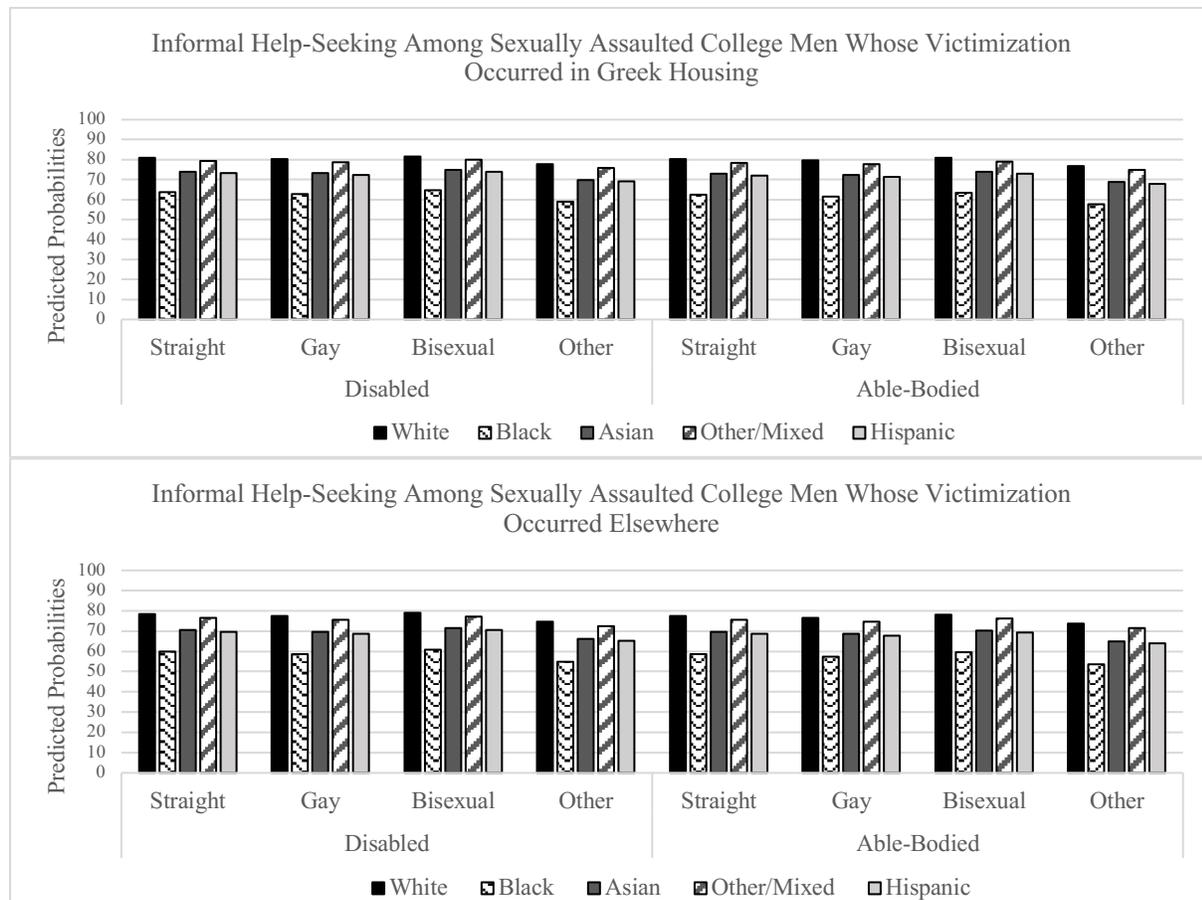
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.
Figure 7. Predicted Probabilities of Informal Support Access Depending on Location of Incident

Therefore, hypothesis two is not supported. Greek housing has no effect on campus help-seeking and disabled queer men of colour (except for other/mixed men) still appear to have greater predicted odds of accessing campus supports than privileged men. Conversely, Greek housing significantly predicts higher odds of informal help-seeking, which contradicts this hypothesis. While men of colour with other sexualities seem the least likely to connect

with informal resources, disability and other queer sexualities do not substantially alter odds of access; thus, not all markers of marginalization lower the odds of informal help-seeking depending on the location of the victimization for sexually assaulted college men.

Hypothesis 3: The Role of Alcohol on Informal and Campus Help-Seeking

Table 12 incorporates alcohol consumption within the models to predict whether support access depends on if the survivor used alcohol before their victimization. College men who consumed alcohol prior to their sexual assault have 0.68 lower odds of campus help-seeking than men who did not consume alcohol. Queer men and disabled men still have greater odds of campus help-seeking than heterosexual or non-disabled men when controlling for alcohol consumption. For example, gay men have 1.99 better odds of engaging in campus help-seeking than heterosexual men and disabled men have 1.73 higher odds than non-disabled men. Asian men have 1.44 greater odds of using campus supports than white men, whereas other/multi-racial men have 0.79 lower odds; Black and Hispanic men do not significantly differ from white men.

Though the differences are not statistically significant, heterosexual men who consumed alcohol appear the least likely to engage in campus help-seeking across the different races, with able-bodiedness further decreasing this likelihood (see Figure 8). For example, 8.2% of other/mixed able-bodied straight men who consumed alcohol are predicted to access campus resources (the lowest likelihood), versus 10.1% of white and 13.8% of Asian non-disabled heterosexual men; this compares to 13.3% of other/mixed disabled straight men who consumed alcohol, versus 16.1% of white and 21.5% of Asian men. Indeed, while alcohol use diminishes odds of campus help-seeking for all men, multiple markers of marginalization appear to increase the likelihood these men still connect with campus resources. To demonstrate, 18.0% of able-bodied white gay men who consumed alcohol are

predicted to partake in campus help-seeking, versus 19.7% of Black and 23.9% of Asian able-bodied gay men; yet, among disabled gay men who consumed alcohol, 27.4% of white, 29.6% of Black, and 34.9% of Asian men are predicted to connect with campus resources.

Table 12. Logistic Regression Predicting Help-Seeking Behaviours for Sexually Victimized College Men, Controlling for Alcohol Consumption

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.154	1.117	0.427***	0.450***	0.439***
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.452***	1.436***	0.712***	0.770***	0.730***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.786***	0.794**	0.904	0.973	0.959
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.047	1.031	0.680***	0.697***	0.657***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.922***	1.986***	0.995	1.046	1.014
	Bisexual	2.291***	2.264***	2.395***	1.065	1.109	1.093
	Other	1.693***	1.688***	1.604***	0.841**	0.874*	0.851**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.772***	1.727***	1.032	1.038	1.069*
Alcohol Consumption (ref. Did Not Consume) **Controls**	*Consumed Alcohol Before Incident Occurred*		0.676***	0.678***		1.574***	1.611***
Age				✓			✓
Student Affiliation				✓			✓
School Type				✓			✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources				✓			✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault				✓			✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA				✓			✓
Cleary Report Crimes				✓			✓
Total Response Rate				✓			✓
N		3,962	3,861	3,861	3,776	3,767	3,767

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*


Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Consumed Alcohol

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Did Not Consume Alcohol
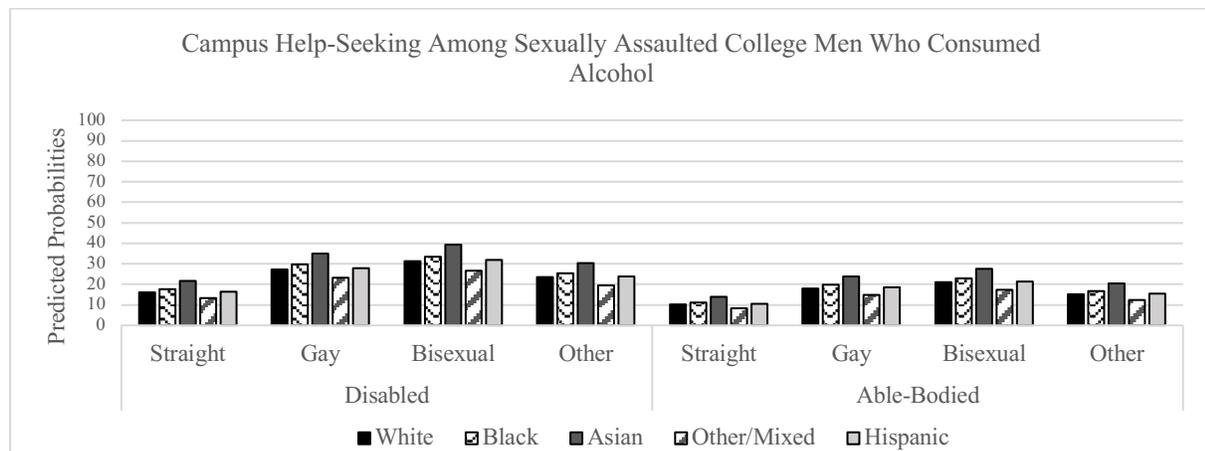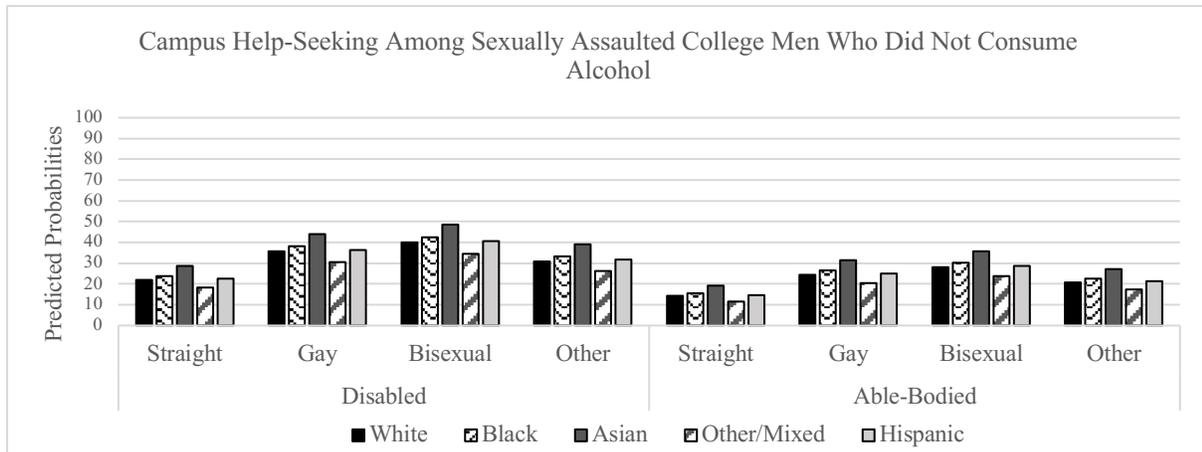
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.
Figure 8. Predicted Probabilities for Campus Support Access Depending on Alcohol Consumption

Sexually victimized college men who consume alcohol have 1.61 greater odds of engaging with informal supports than men who do not consume alcohol, which contradicts hypothesis four. When controlling for alcohol use, Black men have 0.44 lower odds, Hispanic men have 0.66 diminished odds, and Asian men have 0.73 lessened odds of informal help-seeking than white men, while men with other sexualities have 0.85 lower odds than heterosexual men; other/mixed race and other queer sexualities have no effect. Disabled men, however, now have 1.07 better odds of connecting with informal resources than non-disabled men. Still, Black men of different sexualities and disabilities appear the least likely to connect with informal supports – though not statistically significant – however, these odds increase when alcohol is consumed (see Figure 9). To illustrate, 64.0% of non-disabled gay Black men who consumed alcohol are predicted to engage in informal help-seeking, versus 72.5% of Hispanic and 80.0% of white non-disabled gay men; this compares to 52.6% of Black, 62.3% of Hispanic, and 71.4% of white able-bodied gay men who did not consume alcohol. Across the different sexualities and disability statuses, rates of informal help-seeking appear to be similar among Hispanic and Asian men, as well as among other/mixed men and white men. For example, among disabled straight men who consumed alcohol, 80.8% of white and 80.2%

of other/mixed men are predicted to connect with informal supports, compared to 75.5% of Asian and 73.6% of Hispanic men. White men of various sexualities and disabilities appear to be more likely to use informal supports when alcohol is consumed, though again, other/mixed men are very comparable.
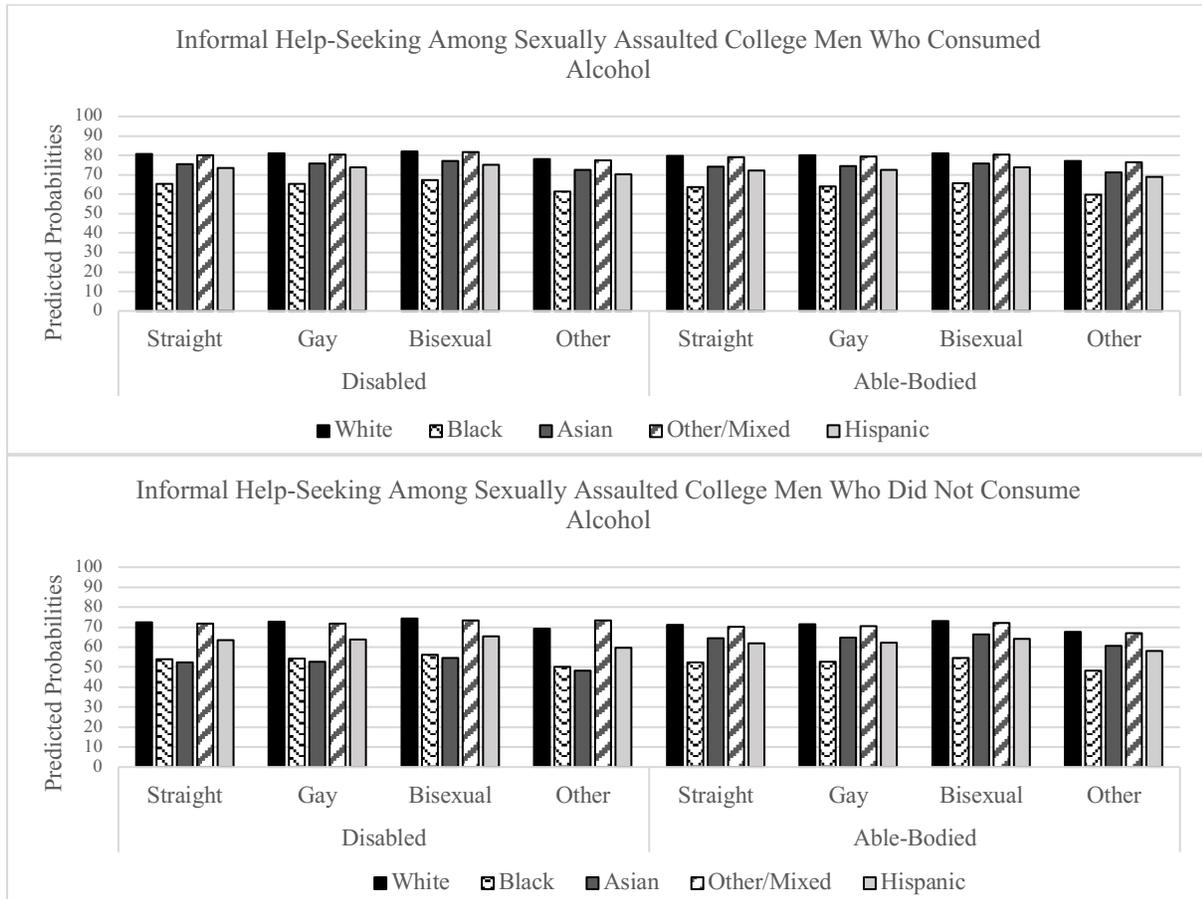
Informal Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Consumed Alcohol

