"Any man can rape": male students talk about rape

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ABSTRACT

Despite high rates of rape in South Africa, there is little agreement in the definition of "rape". This is evident in social l constructions of rape in everyday talk. This study aimed to examine how rape is socially constructed and socially defined in men's everyday talk: what does rape mean to men. A literature review reveals a significant lack of South African research that analyses how educated men talk about rape in unstructured conversations. In an attempt to address this gap, this study performs discourse analysis on ten participants about rape incidents (stranger rape, date rape and male rape) with individual and pairs of men psychology undergraduate students at the University of Cape Town. It is a partial replication of the work by Anderson and Doherty (2008) by examining discursive practices and racial differences around the construct of 'rape'. The analysis identified that patterns in men's talk were dominated by contradictions, uncertainties and tensions. Dominant tensions revolved around two poles. On the one hand, feminist and critical perspectives were used; while on the other, patriarchal discourses and control of women were prevalent. Despite the tensions between "traditional" and "progressive" discourses, the coexistence of these two allows for a site of social change.

Keywords: rape; social definitions; men's talk; rape myths; race; interviews; discourse analysis; South Africa.

INTRODUCTION

In 2009, the South African Police Service (SAPS) found that women born in South Africa have a greater chance of being raped than learning how to read. Furthermore, studies indicate that many South Africans have adopted an attitude of indifference towards rape (Moffett, 2006; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007). But even with high rates of rape, there is little agreement on what constitutes rape (Bourke, 2007; Roiphe, 1994). Differences of definition occur across gender and racial groups as discourses about rape are constructed through talk with different cultural meanings (Chasteen, 2001). The social construction of rape has consequences on the physical act of rape by influencing, for example, the extent to which the society is constructed as a rape-supportive culture and the degree of victim-blaming and stigmatisation. Consequently, it is relevant to investigate how rape is constructed and, for the purpose of this research project, what does rape actually mean to men, the most common perpetrators of this crime.

A review of the literature shows a lack of research on rape discourses and meanings amongst young, educated South African men. Consequently, this study analysed rape discourses among male university students. The researcher aims to answer the question: what discourses are educated men drawing on to describe and explain incidents of rape? According to Vogelman (1990), the problem of rape appears to be entrenched in our cultural relations of patriarchy and violence. But are male psychology students using discourses that are more "progressive" after being exposed to theories such as feminism? This form of analysis moves away from individual explanations to including the social environment where rape has conflicting meanings (Doherty & Anderson, 1998).

Definitions of Rape

Rape can be described at its most basic level as forcing another person to submit to sex acts such as intercourse. Definitions of rape can be broad or narrow in the content they include. Some argue that narrower definitions of rape, that is, definitions of rape as the unwanted penetration of the female sex organ by the male sex organ, serve the interests of the perpetrator by excluding other unwanted sexual activities such as oral penetration (Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps, & Giusti, 1992). Therefore, the broader the definition of rape the more inclusive it is of a variety of unwanted sexual activities and situations and the more it benefits the rape survivor. In South African, the 2007 Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Other Related Matters) Amendment Act, No. 37 broadened the legal definition of rape to include, amongst others, any

sexual offences to children, males and the mentally disabled as well as sexual acts such as oral and anal penetration.

Ellis (1989) argues that feminist theory has become the dominant social science explanation for rape. Feminism defines rape as "any situation of coercive sex, regardless of the behaviour or characteristics of the principals involved" (Lefley, Scott, Llabre, & Hicks, 1993, p. 624). This theory provides women with a language to voice their experiences. Feminism examines rape at a collective level where it is used to maintain the subordination of women (White & Sorenson, 1992; Vani, 1990). This control of women takes place through the constant fear of rape (Brownmiller, 1975). In South Africa, every woman is a potential rape victim and thus haunted by the fear of rape. This restricts their movement, behaviour and modifies their dress- all with the intention of eluding the rapist's grasp (Ellis, 1989; Vogelman, 1990).

Whether a set of actions constitutes rape also depends upon who is discussing the incident with whom and under what circumstances. A study by Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) conducted with a South African population showed that popular notions of rape are not always in sync with legal definitions. They found that the word "rape" is more often used to described coerced sex acts with strangers, gangs or with extreme violence but not always with partners. But research shows that coerced sex is common in intimate partner settings (Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga, & Bradshaw, 2002; Wood & Jewkes, 2007). Therefore, within heterosexual relationships, there are discourses of power and violence that influences what is seen as rape (Shefer & Foster, 2001). This dynamic is influenced by gender attitudes and rape myth endorsements and suggests that it is important to examine gendered power relationships and sexual violence in South Africa (Kalichman et al., 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001). These gender attitudes and rape myth endorsements will be evident in the way that people talk about, and construct rape.