Informal Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Did Not Consume Alcohol

Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.
Figure 9. Predicted Probabilities for Informal Support Access Depending on Alcohol Consumption

Hence, hypothesis three is partially supported. Alcohol consumption does decrease odds of campus support, but disabled queer men of colour (except for other/mixed men) still appear to demonstrate increased access compared to privileged men. Alcohol use, however, predicts increased odds of informal help-seeking. While men of colour with other sexualities have lowered odds, other queer sexualities and disability status increases the likelihood of

informal help-seeking; as such, not all markers of marginalization lower the odds of informal disclosure.

Hypothesis 4: The Role of Minimization on Campus Help-Seeking

Minimization is included within the models to assess whether campus support access depends on the degree to which college men minimize their victimization (see Table 13). College men who minimize their sexual assault (e.g., thinking it is not serious enough) have 0.63 lower odds of campus help-seeking than men who do not minimize their victimization. When controlling for minimization, queer men, disabled men, as well as Asian men still have greater odds of campus help-seeking; Black and Hispanic racial identities have no effect. Men with other sexualities have 1.38 higher odds of campus help-seeking, disabled men have 1.62 better odds, and Asian men have 1.37 greater odds than their heterosexual, non-disabled, or white counterparts. In contrast, other/multi-racial men have 0.64 worsened odds of engaging with campus resources than white men.

Minimization produces the lowest likelihood of campus help-seeking among all groups of men, though differences are not statistically significant (see Figure 10). Most glaring, non-disabled heterosexual men who minimize appear to be the least likely to access campus programs. While this is true for all races, other/mixed men (regardless of sexuality and disability status) seem to be less likely than men of other races to connect with campus resources when minimization occurs. To illustrate, only 3.5% of able-bodied heterosexual other/mixed men who minimize their assault seek out campus resources (the lowest likelihood), compared to 5.2% of Black and 5.8% of Hispanic able-bodied straight men; conversely, among disabled men with other sexualities who minimize, 7.4% of other/multi-racial men versus 10.8% of Black and 11.8% of Hispanic men are predicted to use campus programs. In contrast, Asian men of various sexualities and disability statuses appear more

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likely to connect with campus resources even when minimization occurs. For instance, 15.9%

of disabled bisexual Asian men who minimize are predicted to engage in campus help-

seeking (the highest likelihood), compared to 13.2% of Hispanic, 12.3% of white, and 8.3%

of other/mixed disabled bisexual men.

Table 13. Logistic Regression Predicting Campus Support Access for Sexually Victimized College Men, Controlling for Minimization of Incident

		Campus Support		
		1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.091	0.982
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.636***	1.367**
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.631***	0.641**
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.113	1.091
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.512***	1.437***
	Bisexual	2.291***	1.479***	1.573***
	Other	1.693***	1.470***	1.380**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.655***	1.622***
Minimization (ref. Did Not Minimize)	*Minimized*		0.638***	0.627***
Controls				
Age				✓
Student Affiliation				✓
School Type				✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources				✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault				✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA				✓
Cleary Report Crimes				✓
Total Response Rate				✓
N		3,962	2,447	2,447

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*


Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Minimized

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men Who Did Not Minimize
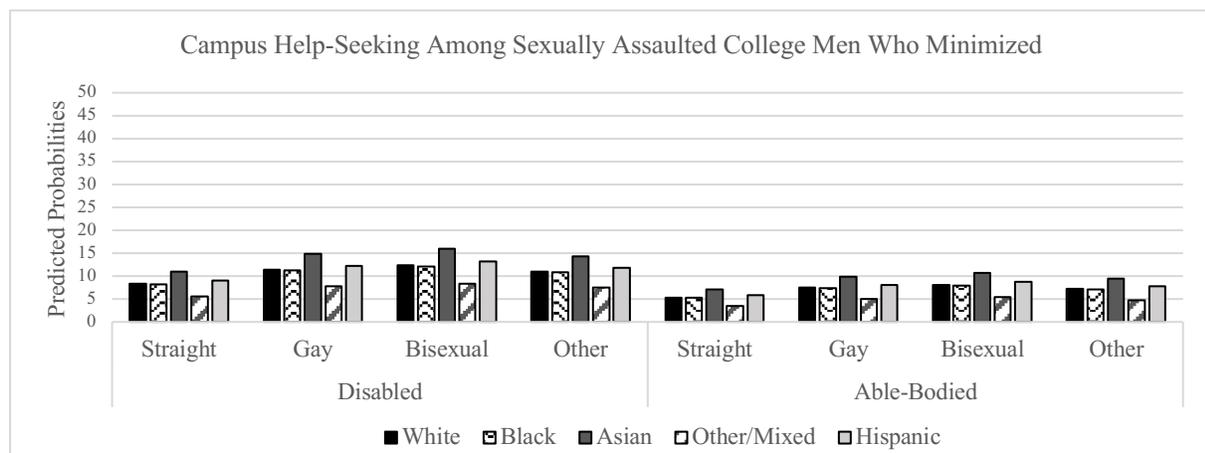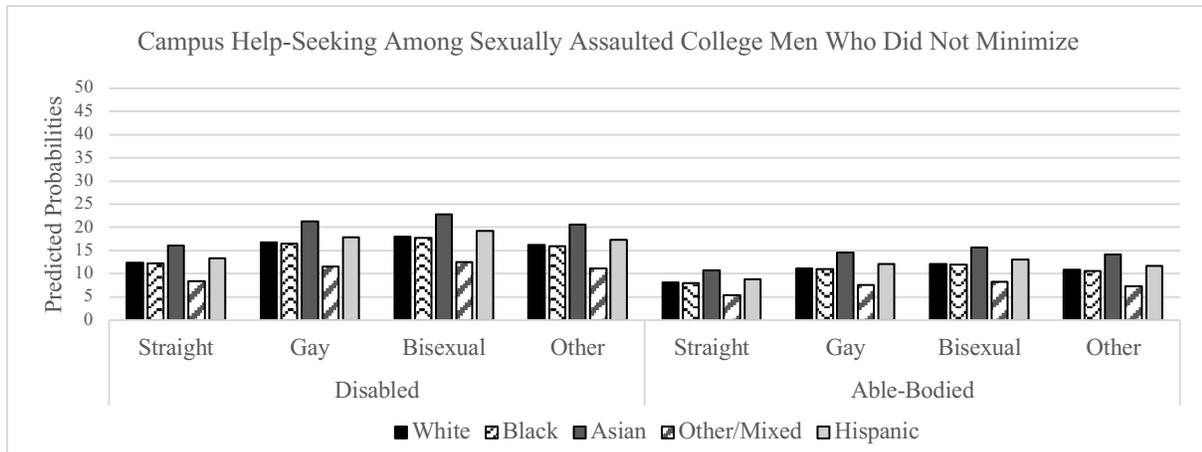
Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault. These graphs are presented with a smaller scale, due to the particularly low rate among sexually assaulted college men who minimized.

Figure 10. Predicted Probabilities of Campus Support Access Depending on Minimization

Hypothesis 5: The Role of Perceptions on Campus Help-Seeking

The final model includes perceptions of campus supports to assess whether college men with negative opinions are less likely to use campus programs (see Table 14), both for men who experience sexual misconduct and sexual assault. College men with positive perceptions of campus support, instead, have lower odds of campus help-seeking than men who hold negative opinions, for both sexual misconduct (0.72 lessened odds) and sexual assault (0.66 worsened odds). Queer men, disabled men, as well as Black and Asian men, have greater odds of campus support access when controlling for perceptions of support than heterosexual, non-disabled, or white men, regardless of the type of victimization. For example, among sexually assaulted college men, gay men have 2.08 higher odds of campus help-seeking, disabled men have 1.68 better odds, and Black men have 1.24 greater odds than heterosexual, non-disabled, or white men. Hispanic men who experience sexual misconduct have 1.20 better odds of accessing campus supports, however, Hispanic identity has no effect among college men who are sexually assaulted. Conversely, other/multi-racial men who are sexually assaulted have 0.78 worse odds of campus help-seeking, but this racial identity has no effect among men who experience sexual misconduct.

Table 14. Logistic Regression Predicting Campus Support Access for Sexually Victimized College Men, Controlling for Perceptions of Campus Support

		Any Sexual Misconduct			Any Sexual Assault		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.545***	1.617***	1.629***	1.197*	1.259**	1.243*
	Asian Only	1.524***	1.463***	1.449***	1.632***	1.423***	1.446***
	Other or Mixed Race	1.132***	1.076	1.076	0.839*	0.756***	0.779***
	Hispanic or Latino	1.236***	1.214***	1.202***	1.027	0.998	0.999
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.984***	1.986***	2.037***	1.968***	2.003***	2.075***
	Bisexual	1.663***	1.618***	1.629***	2.291***	2.202***	2.307***
	Other	1.830***	1.756***	1.763***	1.693***	1.674***	1.604***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.666***	1.630***	1.600***	1.759***	1.724***	1.684***
Perceptions (ref. Negative Perceptions)	*Positive Perceptions*		0.707***	0.721***		0.637***	0.656***
Controls							
Age				✓			✓
Student Affiliation				✓			✓
School Type				✓			✓
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources				✓			✓
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault				✓			✓
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA				✓			✓
Cleary Report Crimes				✓			✓
Total Response Rate				✓			✓
N		22,441	21,568	21,568	3,962	3,759	3,759

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men with Negative Perceptions of Campus Supports

Campus Help-Seeking Among Sexually Assaulted College Men with Positive Perceptions of Campus Supports

Notes: Predicted probabilities are calculated for college men who experienced any type of sexual assault.

Figure 11. Predicted Probabilities for Campus Support Access Depending on Perceptions of Support

Despite lacking statistical significance, non-disabled heterosexual men with positive perceptions appear the least likely to engage in campus help-seeking across the various races (see Figure 11). For example, among men with positive opinions, 7.1% of other/mixed able-bodied straight men are predicted to access campus resources (the lowest likelihood), versus 8.9% of white and Hispanic, 10.8% of Black, and 12.3% of Asian men. Indeed, white and Hispanic men of various sexualities and abilities appear very similar, if not identical, in the predicted likelihood of campus help-seeking, both when holding positive and negative perceptions. Alternatively, disabled queer men of colour (except for other/mixed men) with negative perceptions appear the most likely to use campus supports. To illustrate, 28.4% of other/mixed, 33.6% of white and Hispanic, 41.0% of Black, and 44.6% of Asian disabled gay men with negative opinions are predicted to partake in campus help-seeking. Therefore, not only are college men with positive perceptions less likely to engage in campus help-seeking, but the odds of campus support access also appear to increase with marginalized status (except for other/mixed men). Accordingly, hypothesis five is not supported.

6.2.   Summary and Discussion

The logistic regression models show the relationships between race, sexuality, and disability and informal and campus help-seeking. These models also demonstrate the relationships between the specific covariates of Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support on informal and campus support access. No support was found for hypotheses two (Greek housing) and five (perceptions of support). Specifically, the sexual assault occurring within Greek housing does not affect campus support access and instead, increases odds of informal help-seeking. Further, holding negative perceptions of campus supports does not affect odds of access. Partial support was found for the remaining hypotheses. Sexually victimized college men are more likely to use informal supports compared to campus programs (hypothesis one), but disabled queer men of colour (except for other/mixed men) appear to demonstrate greater odds of campus help-seeking than privileged men. While marginalized men appear less likely to seek out informal supports than privileged men (hypothesis one), not all markers of marginalization (e.g., sexuality, disability) decrease these odds as hypothesized. Alcohol consumption does diminish the likelihood of connecting with campus resources but increases odds of informal help-seeking (hypothesis three). Additionally, marginalized men who consumed alcohol still appear to have greater predicted likelihood of campus help-seeking than privileged men. Lastly, though college men who minimize have worse odds of campus help-seeking than men who do not minimize (hypothesis four), marginalized men still seem to demonstrate greater likelihood of campus support access than privileged men.

Overall, sexually victimized college men have lower odds of accessing campus resources than informal supports. Masculinities theory and the social ecological model of

help-seeking unpack several reasons this trend may persist for college men. College men's gender may motivate increased informal help-seeking over campus-offered, due to masculine norms and pressures, which operate at all levels of the ecological model (i.e., individual to macro-levels). Survivors are provided slightly more control within informal help-seeking, including who is told and how in-depth of a disclosure, compared to accessing campus resources, especially due to mandatory reporting within U.S. institutions (Shalka, 2020). This increased control may be appealing for sexually victimized college men, as it may aid in regaining a sense of agency and power that was lost due to their victimization but is required to be seen as a "real" man within a patriarchal society (i.e., individual level) (Connell, 2005; Hlavka, 2017; Walker et al., 2005). The survivor may choose which informal connections to disclose to, which can help mediate any potential backlash due to masculine norms and dominant understandings of legitimate survivors that certain peers or family members may reproduce, as well as service providers (who are unknown to the survivor) (i.e., micro- and meso/exosystem) (Liang et al., 2005).

Campus culture, including rape and hookup culture, as well as the framing of campus resources, may further mobilize increased informal help-seeking among sexually assaulted college men (i.e., macrosystem). Due to most campus resources being framed for white, heterosexual, cisgender, able-bodied women (Harris, 2020), sexually victimized college men may deem these resources as inapplicable for their situation or not know what programs exist, which may be enhanced by rape culture that continues to deny men's victimization (Orth et al., 2020). Further, college men may feel an immense amount of shame and self-blame about their sexual victimization *because* of their gender and dominant status in society and may struggle to combat their own internalization of rape culture and rape myths (Javaid, 2016; Ralston, 2020). This shame is likely heightened for those heterosexual men assaulted by

women – a large proportion in this study – as this is the ultimate attack on a man's patriarchal position within society (Connell, 2005; Davies & Rogers, 2006). Such shame and self-blame may prevent sexually victimized college men from accessing campus options as these men may believe they caused their victimization (e.g., they did not fight back like a strong man should), their victimization is dubious, or that these programs are ill-equipped to respond to their experiences (e.g., due to the institutions' reproduction of rape culture). These individual to macro-level factors, intertwined with masculinity constraints, increase the likelihood sexually victimized college men engage with informal supports over campus resources.

Interestingly, marginalized men are more likely to use campus supports than privileged men; all three theories help elucidate this finding. As queer disabled men of colour are relegated to a marginalized or subordinated masculinity, these men are already feminized and seen as "lesser" within the privileged group of men (Connell, 2005). The feminization that may come with sexual victimization, therefore, may be less of a danger to marginalized men's masculine image than privileged men, as these men may be used to – in varying degrees, times, and spaces – having their masculinity questioned as a product of their race, sexuality, and/or disability (Collins, 2004; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Duran, 2021). For example, disabled bisexual Asian men appear most likely to connect with campus resources; however, this group of men are also the most likely to be feminized within Western society as a product of their gender, race, sexuality, and disability (Hoang, 2014; Robertson, 2020). Accessing campus supports, then, may not be interpreted as a behaviour that lowers or threatens masculine status in the same way it might be for privileged men.

Further, given their marginalized position, queer disabled men of colour may already have experience accessing campus resources and organizations that celebrate, accommodate, and/or assist these marginalized group memberships (i.e., macro- and chronosystem).

Marginalized men may be more attuned to what resources exist on campus to be better positioned to access them, but also, may have experience navigating the structural power and politics that underly campus resources (Crenshaw, 1989). Most spaces on campus dedicated to different groups (e.g., LGBTQ+ centres, faith-based organizations) do not address multiple marginalization, diminishing the likelihood the unique needs of members with differing intersections are addressed and safeguarded (Collins, 2000; Duran, 2021). As such, men with multiple marginalization may already be aware of the limits of institutional resources in responding to the sexual victimization of disabled queer men of colour and can mitigate their expectations, behaviours, and disclosures considering this familiarity (Liang et al., 2005). Despite the omnipresent potential for institutional violence and the reproduction of rape culture (i.e., macrosystem), marginalized men may still seek out campus programs more often than privileged men as the possibility of harm within these spaces may be perceived as less than other formal options, such as the police (Collins, 2000; Liang et al., 2005).

Marginalized men, however, have lower odds of informal help-seeking than privileged men; this appears especially true among Black queer men. Intersectionality and the social ecological model of help-seeking explain this finding. Once the decision to seek informal support is made, not all informal connections are safe options for survivors to engage in help-seeking (Liang et al., 2005). For example, queer survivors may risk being outed depending on which informal connections are used (even indirectly, by sharing the survivor's story) (Bedera et al., 2023; Ratajczak, 2022). For queer men of colour, especially within predominately white institutions (PWI), informal help-seeking may be particularly risky, as they may lose race- and sexuality-based connections in a space without much visibility (i.e., individual, micro-, and macrosystems) (Collins, 2000; Liang et al., 2005). Disciplinary power may further structure resistance to informal networks for disabled queer men of colour, where these men

may be especially resistant to disclose to informal supports for fear of social reprisal and rejection from their ingroups due to their victimization (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Ratajczak, 2022). Further, cultures of honour are prevalent amongst multiple races/ethnicities, which intersected with sexuality and disability, can further mobilize nondisclosure to informal connections for marginalized men (i.e., micro- and macrosystems) (Keum et al., 2023). For these men, self-blame may be particularly high, as they may not only feel shame internally because of their sexual victimization but fear the shame their experiences may bring upon their family, community, and culture, shame which may already manifest due to queer sexualities and/or disabilities (Keum et al., 2023). Hence, the confidentiality afforded within campus resources, despite the potential for institutional harm and investigation through mandatory reporting, may be an especially motivating factor for marginalized men's increased odds of campus support access over privileged men.

Conversely, privileged men are much less likely to use campus resources and more likely to resort to informal disclosure than marginalized men. All three theories help unpack this finding, though masculinities and the social ecological model are most useful. For privileged men, sexual victimization may serve as a – real or perceived – threatening and damaging experience to their manhood (Messerschmidt, 2016). Privileged men, who have not had their masculinity questioned based on race, sexuality, or disability, may fear this feminization because of their sexual victimization much more than their marginalized counterparts (Connell, 2005; Meyer, 2022). To regain a sense of power and re-assert their position within the male gender, privileged men may be much more motivated to deal with their sexual victimization in a stereotypically hegemonic way (Messerschmidt, 2016). Privileged men may engage in more boundary work to demonstrate control over one's body and actions, in an emotionally stoic manner, which may mobilize worse odds of campus help-

seeking once the decision to seek support is made (Hlavka, 2017; Liang et al., 2005; Ralston, 2020). Campus help-seeking potentially requires more vulnerability than informal support access, as disclosure to formal options demands in-depth emotional discussions of a feminized crime to complete strangers, with the potential for probing, investigation, as well as disbelief (i.e., individual and meso/exosysem). Disclosing to campus officials and resources, as conduits of institutional power, may invoke fears of large-scale feminization with broader implications on privileged men's societal position within the gender category of men (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Connell, 2005).

The reach of institutional power is intensified due to the mandatory reporting within U.S. postsecondary education (i.e., meso/exo- and macrosystems), where privileged men may avoid campus resources for fear of additional stakeholders being involved, the investigation of the event, or even the publicization on campus of the victimization (Collins & Bilge, 2016; Liang et al., 2005). Therefore, for privileged men, their manhood may be threatened from the individual to macrosystems with campus support access more so than men with marginalized/subordinated masculinities who have already been denied a degree of "true" masculinity (Campbell et al., 2009; Connell, 2005; Crenshaw, 1991). Due to their perceived impenetrability, especially as men with the most social power in society, self-blame and shame because of their sexual victimization may be intensified (Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018). For example, as most heterosexual men in this sample were victimized by women, these privileged men may blame themselves more, as well as fear blame or dismissal from campus resources, for being dominated by the "weaker" sex (Davies & Rogers, 2006). These multi-focal influences affect privileged men's problem recognition and definition, where they may be resistant to identify their encounter as sexual victimization or may recognize the event as problematic but not quite define it as CSA (Liang et al., 2005). In these cases, campus

help-seeking is unlikely, as these men may not feel their experiences qualify for this type of support.

Instead, privileged men are more likely to engage in informal help-seeking than marginalized men; masculinities and the social ecological model best explain this result. For privileged men, informal supports may be perceived as safer, with less potential for wider-scale feminization (i.e., micro- and macrosystems) (Messerschmidt, 2016). Privileged men still risk victim blaming and other harmful reactions from informal connections, however, this backlash may not have ramifications as grand as campus-offered programs (e.g., because of mandatory reporting) (Campbell et al., 2009). As mentioned, more control is given to the survivor with informal help-seeking, as they can decide who to disclose to, how much information to provide, when to end the conversation, and whether any further action is taken (Liang et al., 2005); this may be especially enticing to privileged men as a mechanism to reassert control and their position within the masculine hierarchy (Connell, 2005). That privileged men are more likely to use informal supports may partially explain their decreased use of campus resources. Survivors use their disclosures, as well as reactions to their disclosures, to gauge the legitimacy of their victimization, how they define the event, and if more formal options should be accessed (Liang et al., 2005). If informal supports minimize the event and/or conflate victimization with consent (e.g., championing the man for "getting lucky"), sexually victimized college men may be especially unlikely to label their experiences as CSA which can decrease future informal (and campus) help-seeking (Liang et al., 2005).

Greek housing only affects informal help-seeking, where college men whose sexual assault occurred within a fraternity or sorority are more likely to disclose to informal supports. The social ecological model of help-seeking and intersectionality theory best elucidate these results. The party and hookup culture and alcohol consumption that commonly

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occurs within Greek housing (i.e., micro- and macrosystems) may mobilize informal help-seeking, as these men may discuss their victimization with friends who were present during the event to understand their experience, define it, and decide if further intervention is needed (Cameron & Wollschleger, 2020; Liang et al., 2005). These informal connections are critical in the survivor's processing and meaning making of their sexual victimization, including whether the event is treated seriously as CSA or if it is dismissed as consensual or blameworthy, which affects further help-seeking intentions (Dundas et al., 2021; Liang et al., 2005). Black and Asian college men, as well as men with other sexualities, however, have worse predicted odds of informal help-seeking when their victimization occurs in Greek housing than white and heterosexual men. Disciplinary power in the form of victim blaming or conflation of the event as consensual may be heightened for these men, due to stereotypes of the hypersexuality of Black men and some queer sexualities and the sexual passivity of Asian men and asexual identities, which are enhanced within party spaces such as Greek housing (Crenshaw, 1991; Curry, 2019). Such risk may then amplify already existing fears of losing race- and/or sexuality-based connections, which may be prevalent for those at PWIs (i.e., microsystem).

Sexually assaulted college men who consume alcohol have lower odds of campus help-seeking, but higher odds of informal disclosure, compared to men who do not consume alcohol. Both the social ecological model of help-seeking and masculinities theory contextualize this finding. The sanctions associated with underage drinking, as well as the possibility of being penalized for their alcohol consumption instead of supported for their sexual victimization (i.e., meso/exo- and macrosystems), may decrease campus help-seeking (Campbell et al., 2009; Gonzales et al., 2005). Further, the involvement of alcohol increases odds of victim blaming, including within campus resources and by campus officials

(Kilpatrick et al., 2007). Approximately one-third (34.5%) of sexually victimized college men in this sample are under the legal drinking age of 21, and regardless of age, 63.5% of college men were drinking alcohol at the time of their victimization (see Appendix B2).

Alcohol consumption – voluntary or otherwise – complicates survivors' problem recognition, where survivors who were under the influence when victimized are less likely to define their experiences as nonconsensual (Kilpatrick et al., 2007; Liang et al., 2005). As men are positioned as sexual aggressors always searching for sexual opportunities (with women in a heteropatriarchal society), the use of alcohol connected with rape culture may further blur the lines of consent (Campbell et al., 2005; Connell, 2005). Further, as binge drinking is often used as a marker of masculinity and site of male socialization, this may further complicate college men's problem identification and processing of the event (Capraro, 2007; Liang et al., 2005). Sexually victimized college men who consume alcohol may be championed for their intoxicated sexual conquests, especially with women, instead of having their disclosure recognized as CSA (Connell, 2005). Therefore, informal disclosures may be preferred as lower stake options for sexually victimized college men to process their victimization and begin their help-seeking journey (Liang et al., 2005). While the potential for victim blaming is never zero, informal help-seeking does not risk formal sanctions like campus help-seeking does and may provide a safer space to figure out if there is a problem, what their needs are, and how to move forward (Liang et al., 2005).

That said, marginalized men have lower predicted informal help-seeking and higher predicted campus support access when alcohol is consumed than privileged men; the social ecological model and intersectionality are most useful here. Research has demonstrated that among gender and sexual minorities, those who are also a person of colour are significantly more likely to acknowledge their rape than white gender and/or sexual minority members

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(Anderson et al., 2021). Disabled queer men of colour who consumed alcohol prior to their sexual victimization may, therefore, be in a better position to recognize their lack of consent and may be more willing to access campus supports, despite any risk of penalization or institutional harm (Campbell et al., 2009). For marginalized men, their victimization occurring while under the influence may induce more shame and self-blame, especially for those coming from a culture of honour, due to the involvement of alcohol within an already shameful experience of sexual victimization (Campbell et al., 2009). Hence, disclosing to informal connections for marginalized men who consume alcohol may be a particularly stigmatizing experience, especially if these informal connections are ingroup members.