Rape Attitudes in South Africa

The term "rape" in South Africa must be contextualized by acknowledging the influence of different cultural and social perspectives. In studies conducted on youth attitudes towards rape, cultural influences have played a prominent role (Wood, 2005; Wood, et al., 2007). For example, a traditional Xhosa practice known as "bride capture" involves men holding a woman down while her future husband penetrates her (Wood, 2005). As this was done to bind the woman into marriage, it was not considered to be rape. The attitudes of South African youth towards rape are still influenced by such traditions as Wood et al. (2007) noted

that traditional notions of respectability in South African townships required young men to pursue women while the women reject them. Rape followed, but was not viewed as such because the romantic "script" in this community was comprised of unclear boundaries between persuasion and force as manifested in talk. In this social structure, if women are expected to resist sex, then being coerced is the socially correct way to consent to sex. Furthermore, a study on attitudes of young girls in the Limpopo province revealed that young girls believe that the wisest action for a girl while being forced into sexual intercourse is to just let it happen (Ragnarsson, Onya, Eksrtom, & Asro, 2008). Resistance could lead to her being beaten and complaints could mean that she will be accused of bad behaviour by her parents and the police (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Jewkes et al., 2006).

Attitudinal differences and similarities between adult males and females have also been studied. Wojcicki (2002) found that both sexes agree that, in a tavern setting, certain behaviours, such as accepting drinks from men, lead to women being responsible for rape. A questionnaire study with male participants from Mthata in the Eastern Cape by Sikweyiya, Jewkes, and Morrell (2011) found that some South African men believe rape can only occur if physical force or weapons were used. Similarly, in random samples of men in the Eastern Cape as well as in Kwazulu-Natal it was found that 27, 6% of the men had forced a woman to have sex with them against her will, whether an intimate partner, stranger or acquaintance (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2009). When asked to explain why rape occurs, men indicated that rape most commonly stemmed from a sense of sexual entitlement or that it was the act of bored men seeking entertainment (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, & Dunkle, 2010). While most men were remorseful, only one in five had been arrested which suggests that the majority of rape perpetrators are not convicted men in prisons. This indicates that the prison population of convicted rapists is not representative of the male rapist population in South Africa.

Rape Myths

The above studies show that many South Africans' attitudes towards rape make use of what has been identified as "rape myths". Burt (1980, p. 217) defined rape myths as "prejudicial, stereotyped, or false beliefs about rape, rape victims, and rapists". Rape myths emerge from cultural norms that frame rape as a sexual act and, thus, normalize it as was shown in the tradition of bride capture as well as the romantic scripts which dominated sexual interactions in townships (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Gavey, 2005; Shefer & Foster, 2001; Vogelman 1990). Common rape myths evident in the above studies include beliefs that rape only takes place if: a) the assailant is a stranger or from a different race; b) if the assailant is

deviant or pathologised; c) that it is inherent in men because of their uncontrollable sex drive; d) women ask for it through their behaviour or appearance; e) only deviant women are raped; f) "no" does not really mean "no"; g) rape always involves physical resistance and force; and h) rape is not a serious crime and women can potentially enjoy being raped (Anderson, 2007; Bourke, 2007; Doherty & Anderson, 1998; Kahn, Jackson, Kully, Badger, & Halvoersen, 2003; Matlin, 1987). Rape myths are embedded within and reinforce culturally dominant, stereotypical assumptions about femininity, masculinity and the nature of normative heterosexuality. It is argued that the use of rape myths contribute to a patriarchal "rape-supportive-culture" which is hostile to women in general and rape survivors in particular (Anderson & Lyons, 2005). For many people rape myths act as a resource for making sense of rape incidents (Vogelman, 1990). The theoretical importance of rape myths is that it challenges the assumption that individual psychopathology best explains sexual violence against women (Gavey, 2005). Instead, rape myths posit that psychopathology is too limited an explanation, which, by focusing on an individual's deviance, ignores ample evidence that links sexual aggression to cultural factors (Scully, 1990).