College men who minimize their sexual victimization are less likely to engage in campus help-seeking; all three theories elucidate this finding. Such minimization negatively affects the help-seeking process, as survivors who minimize may not deem their situation troubling enough to seek supports or may not even identify the situation as a problem in need of help, which decreases the likelihood of campus resource access (Holland et al., 2021b; Liang et al., 2005). Disabled queer men of colour who minimize their victimization still appear more likely to connect with campus programs than privileged men. If these men are primed of their risk for sexual violence more than their privileged peers (Anderson et al., 2021), as well as if they have experiencing navigating the structural power of campus resources (Collins, 2000), this could motivate the higher likelihood of campus help-seeking among marginalized men despite their minimization. While marginalized men seem more likely to engage with campus programs when minimizing than privileged men (except for other/mixed men), none of the predicted rates of campus help-seeking for any demographic of college men who minimize are high. In fact, college men who minimize their sexual victimization have the lowest predicted rates of campus help-seeking found within this

dissertation. Minimization may occur to regain masculine capital, as minimizing portrays strength and control over a traumatic life event (e.g., they can handle it themselves), which are valued masculine qualities (Connell, 2005). Despite experiencing victimization stereotypically associated with women, minimization may serve as a mechanism to reclaim status within the masculine hierarchy for sexually victimized college men (Messerschmidt & Messner, 2018).

Interestingly, college men who hold positive perceptions about campus supports and their ability to respond effectively to survivors of sexual violence are less likely to access these resources. It could be precisely because these men have positive perceptions that they do not seek these supports out; the social ecological model and masculinities explain this. The college men who hold positive opinions about campus resources believe that university officials will do all the following: take the report seriously, conduct a fair investigation, and take action to address causes of the issue. This certainty with which sexual assault claims will be met – while a positive perception – could deter those college men from accessing campus resources who simply want a safe space to disclose, need referrals for other services/accommodations, or who are struggling with their problem identification and definition (Liang et al., 2005). This may be intensified due to the degree of shame and self-blame college men are grappling with, as these men may be especially resistant to campus programs if they feel they are not "worthy" victims/survivors, that their problems are not big enough to burden the campus programs, or that they caused their victimization in some capacity, which is likely enhanced by their gender (Campbell et al., 2005; Javaid, 2016).

There is also, however, the potential for reverse causality here, where accessing campus supports creates positive perceptions among the men who use them. As the variable of perceptions of support does not measure opinions of resources before and/or after access,

whether college men hold these positive perceptions before connecting with campus programs is unknown. Instead, it could be much more likely that campus support access alters perceptions of support (instead of the reverse). It is also possible that class mediates this relationship, which I was not able to analyze as there were no variables for this information within the dataset. Positive perceptions may be held by college men, but those with higher social class and economic wealth may have other options of support, like counselling or community-based resources, at their disposal (i.e., individual and meso/exosystems) (Liang et al., 2005). This may further explain why the lowest predicted odds of campus help-seeking are among privileged men who have positive perceptions, as these men have more resources to aid in their help-seeking journey despite having positive views of campus supports (Crenshaw, 1991). I will unpack these issues in more detail in the next, concluding chapter.

Chapter 7. Conclusion

7.1. Key Findings and Theoretical Contributions

To understand the landscape of CSA and college men's help-seeking tendencies, I divided my results into two chapters. The first results chapter discusses CSA prevalence rates by gender, sexuality, race, and disability, and then focuses on the sociodemographic characteristics of sexually victimized college men. Marginalized students experience more CSA than their privileged counterparts; women and transgender/gender non-conforming students report higher rates than men, queer students (especially bisexual individuals) outnumber heterosexual students, and disabled students experience greater rates than non-disabled students. Race is more complicated, with the highest rates of CSA victimization among other/multi-racial, Hispanic/Latinx, and white students. While men experience less CSA than other genders, approximately one in two queer men (e.g., 57.7% of men with other sexualities) and disabled men (47.9%) experience some form of sexual misconduct once entering college, compared to one in three heterosexual men (32.1%) and non-disabled men (32.0%). Most stark, Asian men – and Asian students in general – report less CSA victimization than men/students of other races. These results showcase how understandings of sexual violence are incomplete if not intersectional.

The characteristics surrounding college men's sexual victimization were also distinguished by sexuality, race, and disability. College men are most often victimized by someone they know, usually a friend, acquaintance, or their partner at the time, with a majority of men under the influence at the time of their victimization. Interestingly, most college men are victimized by women, which is largely influenced by sexuality (i.e., most heterosexual men are assaulted by women, most gay men by other men, and bisexual men

equally victimized by men and women). College men frequently report withdrawing from social interactions, difficulty concentrating on coursework, feeling detached, and feelings of helplessness following their sexual victimization. Heterosexual men, non-disabled men, and Black men are the least likely to report any psychosocial consequences than queer men, disabled men, or men of other races. The majority of sexually victimized college men do not access campus services, instead opting for informal disclosures. Over one-third of college men do not disclose their sexual victimization to any informal or campus support options, which is even more pronounced among marginalized college men; disabled men, queer men, and men of colour are more likely to withhold disclosure than their non-disabled, heterosexual, or white peers.

The second results chapter examines the logistic regression models predicting informal and campus help-seeking among sexually victimized college men depending on race, sexuality, disability, as well as the covariates of Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support. There are five main findings. First, sexually victimized college men are more likely to engage with informal resources over campus help-seeking, however, this relationship depends on race, sexuality, and disability. Disabled queer men of colour appear less likely to use informal connections and, instead, have better odds of accessing campus programs than privileged men, who demonstrate the reverse pattern; this pattern holds with each covariate introduced. Second, sexual assault occurring within Greek housing predicts heightened odds of informal help-seeking and has no effect on campus support use for college men who are sexually assaulted. Third, alcohol use predicts diminished campus help-seeking but increased odds of informal support access among sexually victimized college men. Fourth, college men who minimize their sexual assault are significantly less likely to use campus programs. Minimization produces the lowest predicted

likelihood of campus help-seeking than any other covariate and is a crucial aspect policy intervention must address. Finally, positive perceptions of campus support predict worse odds of campus help-seeking.

Important group differences also emerged. Disabled bisexual Asian men appear to demonstrate the highest predicted likelihood of accessing campus resources across the various hypotheses. This is especially interesting given the lowered rates of CSA reported by Asian men than men of other races. Other/mixed men seem to exhibit lower odds of campus help-seeking than white men, which persists regardless of sexuality or disability. Among mixed men, it is possible that the diverse expectations associated with their different racial backgrounds conflict with one another; an internal tension which may be intensified by sexuality and disability (Crenshaw, 1991). This may motivate diminished campus help-seeking, as other/mixed men may perceive the resources as inadequately equipped to address the intricate interplay of multiple marginalization and potentially conflicting expectations and identities (Crenshaw, 1991). However, research is needed to explore the racial complexities and their intersections within the umbrella category of "other/mixed" men. Finally, Black men, particularly non-disabled Black men with other sexualities, appear to be the least likely to engage with informal connections. This supports other research indicating the substantially lower use of informal supports among Black students compared to white students (Harris et al., 2021).

The theoretical framework of intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking aided in the understanding of these results. The combination of these three theories illuminates how sexually victimized college men – as a mechanism of multiple marginalization and/or privilege – traverse through the different stages of the help-seeking process. For example, that marginalized men are more likely to access campus resources than

privileged men is best contextualized with all three theories. As marginalized men are already relegated a lower status within the masculine hierarchy due to their race, sexuality, and/or disability, the threat of (wide scale) feminization due to sexual victimization may be less omnipresent for these men. Though marginalized men still risk institutional violence and the reproduction of rape culture when accessing campus resources, this risk may be less than using other formal services, like the police; as well, the confidentiality within campus resources may be desired to mitigate fears of intra-group ridicule and shame (fears which may be exacerbated within cultures of honour). Indeed, once the decision to seek support is made, these individual to chronosystem factors (i.e., gender, race, sexuality, disability, shame, cultures of honour, past experiences with campus resources, institutional harm, rape culture) differently influence the type of support selected based on the resources and pressures present depending on college men's privilege and/or oppression.

While all three theories provide some degree of contextualization, each theory is not equally as illuminating for every finding. For example, that privileged men are less likely to use campus resources and more likely to connect with informal supports than marginalized men can be explained by integrating all three theories, though it is best unpacked with the social ecological model and masculinities. Intersectionality (with masculinities) is relevant in detailing how campus resources, through their institutional power, may intensify fears of large-scale feminization for privileged men. Instead, privileged college men have other resources available to them due to their social position and may choose informal supports more often as they do not threaten their dominant status in the same degree as campus resources. This explanation, however, is much better understood with masculinities and the social ecological model of help-seeking. Privileged men may especially interpret their sexual victimization as an attack on their manhood, intensified by feelings of shame and self-blame,

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which may motivate increased renewal in hegemonic characteristics to reassert their status within the masculine hierarchy. Once the decision to seek support is made, these masculine pressures, real or perceived, affect college men's problem definition and may increase the likelihood that informal supports are chosen, as the survivor is provided more control and agency over the help-seeking process (e.g., how much and who to disclose).

Most consistently, however, the social ecological model of help-seeking provided the most clarity. The social ecological model elucidates how college men's differential internal processing and feelings of self-blame, interpersonal connections and interactions, and associations with the institution shapes their definition of the problem, the decision to seek help, and the type of support selected. For example, due to party, hookup, and rape culture, as well as the degree of (binge) drinking prevalent within Greek housing, informal help-seeking may be higher among men whose sexual assault occurs within these spaces as they may use their peers who were present during the event to define the problem and whether any intervention is needed. Importantly, the social ecological model can incorporate the role of gender, sexuality, race, and disability privilege and/or oppression as crucial individual to chronosystem factors that uniquely shape the help-seeking process. While masculinities and intersectionality are still needed to add greater contextualization to these forces, the social ecological model offered the foundational components for masculinities and intersectionality to build on.

There is one finding that adds complexity to the theoretical framework, namely that sexually victimized college men with positive perceptions of campus supports are less likely to access these resources. While the social ecological model and masculinities theory can clarify this result, this specific finding may require further exploration. Knowing that campus programs do not operate as an anonymous form of disclosure, but rather will result in

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investigation and action, could be precisely why sexually victimized college men with positive opinions have worse odds of campus help-seeking, enhanced by feelings of shame because of their gender. Reverse causality due to issues of temporality, however, cannot be ruled out, introducing caution into these results and theoretical explanations (to be discussed in the next section).

Not all markers of marginalization are significantly related to informal and campus help-seeking among college men, which departs from previous research and theory. For example, sexuality (apart from men with other sexualities) and disability do not significantly affect the odds of informal help-seeking among sexually victimized college men, as well as certain races (e.g., Hispanic or Black) are not significantly different from white men in their campus help-seeking (depending on the covariates introduced). Such results could stem from analyzing informal and campus supports as amalgamated categories, instead of separately assessing the odds of using different types of informal and campus resources (e.g., friends versus family, counselling versus Victim Services).

Still, my findings expand the three theories. Of the growing – but still limited – body of literature applying intersectionality to men's sexual victimization, most analyses centre intersections of gender and sexuality, with less attention given to race and especially disability (e.g., Coulter et al., 2017; Holloway et al., 2022). My findings therefore advance intersectionality theory by demonstrating how gender privilege interacts with oppression, but also with other categories of power, to create differences in help-seeking tendencies for college men. Masculinities theory is improved with the incorporation of intersectionality, as it garners a more explicit grappling of the systems of power that mutually co-construct men's dominance and the hierarchy prevalent within the gendered category of men. Through the integration of intersectionality within masculinities, I demonstrate how different classes of

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men differentially benefit from the patriarchal dividend and how the feminization that may result from men's sexual victimization is distinct depending on their group memberships and the power afforded to their social position. Both intersectionality and masculinities are developed further through the social ecological model, as it incorporates elements that affect the help-seeking process that are not necessarily bred through power interactions and structures, which gives a more holistic understanding. The social ecological model, while sensitive to the interlocking nature of power, does not necessarily evaluate these structures and relations, and as such, integrating masculinities and intersectionality makes this connection paramount.

7.2. Limitations and Future Research

There are a few important limitations to note. First, the AAU does not include any measure to indicate the region of the school, for confidentiality purposes. A basic understanding of the region of the school, however, is important to understand help-seeking pathways and how the intersectional predictors may differ based on location, rurality, and the political and social climate within that region. Related, the AAU does not measure class or socioeconomic status; future research should analyze how class connects with other systems of domination in producing help-seeking pathways among CSA survivors.

As mentioned, the variable measuring perceptions of support suffers from issues of temporality, which could sway the results. Respondents' views of campus programs prior to accessing the supports and how (or if) these opinions changed is unknown. This problem with temporality introduces caution into these findings, as it is uncertain whether accessing resources alters perceptions or if perceptions alter access of resources. Given this limitation, research needs to evaluate the perceptions, attitudes, and knowledge of CSA survivors prior to

help-seeking, followed by a measure that assesses any changes post-access; such research would further advance the social ecological model as well. Further, due to the phrasing of the questions, I was only able to assess how perceptions of campus support affect campus help-seeking. A worthwhile focus for future research is to distinguish how perceptions of different informal connections mobilize access or avoidance of these supports by sexually victimized college men, as well as how perceptions of informal support relate to perceptions of formal resources.

Related, the AAU collected data regarding why campus programs were not accessed, which included minimization tactics, but did not similarly evaluate reasons for not disclosing to informal connections. My analysis of minimization is subsequently limited to only campus resources. As minimization has a substantially negative effect on campus help-seeking, more research is needed to understand how minimization operates within sexually victimized college men's informal help-seeking. Scholarship should also evaluate how minimization within informal connections affects the male survivors' processing of their own victimization and/or future formal help-seeking tendencies, which also advances the social ecological model and masculinities research.

An important limitation of my dissertation relates to intersectionality. I relied on predicted probabilities to demonstrate the likelihood of accessing informal and campus resources, depending on specific covariates, among men of different groups. It is here, and only here, where I embark on an intersectional analysis, illustrating the odds depending on full group membership of all categories of analysis (e.g., disabled gay Hispanic men). Other techniques at intersectional modelling within logistic regressions, such as interaction terms, are insufficient for my goals. While a variety of issues exist with using interaction terms with logit models, of biggest concern is the moderator approach (Pampel, 2021). This approach

requires researchers to identify moderator variables of interest (which can make models too complex), but most importantly, a focal independent variable, which is "the independent variable whose effect on or relationship to the dependent variable is said to be moderated by the moderator variable" (Jaccard, 2001, p. 16). In terms of an intersectional analysis, I cannot theoretically decipher which predictor – race, sexuality, or disability – should be treated as the focal independent variable, as these factors all mutually constitute each other. Instead, I chose to illustrate predicted probabilities to ensure complexity in the different categories is maintained without prioritizing one predictor over another. That said, this approach is still largely additive; researchers must continue to collect in-depth intersectional data with larger sample sizes within intersectional subcategories to permit more multiplicative testing. This research will be imperative to test whether the relationships uncovered within my dissertation maintain given more multiplicative statistical methods and representative samples.

A challenge for quantitative intersectional CSA research, including in maintaining complexity, is gathering adequate sample sizes to make concrete comparisons and generalizations. Institutions should embark on standardized surveys to collect long-term reliable data that can be used to better programs, policies, and prevention efforts. Institutional surveys, however, must be created and conducted through ongoing partnerships with communities to ensure it is accessible for the most marginalized students and does not reproduce harms. Researchers should also ensure all recruitment tactics, information posters, and informed consent are culturally sensitive, as well as in multiple languages appropriate for the region (e.g., Spanish) to increase engagement among minoritized populations. Researchers may also want to consider multiple mechanisms of recruiting, not just by school email. This could include attending relevant campus events and clubs, giving classroom talks about CSA and the study of interest, placing recruitment posters around campus, as well as engaging

community resources and spaces that cater to college students, or survivors of CSA. Lastly, researchers may wish to provide alternative formats to online surveys, or adjustable online surveys (e.g., font size and colour manipulation, text-to-speech options), especially for those students who struggle with online reading comprehension; for example, dyslexic individuals often report more difficulty with online reading due to the glare of white computer screens (AbilityNet, 2023).

Intersectional research on college men's sexual victimization and help-seeking processes must continue to grow. There are many aspects I could not assess within the scope of my dissertation upon which future research should build. I did not evaluate the specific types of informal and campus support and did not include community-based formal resources. I was also limited in both the intersectional inequalities and correlates of CSA I focused on. Scholarship should continue to evaluate the intersectional pathways to different types of informal and formal supports, including the choices behind which services are accessed and avoided. More intersectional correlates should be assessed, such as class, citizenship/immigrant status, and language proficiency. Further correlates of CSA and campus factors – such as athletic/club involvement, living situation (on or off campus), and Greek membership – must also continue to be assessed for their effect on sexually victimized college men's informal and formal help-seeking intentions. I was only able to focus on the location of the sexual assault within Greek housing, which does not fully encapsulate Greek culture. Future research should continue to focus on the role of Greek membership and how differing degrees of entrenchment within the culture affect both informal and formal help-seeking pathways. Such analyses will continue to strengthen intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model of help-seeking as applied to sexually victimized college men.

Future research should also continue to evaluate the reliability of integrating intersectionality, masculinities, and the social ecological model to assess the informal and formal help-seeking tendencies of not just college survivors, but sexual victimization in different settings as well (e.g., military, prison, community). This research should include more measures of structural and institutional inequalities and barriers, to better incorporate intersectionality's relational power-based focus. This could include measures of institutional betrayal, rape culture, representation of minority staff and students, or distribution of scholarships. Similarly, to better analyze the role of masculinities within an intersectional social ecological model of help-seeking, research should also assess how students who identify as masculine (regardless of sex assignment) feel specific pressures, constraints, and/or privileges when embarking on their help-seeking journey because of their masculinity, depending on other intersections and group memberships. I also was not able to analyze all potential variables that could be of influence within an intersectional social ecological model of help-seeking. For example, I was not able to analyze class, which is crucial when it comes to help-seeking capabilities, nor was I able to assess prior traumatic experiences or disclosures, which can affect future willingness to engage in help-seeking. More research evaluating different factors within the levels of the social ecological model is needed.

7.3. Policy Implications

The findings of my dissertation lead to several policy implications, both in targeting the types of support most used, as well as addressing the barriers to help-seeking. Given most college men choose informal connections over campus programs and friends (who are likely to be fellow students) as their primary informal support provider, it is crucial college students are given appropriate training and resources to respond effectively to disclosures of sexual

violence. CSA survivors often engage in informal help-seeking to garner tangible support, such as accessing information or improving their mental well-being; unfortunately, such support is rarely received (Holland et al., 2021a). These informal connections are influential to the survivor's movement through the different help-seeking stages, but also the degree to which minimization occurs. Disclosing to friends and peer groups increases the likelihood the victim/survivor minimizes their sexual assault, which thereby diminishes formal service use (Holland et al., 2021b). Within peer groups, "less serious" forms of sexual assault are more likely to be excused and explained as consensual or everyday occurrences, which can be enhanced by alcohol consumption (Holland et al., 2021b). Since alcohol consumption increases odds of informal support use for college men (especially privileged college men), as well as the high commitment to male rape myths prevalent within collegiate settings (Hahn, et al., 2020), the likelihood college men's sexual victimization is disbelieved, diminished, or ridiculed is high; this then further increases the odds college men minimize their sexual assault and avoid campus programs. Hence, education to dispel rape culture on campus is an important first step.

Most institutions dedicated to changing campus culture and involving informal supports within sexual violence prevention employ bystander intervention programs and initiatives. Individuals, however, are less likely to intervene when the situation is not seen as high risk – which is motivated by rape culture and myths of "real" rape – as well as when the victim/survivor is a stranger (Kania & Cale, 2021; Seo et al., 2021). While bystander intervention initiatives incorporate both proactive (e.g., education) and reactive (e.g., responding to violence) elements, in practice, there is a disproportionate focus on the latter (Hoxmeier et al., 2022). Hoxmeier and colleagues (2022) discovered only 22.5% of college students have peer conversations about how to prevent sexual and dating violence; yet women

and non-white students are more likely to engage in these discussions than men and white students. Bystander intervention programs must stress the prevention aspect much more to dispel rape culture on campus, especially as it relates to alcohol consumption and minimization and their inhibiting effect on campus help-seeking. More tailored efforts are needed to better engage men and other privileged group members in the prevention of CSA on campuses, including creating more prosocial environments that facilitate peer conversations about sexual violence and unacceptable behaviours. Initiatives, be it bystander intervention programs or otherwise, need to employ better training modules specifically geared to creating safe spaces for informal disclosures and help-seeking, without obligation to seek further recourse, especially if mandatory reporting policies are to remain.

The education/training will help ensure all students and service providers understand what constitutes as sexual violence, the differing needs of minoritized student survivors, what programs and options are available, how to access supports, as well as how to respond in a supportive and positive manner regardless of gender, sexuality, race, or disability status. As positive reactions to disclosures (e.g., believing the survivor) are associated with better psychological well-being (Dundas et al., 2021), students and campus support providers need to be well-equipped to respond to disclosures and not react in ways that create more harm for the survivor and/or discourage further help-seeking. Such education would also facilitate each student's understanding of their own experiences, potentially aiding in their own help-seeking journey. This education/training, therefore, must be culturally sensitive and intersectional.

Intersectional approaches to CSA policies and interventions *must* recognize the overlapping and multiple systems of domination influencing students' lives to ensure the needs of all survivors are met across each stage of their help-seeking and healing journey. For example, whether survivors access campus resources, particularly health services, could be a

function of whether they can afford campus healthcare, which is differentially experienced by interlocking forms of racism, sexism, and classism (Harris, 2020).[19] Educating students on the costs of resources, emphasizing those that are free or have payment plans or reduced rates, as well as how to connect with these supports for any unwanted sexual contact may begin to lessen some structural barriers. Such intersectional policies also require the hiring of more minoritized staff, as well as community consultation about how to better reflect the needs of minority populations within intervention and prevention efforts.

An intersectional approach to CSA intervention must ensure the cultural competence of support providers, which is currently lacking (Harris, 2020). Harris (2020) discovered that while women accessed university-offered mental health services, these resources were culturally inept and unattuned to experiences, pressures, and systems of domination influencing women of colour. Most drastically, support providers are ill-equipped to handle intergenerational and historical trauma and how these forces may intertwine with sexual victimization and the healing journey (Harris, 2020). Thus, despite marginalized men, especially disabled bisexual Asian men, being more likely to use campus resources than privileged men, this does not mean these resources were helpful or culturally sensitive to the unique needs of disabled queer men of colour. Cultural competence training must address these issues to ensure survivors of CSA are receiving the care and support needed and are not re-victimized through institutional harms and the reproduction of institutional power.

Given the low rate of campus help-seeking among sexually victimized college men, the barriers associated with accessing campus programs must be targeted. The normalization

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[19]Without paying for campus healthcare, most universities only offer a limited number of free counselling services, for example, before referring the survivor to a community-based resource (Harris et al., 2021). Campus policies should look to making these resources free access for the entire student body, as a separate service distinct from the university's health plan.

of rape culture within institutions (enhanced with alcohol consumption) is also an impediment to campus help-seeking. Another massive barrier to campus help-seeking is minimization, where college men who minimize their sexual assault have the lowest predicted likelihood of connecting with campus resources. The education efforts above, including dispelling cultural rape myths and ideas of "less severe" sexual assault, will help address these barriers to campus help-seeking. Additionally, institutions should revisit strict alcohol policies, as these may further deter campus help-seeking for fear of reprisal.

The very structure of campus programs, however, may in and of themselves deter access. There is little transparency and oversight within campus resources, especially Title IX Offices, which can discourage access (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). For example, there are inconsistencies regarding what information is included within survivors' case files (e.g., some survivors' witness statements were excluded, while others were included), as well as considerable wait times for the resolution of complaints made (e.g., majority of complaints made to the U.S. Office for Civil Rights [OCR] over the past 10 years have still not been investigated nor resolved) (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). Mandatory reporting worsens these issues and further deters service access; student survivors refuse to even disclose to housing staff due to mandatory reporting obligations (Holland and Cipriano, 2021). The ORC and Title IX guidance does not necessitate *all* staff members must be "responsible employees" required to report disclosures of sexual violence; despite this, most U.S. institutions designate all staff and faculty as mandatory reporters (Holland & Cipriano, 2021). Therefore, campus policies need to be tailored for greater transparency (e.g., what happens when a disclosure is made, what does the investigation look like, etc.) and oversight (e.g., consistent methods in investigation and adjudication), and should re-evaluate the need for *all* staff members to be mandatory reporters. Instead, at least some campus resources should be available for students

who desire a safe space for anonymous disclosure and receiving information, rather than forced reporting and investigation of disclosures.

Post-secondary education also needs to expand safe spaces on campus for marginalized students, beyond sexual violence specific resources. Research by Harris and colleagues (2021) discovered that women of colour CSA survivors found solace in both academic classrooms and yoga programs that are led by women of colour. For example, one institution offered an all-Black women's class, which was "created with the intention that Black undergraduate women from the African diaspora have a 'safe space' to process their collegiate experiences" (Harris et al., 2021, p. 259). Within this course, women of colour were able to process experiences of CSA through a culturally oriented lens that validated their experiences and explored the interlocking systems of dominance within their lives (Harris et al., 2021). Such healing occurred regardless of whether the students disclosed their own victimization within the course, demonstrating the healing power of safe spaces (Harris et al., 2021). Institutions should look to expand culturally specific courses and enclaves, as well as different types of programs to aid in healing that are not traditional therapy or formal supports, within an intersectional framework to better engage marginalized students. While marginalized men have better odds of campus help-seeking than privileged men, still only one-third of college men connect with campus resources. For men in particular, intersectional approaches to courses on masculinities could be helpful in creating safe spaces for their own emotional exploration and processing of trauma. These courses would be charged with dispelling the restraints of hegemonic masculinity, illustrating how men can begin to free themselves and their loved ones from the confinements of the patriarchy, as intersected with white supremacy, heteronormativity, and ableism.

Applying U.S. Research to the Canadian Context

CSA policy, media attention, and research within the U.S. has been influential to Canada's own response to this issue (Sheehy & Gilbert, 2017). While the U.S. has implemented a federal strategy to target CSA with the Title IX legislation, Canada does not similarly have any national legislation or guidelines safeguarding against sexual violence on campuses (Lopes-Baker et al., 2017). Since higher education is under provincial jurisdiction in Canada, it is up to each individual university to tailor their own CSA response, if they create one at all (Lopes-Baker et al., 2017). In 2015, the Ontarian government was the first to enact Bill C-132, inspired by Title IX, requiring all government funded institutions to devise and implement their own sexual assault policies (Brockbank, 2021). Provinces have since followed suit (e.g., British Columbia and Manitoba), but some regions in Canada remain without any overarching CSA strategy, such as Saskatchewan (Liddle, 2022). Though these national or provincial standards require institutions to outline certain elements within their sexual violence policies, such as prevention and adjudication measures, each institution still decides the best practices in their campaign against CSA (Brockbank, 2021). This can create disparity in the campus initiatives and programs offered, as well as the transparency and oversight within these resources, not just across the U.S. and Canada but within each state/province as well. Both U.S. and Canadian institutions can, therefore, better tailor their sexual violence policies given the intersectional pathways to help-seeking and the identified barriers with access among college men discovered within my dissertation.