Research suggests that one's belief in rape myths will influence one's definition of rape (Kahn et al., 2003; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004). Therefore, the acceptance of rape myths results in narrow definitions of rape which make use of more traditional discursive practices (Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005; Sawyer, Thompson, & Chicorelli, 2002). Anderson and Doherty (2008) examine rape myths as resulting from social contexts and discursive practices around rape. They explore how rape and rape victimhood are defined in ways that reflect social, political and cultural conditions of society. In other words, they examine social explanations for rape. According to Anderson and Doherty (2008), rape-supportive talk is based on a range of profoundly entrenched, cultural sense-making resources. These resources construct and legitimize hegemonic discourses of traditional notions about gender, sex and rape. Their analysis suggests that a number of discursive practices and sense-making resources justify a lack of support for rape victims and normalises the actions of the perpetrator. The researchers reported that cultural constructions of sexual and gender norms provide a framework for defining rape. The grammar or internal logic of our language-use also refers to cultural and historic rules that people appear to follow when they construct accounts.

Race is also a factor in the definition of rape and rape myths. Internationally, the majority of studies examine perceptions based on the race of the victim and the perpetrator in order to establish which myths are prominent, such as the notion of "stranger rape" and the "black rapist" (Anderson, 2007; Jimenez & Abreu, 2003; Varelas & Foley, 1998). This is

contrary to most cases, where rape is usually committed by an acquaintance and is mostly an intra-racial crime (Jewkes et al., 2006; Moffett, 2006). From a South African perspective, Moffett (2006) states that rape is written in the narratives of race instead of gender and that this hardens racial barriers. Rape therefore draws on apartheid practices of control that use violence as a solution and, subsequently, rape needs to be viewed as an act of both race and gender.

A Man's Problem

The feminization of rape, which emphasizes giving a voice to the victim's experience, can be to their detriment (Macleod, 2004). Scully (1990) stated that the tendency of feminism to examine the role of the victim has led to rape becoming a "woman's problem". When focusing on women's roles, attention is shifted away from perpetrators and this can contribute to the victim being scrutinized in a way that leads to victim blaming (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Vogelman, 1990). Furthermore, focusing on victimized women does not constitute enough of a threat to the sexually violent patriarchal world in which we live. Feminist research should aim to stretch beyond filling in the gaps of knowledge about women to shifting or, if necessary, constructing new paradigms that contribute to a more equal-gendered understanding of the world. If, as evidence suggests, men dominate through an ideology that ignores the significance of women and takes for granted their social constructions of reality, then transforming knowledge, and ultimately patriarchy, requires a challenge of this reality that cannot be achieved by relying solely on the perspectives of women. Therefore, a critical examination of the male perspective could be viewed as an attempt to resurrect rape as a "man's problem" (Scully, 1990).

However, cultural scripts that define manhood are constantly being influenced in a variety of ways by both patriarchal and resisting forces. For example, traditional Xhosa practices allow a man to hit his wife as long as he does not draw blood. Such practices have infiltrated into today's communities where men are still using violent behaviour, including rape, to control females (Jewkes et al., 2006). In South Africa, the ability to control women has been a key aspect of "successful" masculinity (Wood & Jewkes, 2007). Recent studies have shown that many South African men are participating in acts of violence against women as they find themselves disempowered in other areas of their lives (Morrel, 2002; Boonzaier, 2005). This has led to a post-apartheid "crises of masculinity" where, in response to the feminist pursuit of gender equality and their own failure to achieve economic independence, men are becoming confused about their place in the new society (Meth, 2009; Strebel et al., 2006). This crisis of masculinity is influencing violent interactions between men and women

and often draws upon rape myths in the process of sense making (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). Thus, both men and women are experiencing uncertainty about what is considered to be rape (Kahn, et al., 2003; Peterson & Muehlenhard, 2004; Roiphe, 1994).

Attitudes about rape as well as constructions of masculinity and femininity are constantly changing, both within cultural groups and individuals. Consequently, a useful theoretical position to consider is post-structuralism which rejects notions of absolute truth and rather accepts a plurality of meanings (Gavey, 2005). It assumes that experience has no inherent, essential meaning and, in so far as it is meaningful, experience is constituted in language, how rape myths are used in sense-making processes is evident of this (Hook, 2004). This does not mean that experience does not exist or is not important but rather that the ways in which we understand and express it are never independent from language. A feminist post-structural approach uses theories of language, subjectivity, social processes and institutions with the intention to further understand and deconstruct existing gendered power relations while simultaneously identifying areas for change (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Gavey, 1989; Hook, 2004). These are constructed in an open system of language that is ever-changing and located in discursive practices. Discourses create positions and stances where power is exercised, established and challenged (Gavey, 1989; Wilbraham, 2004). Knowledge is socially constructed and individuals are active in this discursive process, and thus have a choice to resist dominant meanings (Gavey, 1989).