Though heavy alcohol use is slightly more prevalent among American students than Canadian, Canadian students have significantly higher rates of alcohol consumption than Canadians who are not students (Daigle et al., 2019). Given that Canada has a lower legal drinking age of 18 or 19 depending on the province, alcohol as a deterrent to campus help-

seeking is especially important for Canadian institutions to address. Education and training initiatives should counteract rape myths regarding the involvement of alcohol and/or drugs – voluntary or otherwise – and consent. Rape culture also runs rampant among Canadian institutions, with Canadian college students struggling to identify situations of sexual violence, especially when they fall outside the "real rape" archetype or include "nonideal" victims (e.g., overweight individuals, men) (Nelund et al., 2020; Zidenberg et al., 2019). Canada should, therefore, also ensure strategies are in place to eradicate rape culture on campus, including the likelihood of minimization by the survivor or informal and campus support providers. Given the extremely low rate of campus help-seeking when college men minimize their sexual assault, as well as the increased likelihood to minimize when disclosing to informal connections (Holland & Cipriano, 2021), Canadian campuses must incorporate sessions on minimization and how to respond to CSA disclosures appropriately and sensitively – regardless of who is disclosing – within their education initiatives.

Canadian universities should also target Greek culture within their education outreach, though Canadian campuses are not as heavily invested in Greek life as the U.S. (Daigle et al., 2019). While sexual victimization occurring within Greek housing did not affect campus help-seeking, it did increase the odds of informal help-seeking among college men. Addressing rape myth acceptance and traditional gender norms circulated within Greek culture is necessary to ensure college students are not re-victimized during their help-seeking process, but also, to further circumvent the likelihood of minimization.

Indeed, the amplified use of informal help-seeking over campus programs among college survivors poses a unique challenge for Canadian institutions. Canadian universities, much more than the U.S., often operate as commuter schools, where students only attend campus for class (Daigle et al., 2019). To better engage students within the campus

community, Canadian institutions need to find creative ways to increase campus culture and cohesion, including making safe spaces for marginalized students. Courses focused on intersecting systems of domination and oppression, fitness programs, and other social events and spaces designed to cater specifically to the needs of multiple minoritized students is needed. Canadian universities, much like the U.S., continue to perpetuate systems of inequality and colonization, including within their equity and diversity initiatives, as well as the (lack) of culturally sensitive and diverse course offerings (Henry et al., 2017). For example, very few undergraduate students learn about Canada's continued genocide against Indigenous peoples, and structural barriers for Indigenous student entry remain enforced on the micro- to macro-level (Henry et al., 2017). Given Canada's violent and oppressive history with Indigenous peoples and populations, it is imperative that the help-seeking patterns among Indigenous student survivors are centred within future Canadian CSA research. Courses and enclaves specifically designed to tackle various cultural issues as intersected with systems of power and oppression are essential to increasing campus cohesion and a sense of community, which could facilitate greater informal and campus disclosures among CSA survivors.

7.4. Final Thoughts

Though research on the sexual victimization of (college) men is growing, there is still much to explore. Women and transgender/gender non-conforming students represent the majority of CSA survivors, though college men are at increased risk and experience sexual victimization at high rates, risk which increases with marginalized status. Not only do college men face increased risk of CSA, but one in three (37.6%) college men do not disclose their sexual victimization to informal or formal supports, and only one-third of college men seek

campus resources. As the help-seeking process is essential to the survivor's healing journey, including whether symptoms are bettered or exacerbated (Dundas et al., 2021), intersectional research on college men's help-seeking pathways must continue. My dissertation begins to fill this gap, illustrating how race, sexuality, and disability intersect with gender privilege to create unique pathways to informal and campus help-seeking among sexually assaulted college men. I also evaluated how these intersectional predictors intermingle with Greek housing, alcohol consumption, minimization, and perceptions of support in predicting college men's odds of help-seeking.

The future of CSA prevention may lie in a stronger focus on intersectionally engaging men in gendered violence prevention. Such programming requires men to critically reflect on their support of harmful gender norms (including gendered race and sexuality norms), their relationships with women, gender non-conforming individuals, and other men, as well as challenge the patriarchy and men's dominance in society and on campus (Casey et al., 2016; McCook, 2022). There is a current trend within post-secondary education initiatives to devise strategies that better empower men in understanding and interrogating their role in preventing gender-based violence, especially targeting rape myth acceptance and toxic masculinity and masculine culture (Zenteno & Robison, 2022). Seminal research discovered most college men are not aware of the plight of sexual violence on campus, nor do they fully know how to prevent CSA; importantly, however, most college men want to be more involved in CSA intervention (Zenteno & Robison, 2022). Campuses across the U.S. and Canada must tailor programs explicitly designed to engage men in gendered violence prevention, which should include (though not dominate) discussions of college men's victimization and the limits of the patriarchy as applied to men (hooks, 2004). The more men commit to ending gender-based

violence and recognize the harms of the patriarchy – to their loved ones and themselves – the more society will move towards gender equality, contributing to safer college campuses for all students.

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Appendix A. Logistic Regression Assumptions

Logistic regressions have five assumptions relative to the variables of analysis.[20] First, logistic regressions require a dichotomous dependent variable, which both informal and campus help-seeking meet – either a presence or an absence of help. Logistic regressions need large sample sizes, which is met by the data compiled from the AAU, having an overall sample size of 22,554 sexually victimized college men (representing completed surveys of men who experienced any sexual misconduct or sexual assault since beginning college). There is also the assumption of independent observations (Menard, 2013), which is met as the Campus Climate Survey is a cross-sectional survey that does not repeat its measures on the same participants nor matches participants from the 2015 version to the 2019 version (if there are any respondents who completed both versions). Logistic regressions require very little multicollinearity. Multicollinearity occurs when two or more independent variables are highly correlated, which can cause errors in interpretation (Kleinbaum & Klein, 2010). To test multicollinearity, variance inflation factors (VIF) and tolerance were analyzed (Senaviratna & Cooray, 2019). All variables of interest, including controls, were entered to detect any VIF higher than 10.00 and any tolerance lower than 0.20 for each dependent variable (Senaviratna & Cooray, 2019). As illustrated below in Tables A.1. and A.2., there is no concern of multicollinearity amongst the chosen variables of analysis with any dependent variable as all tolerances are above 0.20 and VIFs under 10.00.

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[20]Logistic regressions also assume a linear relationship between continuous predictor(s) and the logit. As there are no continuous predictors, this assumption is not relevant.

Table A.1. Collinearity Statistics for Campus Support and Informal Support for College Men who Were Sexually Assaulted

	Campus Support		Informal Support	
	Tolerance	VIF	Tolerance	VIF
Predictors				
Race	0.966	1.036	0.965	1.036
Disability	0.959	1.043	0.958	1.044
Sexuality	0.951	1.052	0.950	1.053
Greek Housing	0.959	1.043	0.959	1.043
Alcohol Consumption	0.973	1.028	0.973	1.028
Minimization	0.962	1.040	0.961	1.041
Perceptions	0.961	1.040	0.961	1.041
Controls				
Age	0.416	2.402	0.416	2.402
School Type	0.335	2.982	0.336	2.981
Student Affiliation	0.417	2.396	0.417	2.396
Crimes in Cleary Report	0.653	1.532	0.653	1.532
School Knowledge of Definitions	0.787	1.271	0.787	1.270
School Opinion on Occurrence of CSA	0.674	1.484	0.674	1.484
School Opinion on Reactions by Officials	0.749	1.335	0.750	1.333
Response Rate for School	0.473	2.110	0.474	2.108

Table A.2. Collinearity Statistics for Campus Support for College Men who Experienced Any Type of Sexual Misconduct

	Tolerance	VIF
Predictors		
Race	0.970	1.031
Disability	0.964	1.037
Sexuality	0.966	1.035
Perceptions	0.973	1.028
Controls		
Age	0.381	2.623
School Type	0.346	2.890
Student Affiliation	0.379	2.642
Crimes in Cleary Report	0.653	1.530
School Knowledge of Definitions	0.770	1.298
School Opinion on Occurrence of CSA	0.678	1.474
School Opinion on Reactions by Officials	0.764	1.309
Response Rate for School	0.468	2.137

Appendix B. Descriptive Results by Demographic

Appendix B1. Types of Sexual Violence by Demographic

Table B1.1 Sexual Misconduct and Assault by Demographic, Unweighted

	Any Sexual Misconduct	Sexual Assault	Sexual Touching with Physical Force	Sexual Touching without Consent	Sexual Touching without Voluntary Agreement	Penetration without Voluntary Agreement
	Percent					
Gender						
Woman	56.1	23.9	12.8	7.9	13.6	8.6
Man	35.1	6.5	2.7	2.1	3.3	1.5
Transgender/gender non-conforming	68.0	28.0	13.4	8.5	18.6	13.6
Sexuality						
Heterosexual	44.7	14.9	7.9	4.8	8.0	4.7
Gay or Lesbian	54.8	18.0	8.6	5.4	9.6	6.0
Bisexual	68.0	33.0	17.2	11.9	20.6	14.3
Other	66.8	28.8	14.0	9.5	18.7	12.3
Race						
White Only	51.8	19.4	9.9	6.6	11.0	6.8
Black Only	48.1	16.7	8.5	4.2	8.9	5.5
Asian Only	35.7	9.9	5.4	3.0	5.4	2.9
Other/Multi-Racial	54.3	20.3	10.7	6.4	12.2	7.4
Hispanic or Latino	51.0	18.8	10.4	6.4	10.3	6.5
Disability						
Disabled	63.6	28.9	15.8	10.3	17.4	11.9
Non-Disabled	42.6	13.0	6.5	4.0	6.9	3.7
Total	168,355	162,088	166,969	166,022	164,267	164,726

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. Differences between any sexual misconduct and any sexual assault are due to the scope of the question, where sexual misconduct more broadly includes sexual harassment and sexual violence occurring through stalking and intimate partner violence, and sexual assault is refined to the nine types of sexual assault surveyed.

Table B1.2. Sexual Misconduct and Assault against College Men, Unweighted

	Any Sexual Misconduct	Sexual Assault	Sexual Touching with Physical Force	Sexual Touching without Consent	Sexual Touching without Voluntary Agreement	Penetration without Voluntary Agreement
	Percent					
Sexuality						
Heterosexual	32.1	4.9	2.0	1.6	2.4	0.9
Gay	52.1	17.1	7.8	4.7	9.0	5.8
Bisexual	55.1	16.4	6.7	5.6	9.0	4.3
Other	57.7	16.1	6.6	4.8	9.4	5.1
Race						
White Only	37.7	7.4	2.9	2.4	3.7	1.7
Black Only	39.0	7.8	3.4	2.1	4.2	1.7
Asian Only	24.3	2.9	1.5	0.8	1.4	0.5
Other/Multi-Racial	41.7	8.4	3.8	2.8	4.8	2.1
Hispanic or Latino	38.7	8.1	3.6	2.7	4.0	1.9
Disability						
Disabled	47.9	12.1	5.3	4.2	6.5	3.4
Non-Disabled	32.0	5.2	2.1	1.6	2.5	1.0
Total	64,212	62,099	63,739	63,448	62,905	63,016

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. Differences between any sexual misconduct and any sexual assault are due to the scope of the question, where sexual misconduct more broadly includes sexual harassment and sexual violence occurring through stalking and intimate partner violence, and sexual assault is refined to the nine types of sexual assault surveyed.

Appendix B2. Sociodemographic Characteristics of Sexually Victimized College Men

Table B2.1. Sociodemographics of Sexually Victimized College Men, Weighted and Unweighted

		Weighted Percent	Unweighted
Age	18 years	5.4	6.2
	19 years	13.3	14.1
	20 years	15.8	16.1
	21 years	18.9	16.6
	22 years	13.1	10.8
	23 years	4.9	4.5
	24 years	4.0	4.3
	25 years and older	24.6	27.3
Student Affiliation	Undergraduate	70.8	66.0
	Graduate	24.8	29.6
	Professional	4.3	4.3
Race	White Only	63.3	60.6
	Black Only	4.7	4.2
	Asian Only	13.2	16.0
	Other or Multi-Racial	7.4	8.3
	Hispanic or Latino	11.4	10.9
Sexuality	Heterosexual	80.2	79.3
	Gay	9.3	9.7
	Bisexual	4.9	4.8
	Other	5.6	6.1
Identify with Disability	Yes	27.6	26.2
	No	72.4	73.8
Type of Disability	ADHD	4.8	4.1
	Chronic Mental Health Condition	11.5	11.5
	Chronic Medical Condition	1.5	1.7
	Other Type of Single Disability	3.1	2.9
	Two or More	6.6	6.1
	None of the Above	72.4	73.8
Total		127,417	22,537

Note: This table filters by those who experienced any sexual misconduct or any type of sexual assault

Table B2.2. Offence Characteristics of Sexually Victimized College Men, Unweighted

		Percent
Number of Perpetrators	1 Person	87.9
	2 Persons	7.6
	3 or More Persons	4.5
	Total	*3,989*
Gender of Perpetrator	Man	35.7
	Woman	61.8
	Other Gender Identity	0.8
	Don't Know	1.7
	Total	*3,492*
Perpetrator's Association with University	Student	76.4
	Faculty	1.2
	Alumni	2.0
	Not Associated with University	2.7
	Total	*3,966*
Perpetrator's Relationship to Respondent	Partner at the Time	19.4
	Previous Partner	11.4
	Friend	5.3
	Classmate	12.4
	Acquaintance	4.3
	Total	*3,946*
Alcohol Consumption	Perpetrator's Use	62.3
	Total	*3,974*
	Respondent's Use	64.9
	Total	*3,964*
Location of Incident	University Residence Hall/Dorm	26.3
	Fraternity House	8.3
	Sorority House	0.6
	Other Space Used by a Single-Sex Student Organization	0.5
	Other Residential Building	18.7
	Classroom, Lab, or Fieldwork Setting	1.6
	Faculty or Staff Office	0.4
	Restaurant, Bar, or Club	15.1
	Other Non-Residential Building	4.8
	Outdoor or Recreational Space	3.8
	Some Other Place	19.9
	Total	*3,924*

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table B2.3. Gender of the Perpetrator by Sexuality, Race, Disability, Weighted and Unweighted

	Weighted				Unweighted			
	Gender of the Perpetrator				Gender of the Perpetrator			
	Man	Woman	Other Gender	Don't Know	Man	Woman	Other Gender	Don't Know
	Percent							
Sexuality								
Heterosexual	14.1	82.6	0.7	2.5	14.6	82.4	0.8	2.2
Gay	93.7	5.6	0.2	0.5	93.5	5.9	0.2	0.5
Bisexual	53.7	40.7	1.9	3.7	55.3	40.4	2.5	1.8
Other	59.5	39.1	0.5	0.9	61.8	36.7	0.6	0.9
Race								
White Only	34.1	63.5	0.6	1.8	35.3	62.7	0.7	1.3
Black Only	35.4	58.4	0.9	5.4	32.9	61.1	1.3	4.7
Asian Only	36.8	58.2	0.1	4.9	39.0	56.7	0.3	3.9
Other/Multi-Racial	27.0	69.1	1.1	2.7	30.8	66.3	1.0	1.9
Hispanic or Latino	35.6	62.4	1.3	0.6	39.5	58.2	1.4	0.9
Disability								
Disabled	38.2	57.6	1.5	2.7	40.4	55.9	1.6	2.0
Non-Disabled	31.6	66.2	0.3	1.8	33.1	64.9	0.4	1.6
N	20,453				3,492			

Table B2.4. Psychosocial Consequences for Sexually Victimized College Men, Unweighted

		Percent
Emotional or Psychological	Concerned about Safety	11.4
	Helplessness	17.3
	Loss of Interest	12.8
	Detached	18.3
	Increased Drug or Alcohol Use	10.7
	Total	3,894
Social	Avoided the Person	52.8
	Withdrawal from Interactions	15.2
	Stopped Participating in Extracurricular Activities	7.6
	Total	3,894
Physical	Nightmares	10.0
	Headaches	6.4
	Eating Problems	5.8
	Total	3,894
	Physically Injured	2.3
	Total	3,879
Academic	Decreased Class Attendance	12.0
	Difficulty Concentrating on Course Work	20.0
	Difficulty Concentrating on Research	5.6
	Difficulty Going to Work	8.3
	Withdrew from Classes	3.8
	Considered Dropping Out	5.6
	Total	3,815

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table B2.5. Psychosocial Consequences for Sexually Victimized College Men by Demographic, Unweighted

	Emotional		Social		Physical		Academic	
	Detached	Helpless	Avoided the Person	Withdrawal from Interactions	Nightmares	Physically Injured	Difficulty Concentrating on Course Work	Decreased Class Attendance
	Percent							
Sexuality								
Heterosexual	13.2	12.5	47.4	11.7	7.5	1.7	15.2	9.8
Gay	27.9	25.8	62.2	20.0	15.8	3.5	27.8	15.3
Bisexual	28.1	28.4	62.4	23.5	13.7	5.6	33.9	20.3
Other	27.9	24.9	64.1	23.3	13.7	1.9	27.4	15.0
Race								
White Only	18.4	17.3	55.0	14.9	9.6	1.9	19.1	11.3
Black Only	16.0	14.8	46.2	13.0	9.5	2.3	18.6	12.6
Asian Only	16.8	15.3	46.8	14.0	7.2	3.5	20.5	11.8
Other/Mixed Race	21.4	19.2	50.7	19.8	13.1	3.7	22.4	14.5
Hispanic or Latino	17.6	18.0	50.3	15.1	12.4	2.7	23.1	14.2
Disability								
Disabled	26.7	25.7	60.9	23.4	16.2	3.0	31.2	20.5
Non-Disabled	13.7	12.6	48.3	10.6	6.6	2.0	13.9	7.4
N	3,894	3,894	3,894	3,894	3,894	3,879	3,815	3,815

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table B2.6. Psychosocial Consequences for Sexually Victimized College Men by Demographic, Weighted

	Emotional		Social		Physical		Academic	
	Detached	Helpless	Avoided the Person	Withdrawal from Interactions	Nightmares	Physically Injured	Difficulty Concentrating on Course Work	Decreased Class Attendance
	Percent							
Sexuality								
Heterosexual	14.0	13.3	47.6	12.8	8.1	2.2	17.0	11.3
Gay	28.1	25.4	63.8	19.5	16.2	3.2	28.6	16.3
Bisexual	32.1	12.9	62.7	25.5	11.4	5.9	38.2	20.8
Other	27.9	12.0	64.9	23.5	14.3	3.7	30.1	16.6
Race								
White Only	19.6	17.6	55.8	16.0	9.7	2.3	21.0	12.5
Black Only	15.3	14.1	46.8	10.1	9.7	3.1	17.2	11.8
Asian Only	17.1	18.4	46.2	15.1	10.0	6.4	23.6	14.6
Other/Mixed Race	19.0	19.8	51.6	19.0	13.3	3.2	25.7	16.0
Hispanic or Latino	17.4	16.7	54.8	15.1	11.1	2.5	22.9	15.1
Disability								
Disabled	26.6	25.3	61.1	22.9	16.3	3.3	32.7	21.4
Non-Disabled	14.5	13.2	48.2	11.7	6.7	2.5	15.4	8.7
N	23,193	23,193	23,193	23,193	23,193	23,100	22,760	22,760

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table B2.7. Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Victimized College Men, Unweighted

		Percent
Informal Supports	Friend	70.5
	Family	11.8
	Sexual or Romantic Partner	13.6
	Total	3,843
Formal Supports	At Least One Campus-Affiliated Program	10.2
	Total	22,460
	Counseling	48.2
	Health Centre	20.1
	Title IX Offices	16.2
	Victim Services	12.6
	Another Type of Program	14.5
	Total	2,259
No Support	Did Not Tell Informal or Campus-Affiliated Options	37.1
	Total	3,836

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable. The variable of "at least one campus-affiliated program" includes whether any campus programs were contacted for any experience of sexual misconduct, including sexual harassment and stalking related incidents, attributing to the much higher N. The other formal supports were limited only to the 11 most common types of sexual misconduct.

Table B2.8. Most Important Reason for Not Contacting Programs, Unweighted

	Percent
I did not think it was serious enough to contact any of these programs or resources	39.1
I could handle it myself	19.3
I was not injured or hurt	7.2
I felt embarrassed, ashamed, or that it would be too emotionally difficult	5.4
The event happened in a context that began consensually	4.8
Because of the person's gender, I thought it would be minimized or misunderstood	4.2
I did not want the person to get in trouble	3.3
Events like this seem common	2.6
I did not think these resources would give me the help I needed	2.5
I did not think anyone would believe me	2.2
I feared negative academic, social, or professional consequences	2.0
I was too busy	1.1
I might be counter-accused	1.1
The reaction by others suggested that it wasn't serious enough to contact any of these programs or services	1.0
Alcohol and/or drugs were present	1.0
I feared retaliation	0.9
I feared it would not be kept confidential	0.6
My body showed involuntary arousal	0.6
I did not know where to go or who to tell	0.4
I contacted other programs or services that I felt were appropriate	0.4
Incident occurred while school was not in session	0.3
N	2,274

Table B2.9. Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men by Demographic, Unweighted

	Friend	Family	Sexual or Romantic Partner	At Least One Campus Program	Counseling	Health Centre	Title IX Offices	Victim Services	Did Not Disclose
	Percent								
Sexuality									
Heterosexual	70.2	11.1	12.7	8.7	47.0	19.5	14.8	11.7	33.8
Gay	73.1	12.5	13.0	16.4	50.7	21.1	21.4	14.4	42.8
Bisexual	70.7	15.5	16.1	14.6	49.7	19.1	16.6	12.7	42.6
Other	68.1	12.5	18.9	16.2	51.8	23.6	17.3	15.9	44.2
Race									
White Only	72.1	12.6	15.5	9.3	47.1	19.9	17.5	11.8	35.8
Black Only	57.1	12.5	8.3	12.2	49.1	19.6	16.1	11.6	46.4
Asian Only	66.6	5.9	8.0	11.0	45.0	20.7	15.8	11.6	41.9
Other/Mixed Race	71.3	12.7	11.5	11.0	51.5	21.1	12.7	14.2	33.1
Hispanic or Latino	69.7	11.7	11.7	12.3	54.2	19.5	14.1	16.5	39.3
Disability									
Disabled	70.0	14.4	17.8	15.1	56.2	21.5	16.4	13.4	42.7
Non-Disabled	70.9	10.4	11.3	8.4	43.2	19.3	16.1	12.1	33.9
N	3,843	3,843	3,843	22,460	2,259	2,259	2,259	2,259	3,840

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Table B2.10. Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men by Demographic, Weighted

	Friend	Family	Sexual or Romantic Partner	At Least One Campus Program	Counseling	Health Centre	Title IX Offices	Victim Services	Did Not Disclose
	Percent								
Sexuality									
Heterosexual	69.1	11.9	12.9	8.8	43.5	19.8	14.2	10.9	34.6
Gay	71.9	13.2	12.7	16.8	44.7	21.5	22.0	12.3	43.0
Bisexual	70.6	15.6	15.1	15.1	45.4	24.1	16.5	11.0	45.8
Other	65.3	14.7	18.9	16.1	45.6	31.8	14.6	12.8	43.2
Race									
White Only	71.8	12.8	15.4	9.4	43.2	21.9	17.1	10.3	35.6
Black Only	50.8	12.0	9.3	13.3	48.5	19.9	15.7	12.7	51.9
Asian Only	66.3	6.2	8.6	12.4	38.1	21.8	14.8	11.2	44.1
Other/Mixed Race	71.3	15.8	11.5	10.5	44.3	22.5	12.4	15.8	31.2
Hispanic or Latino	64.4	13.7	9.9	11.5	52.3	18.8	11.5	12.5	42.4
Disability									
Disabled	70.1	14.6	17.3	14.3	51.3	23.6	15.6	12.2	41.5
Non-Disabled	69.0	11.4	11.4	8.8	39.5	20.1	15.6	10.7	35.3
N	22,753	22,753	22,753	127,775	12,953	12,953	12,953	12,953	22,719

Notes: Differences in total sample sizes due to missing at random or question inapplicable.

Appendix C. Full Logistic Regression Models

Appendix C1. Weighted Logistic Regression Models with Control Coefficients

Table C1.1. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Victimized College Men, Weighted

		Any Sexual Misconduct		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2	1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.545***	1.546***	1.197*	1.164
	Asian Only	1.524***	1.505***	1.632***	1.619***
	Other or Mixed Race	1.132***	1.128***	0.839*	0.854*
	Hispanic or Latino	1.236***	1.213***	1.027	1.009
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.984***	2.027***	1.968***	2.031***
	Bisexual	1.663***	1.672***	2.291***	2.397***
	Other	1.830***	1.839***	1.693***	1.617***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.666***	1.632***	1.759***	1.710***
Controls					
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years		1.024		1.306*
	20 years		1.157**		1.581***
	21 years		1.420***		1.623***
	22 years		1.340***		2.088***
	23 years		1.772***		2.559***
	24 years		1.648***		2.816***
	25+ years		1.547***		2.438***
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate		0.744***		0.745***
	Professional		0.596***		0.544***
School Type (ref. private)	Public		1.038		1.107
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		0.872***		1.020
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.774***		0.835**
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.001		1.159**
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.922*		0.835**
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.086*		0.980
	Upper 25% of Schools		1.061		0.956
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium		1.046		0.881*
	High		1.326***		1.130
Total Response Rate			0.697**		1.181
N		22,441	22,441	3,962	3,962

Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization.

Table C1.2. Logistic Regressions Predicting Informal Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men, Weighted

		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	0.427***	0.415***
	Asian Only	0.712***	0.672***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.904	0.888*
	Hispanic or Latino	0.680***	0.645***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	0.995	0.964
	Bisexual	1.065	1.053
	Other	0.841**	0.816***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.032	1.064
Controls			
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years		1.400***
	20 years		1.812***
	21 years		1.232**
	22 years		1.284**
	23 years		1.045
	24 years		0.728**
	25+ years		0.752**
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate		1.589***
	Professional		1.733***
School Type (ref. private)	Public		1.480***
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.123*
	Upper 25% of Schools		1.085
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.049
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.972
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.025
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.875*
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium		1.186***
	High		1.093
Total Response Rate			0.715
N		3,776	3,776

Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is informal support access among men who experienced sexual assault.

Table C1.3. Logistic Regressions Predicting Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men Depending on Greek Housing, Weighted

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.218**	1.182*	0.427***	0.419***	0.408***
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.564***	1.553***	0.712***	0.700***	0.663***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.813**	0.824**	0.904	0.913	0.898
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.082	1.063	0.680***	0.669***	0.634***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.969***	2.036***	0.995	0.993	0.958
	Bisexual	2.291***	2.278***	2.395***	1.065	1.053	1.041
	Other	1.693***	1.750***	1.670***	0.841**	0.840**	0.813**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.771***	1.724***	1.032	1.024	1.055
Greek Housing (ref. Occurred Elsewhere)	Occurred Within Greek Housing		0.957	1.011		1.265***	1.188**
Controls							
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			1.367**			1.407***
	20 years			1.649***			1.798***
	21 years			1.690***			1.231**
	22 years			2.166***			1.302**
	23 years			2.634***			1.059
	24 years			2.684***			0.781*
	25+ years			2.604***			0.776*
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.756***			1.546***
	Professional			0.562***			1.693***
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.195*			1.443***
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions	Middle 50% of Schools			1.089			1.092
and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Upper 25% of Schools			0.869*			1.071
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual	Middle 50% of Schools			1.190**			1.051
Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Upper 25% of Schools			0.834**			0.975
School Opinion on Reactions by School to	Middle 50% of Schools			0.952			1.034
Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Upper 25% of Schools			0.968			0.876*
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.911			1.189***
	High			1.093			1.133*
Total Response Rate				1.238			0.690
N		3,962	3,831	3,831	3,776	3,751	3,751

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Table C1.4. Logistic Regressions Predicting Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men Depending on Alcohol Consumption, Weighted

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.154	1.117	0.427***	0.450***	0.439***
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.452***	1.436***	0.712***	0.770***	0.730***
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.786***	0.794**	0.904	0.973	0.959
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.047	1.031	0.680***	0.697***	0.657***
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.922***	1.986***	0.995	1.046	1.014
	Bisexual	2.291***	2.264***	2.395***	1.065	1.109	1.093
	Other	1.693***	1.688***	1.604***	0.841**	0.874*	0.851**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.772***	1.727***	1.032	1.038	1.069*
Alcohol Consumption (ref. Did Not Consume)	Consumed Alcohol Before Incident Occurred		0.676***	0.678***		1.574***	1.611***
Controls							
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			1.276*			1.430***
	20 years			1.573***			1.795***
	21 years			1.632***			1.185*
	22 years			2.057***			1.237**
	23 years			2.438***			1.058
	24 years			2.615***			0.726*
	25+ years			2.511***			0.737**
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.747***			1.601***
	Professional			0.571***			1.677***
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.221**			1.480***
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.103			1.124*
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.882*			1.055
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.180**			1.056
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.840**			0.952
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.962			1.014
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.973			0.876*
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.905			1.219***
	High			1.056			1.150*
Total Response Rate				1.351			0.628*
N		3,962	3,861	3,861	3,776	3,767	3,767

Notes: * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.

Table C1.5. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking for Sexually Assault College Men Depending on Minimization, Weighted

		Campus Support		
		1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.197*	1.091	0.982
	Asian Only	1.632***	1.636***	1.367**
	Other or Mixed Race	0.839*	0.631***	0.641**
	Hispanic or Latino	1.027	1.113	1.091
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.968***	1.512***	1.437***
	Bisexual	2.291***	1.479***	1.573***
	Other	1.693***	1.470***	1.380**
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.759***	1.655***	1.622***
Minimization (ref. Did Not Minimize)	Minimized		0.638***	0.627***
Controls				
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			0.883
	20 years			2.073***
	21 years			1.444
	22 years			2.875***
	23 years			3.762***
	24 years			3.376***
	25+ years			2.676***
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.795
	Professional			0.401***
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.481**
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.958
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.568***
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.987
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.184
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.681***
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.041
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.792*
	High			1.075
Total Response Rate				1.994
N		3,962	2,447	2,447

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Table C1.6. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men Depending on Perceptions of Support, Weighted

		Any Sexual Misconduct			Any Sexual Assault		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.545***	1.617***	1.629***	1.197*	1.259**	1.243*
	Asian Only	1.524***	1.463***	1.449***	1.632***	1.423***	1.446***
	Other or Mixed Race	1.132***	1.076	1.076	0.839*	0.756***	0.779***
	Hispanic or Latino	1.236***	1.214***	1.202***	1.027	0.998	0.999
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.984***	1.986***	2.037***	1.968***	2.003***	2.075***
	Bisexual	1.663***	1.618***	1.629***	2.291***	2.202***	2.307***
	Other	1.830***	1.756***	1.763***	1.693***	1.674***	1.604***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.666***	1.630***	1.600***	1.759***	1.724***	1.684***
Perceptions (ref. Negative Perceptions)	Positive Perceptions		0.707***	0.721***		0.637***	0.656***
Controls							
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			0.982			1.393**
	20 years			1.103			1.609***
	21 years			1.342***			1.658***
	22 years			1.310***			2.188***
	23 years			1.691***			2.589***
	24 years			1.503***			2.567***
	25+ years			1.504***			2.424***
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.750***			0.801**
	Professional			0.610***			0.557***
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.059			1.147
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.920*			1.157*
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.806***			0.922
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.971			1.152*
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.900*			0.824**
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.117*			0.965
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.111*			0.975
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			1.053			0.899
	High			1.304***			1.119
Total Response Rate				0.732*			1.112
N		22,441	21,568	21,568	3,962	3,759	3,759

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Appendix C2. Unweighted Logistic Regression Models

Table C2.1. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Victimized College Men, Unweighted

		Any Sexual Misconduct		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2	1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.425***	1.414**	1.388	1.354
	Asian Only	1.361***	1.331***	1.309	1.297
	Other or Mixed Race	1.208**	1.195**	0.981	0.970
	Hispanic or Latino	1.333***	1.309***	1.263	1.248
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.925***	1.957***	1.927***	1.958***
	Bisexual	1.569***	1.582***	1.943***	2.030***
	Other	1.829***	1.824***	1.809***	1.714***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.838***	1.804***	1.993***	1.957***
Controls					
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years		1.056		1.253
	20 years		1.241		1.362
	21 years		1.467***		1.707*
	22 years		1.402		1.947**
	23 years		1.992***		2.914***
	24 years		1.836***		2.513**
	25+ years		1.820***		2.226**
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate		0.687***		0.723
	Professional		0.480***		0.578
School Type (ref. Public)	Private		1.064		1.110
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		0.926		1.038
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.803*		0.896
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.009		1.186
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.909		0.980
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.079		1.067
	Upper 25% of Schools		1.062		0.962
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium		0.973		0.787
	High		1.220		1.078
Total Response Rate			0.819		1.183
N		22,441	22,441	3,962	3,962

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization.*

Table C2.2. Logistic Regressions Predicting Informal Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men, Unweighted

		Any Sexual Assault	
		1	2
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	0.557***	0.541***
	Asian Only	0.750*	0.729*
	Other or Mixed Race	0.919	0.910
	Hispanic or Latino	0.881	0.852
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.073	1.047
	Bisexual	1.037	1.020
	Other	0.973	0.964
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	0.975	1.001
Controls			
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years		1.235
	20 years		1.368
	21 years		1.135
	22 years		1.113
	23 years		0.849
	24 years		0.550*
	25+ years		0.640
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate		1.561*
	Professional		1.590
School Type (ref. private)	Public		1.231
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.051
	Upper 25% of Schools		1.118
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.057
	Upper 25% of Schools		1.011
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools		1.094
	Upper 25% of Schools		0.927
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium		1.132
	High		1.074
Total Response Rate			0.985
N		3,776	3,776

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is informal support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization.*

Table C2.3. Logistic Regressions Predicting Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men Depending on Greek Housing, Unweighted

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.388	1.397	1.352	0.557***	0.534***	0.521***
	Asian Only	1.309	1.280	1.265	0.750*	0.735*	0.717**
	Other or Mixed Race	0.981	0.967	0.948	0.919	0.924	0.916
	Hispanic or Latino	1.263	1.313*	1.286	0.881	0.873	0.846
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.927***	1.898***	1.927***	1.073	1.068	1.040
	Bisexual	1.943***	1.911***	2.000***	1.037	1.015	0.999
	Other	1.809***	1.863***	1.766***	0.973	0.971	0.958
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.993***	1.999***	1.967***	0.975	0.966	0.991
Greek Housing (ref. Occurred Elsewhere) **Controls**	Occurred Within Greek Housing		0.821	0.860		1.277	1.211
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			1.228			1.246
	20 years			1.368			1.355
	21 years			1.692*			1.132
	22 years			1.889*			1.126
	23 years			2.905***			0.857
	24 years			2.383*			0.575
	25+ years			2.276**			0.655
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.718			1.531*
	Professional			0.572			1.569
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.190			1.210
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.066			1.040
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.917			1.111
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.222			1.059
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.999			1.019
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.068			1.089
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.984			0.918
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.811			1.139
	High			1.061			1.109
Total Response Rate				1.166			0.968
N		3,962	3,831	3,831	3,776	3,751	3,751

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Table C2.4. Logistic Regressions Predicting Help-Seeking Behaviours of Sexually Assaulted College Men Depending on Alcohol Consumption, Unweighted

		Campus Support			Informal Support		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.388	1.315	1.267	0.557***	0.599**	0.585**
	Asian Only	1.309	1.189	1.165	0.750*	0.812	0.793
	Other or Mixed Race	0.981	0.936	0.915	0.919	0.970	0.961
	Hispanic or Latino	1.263	1.281	1.251	0.881	0.895	0.867
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.927***	1.874***	1.904***	1.073	1.129	1.099
	Bisexual	1.943***	1.892***	1.984***	1.037	1.080	1.060
	Other	1.809***	1.815***	1.713***	0.973	1.009	1.000
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.993***	1.991***	1.959***	0.975	0.989	1.012
Alcohol Consumption (ref. Did Not Consume) **Controls**	Consumed Alcohol Before Incident Occurred		0.683***	0.676***		1.646***	1.650***
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			1.218			1.261
	20 years			1.371			1.363
	21 years			1.723*			1.102
	22 years			1.863*			1.093
	23 years			2.862***			0.857
	24 years			2.411*			0.551*
	25+ years			2.245**			0.648
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.727			1.554*
	Professional			0.601			1.518
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.201			1.224
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.053			1.065
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.912			1.090
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.223			1.045
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.005			0.990
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.081			1.078
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.991			0.923
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.810			1.150
	High			1.034			1.123
Total Response Rate				1.263			0.879
N		3,962	3,861	3,861	3,776	3,767	3,767

Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.

Table C2.5. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking for Sexually Assault College Men Depending on Minimization, Unweighted

		Campus Support		
		1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.388	1.170	1.122
	Asian Only	1.309	1.321	1.161
	Other or Mixed Race	0.981	0.804	0.783
	Hispanic or Latino	1.263	1.258	1.190
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.927***	1.382	1.323
	Bisexual	1.943***	1.356	1.425
	Other	1.809***	1.549	1.409
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.993***	1.455*	1.471*
Minimization (ref. Did Not Minimize)	Minimized		0.634**	0.634**
Controls				
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			0.972
	20 years			1.592
	21 years			1.610
	22 years			2.055
	23 years			3.322*
	24 years			3.010
	25+ years			2.653
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.735
	Professional			0.395
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.367
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.876
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.613*
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.023
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.186
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.807
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.079
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.788
	High			1.030
Total Response Rate				1.843
N		3,962	2,447	2,447

*Notes: * p < 0.05 ** p < 0.01 *** p < 0.001. Table depicts odds ratios. Sexual victimization is gauged by any sexual assault. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.*

Table C2.6. Logistic Regressions Predicting Campus Help-Seeking for Sexually Victimized College Men Depending on Perceptions of Support, Unweighted

		Any Sexual Misconduct			Any Sexual Assault		
		1	2	3	1	2	3
Race (ref. White Only)	Black Only	1.425***	1.433***	1.431**	1.388	1.395	1.377
	Asian Only	1.361***	1.302***	1.273***	1.309	1.180	1.177
	Other or Mixed Race	1.208**	1.157	1.146	0.981	0.926	0.917
	Hispanic or Latino	1.333***	1.285***	1.266**	1.263	1.234	1.231
Sexuality (ref. Heterosexual)	Gay	1.925***	1.901***	1.938***	1.927***	1.939***	1.977***
	Bisexual	1.569***	1.518***	1.534***	1.943***	1.882***	1.975***
	Other	1.829***	1.775***	1.774***	1.809***	1.793***	1.706***
Disability (ref. No Disability)	Disabled	1.838***	1.801***	1.774***	1.993***	1.976***	1.944***
Perceptions (ref. Negative Perceptions)	Positive Perceptions		0.722***	0.737***		0.659***	0.676***
Controls							
Age (ref. 18 years)	19 years			1.010			1.242
	20 years			1.164			1.295
	21 years			1.386*			1.697*
	22 years			1.318*			1.846*
	23 years			1.906***			2.853***
	24 years			1.688**			2.271*
	25+ years			1.728***			2.13*
Student Affiliation (ref. Undergraduate)	Graduate			0.703***			0.763
	Professional			0.501***			0.580
School Type (ref. private)	Public			1.062			1.109
School Knowledge of Campus Definitions and Resources (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.940			1.080
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.819*			0.929
School Opinion on Occurrence of Sexual Assault (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			0.991			1.161
	Upper 25% of Schools			0.887			0.982
School Opinion on Reactions by School to Report of CSA (ref. Lower 25% of Schools)	Middle 50% of Schools			1.093			1.048
	Upper 25% of Schools			1.102			0.990
Cleary Report Crimes (ref. Low)	Medium			0.760			0.785
	High			0.030			1.070
Total Response Rate				0.879			1.116
N		22,441	21,568	21,568	3,962	3,759	3,759

Notes: * $p < 0.05$ ** $p < 0.01$ *** $p < 0.001$. Table depicts odds ratios. Dependent variable is campus support access. "Any sexual misconduct" includes sexual violence occurring within stalking incidents and sexual harassment, whereas "any sexual assault" is limited to nine specific types of sexual victimization. Differences in Ns within the sequential models due to missing at random.