One of the major challenges confronting men who wanted to escape the structures of narrow, sexist and prescriptive masculinity has been to find a language that expressed their emotions (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Brod and Kaufman, 1994). According to Lefley et al. (1993), higher education is associated with more feminist conceptions of rape. Higher education allows men to be more knowledgeable about sex and, at the same time, less subjected to "traditional" taboos and fears (Bell, 1974).

SPECIFIC AIMS AND HYPOTHESIS

The literature has shown that there is a lack of studies which have specifically targeted male university students who are educated to see how they construct and interact with rape. The literature also revealed that culture and community influences play an important role in perpetuating attitudes and constructions of rape. A feminist post-structuralist position identifies social discourses available to men and women in a given society and culture at a given time. These discourses provide subject positions, constituting our opinions and reproducing or challenging existing gender relations.

This study is a partial replication of Anderson and Doherty (2008), using discourse analyses in order to located educated men's talk about rape in South Africa. Consequently, the aim is to gain an understanding of how discourses about rape are constructed in social settings by looking at the effects and consequences of culturally available discursive resources and practices (Doherty & Anderson, 1998; Anderson & Doherty, 2008). Since traditional discourses are challenged by theories such as feminism, the research also aims to analyse progressive discourses to determine whether any alternative discourses to patriarchy are being used. The researcher aims to answer the question: what discourses are educated men drawing on in order to describe and explain incidents of rape?

Based on the literature, this study predicted that educated male psychology student would hold broader definitions of rape with lower levels of acceptance of rape myths (Burt, 1980; Chasteen, 2001). Therefore, students may use more progressive perspectives, providing an alternative framework for challenging sexual violence. However, patriarchal discourses, gender roles and heterosexual norms are likely to be evident as these are dominant cultural discourses. Therefore, it is likely that there will be contradictions and tensions.

METHOD

Design

This study is descriptive and exploratory by examining the definition of rape and how male students construct "rape" in conversations. The study used a qualitative semi-structured interview method in order to perform discourse analysis. Semi-structured interviews are conceptualized as an arena for identifying and exploring participants' interpretative practices (Potter, 1998). Using an inductive approach, which does not provide any given definitions, allowed the participants to express their opinions about rape in their own words (Way, 1995). This approach allows for the awareness of power relations, the role of the researcher, and reflexivity (Boonzaier & Shefer, 2006).

Participants

The participants for this study are male undergraduate students (18-23 years old) studying at UCT and who are required to take part in research studies in order to obtain credits for their degree. These participants were obtained by posting sign-up sheets on their university course websites. Only male students were chosen to allow for focus on male constructions of rape. This project conducted interviews with ten participants. The interviews were conducted with either one or two males at a time, allowing for the influence of other participants in an

interview setting to be explored (Doherty & Anderson, 2008). Data included a variety of racial groups (Black: 1; Coloured: 1; Indian: 2; and White: 6) to allow for different racial interpretations.

Materials

The data of this study was gained data through semi-structured interviews with three distinct parts in the interview schedule (Appendix A). These interviews were recorded and then transcribed. Three fictional rape vignettes, describing situations of rape were given to participants (Appendix B). Vignettes were used to investigate how men define rape in real situations and how rape incidents are constructed in men's talk. In each scenario it is clear that the victim was forced. The first vignette involves female stranger rape. The second is of a rape that took place in an intimate relationship. This description was taken from Jimenez and Abreu (2003). The third scenario is similar to the first but is of male rape. The first and third descriptions were taken from Anderson and Doherty (2008). Descriptions were slightly adjusted in order to create relevance for this particular study, such as omitting the characters' race. This was done to examine if any of the students projected notions or ideas of race and culture onto the scenarios without it being given to them.

Furthermore, the students were asked questions about rape. The first of these were "What do you considered to be rape? How do you personally define rape?" This question looked at what the student actually understands to be rape and what discourses are used to define this particular act. The second question was focused on conversations of rape, asking men "How do you feel about talking about rape- here or outside with friends and family?" and "How do you think men in general feel talking about rape?" This examined men's talk itself and how men feel about constructing this topic in conversations. The aim of these newly formulated questions was to direct discussions to actual definitions of rape and to analyse men's voices in rape talk.

Procedure

Research took the form of semi-structured recorded interviews of forty-five minutes per session. The interview schedule consisted of three parts: a) discussing three rape scenarios, b) the student's definition of rape, and c) the student's feelings about conversations concerning rape. Within each of these sections, the students were able to determine the direction of the conversation without any interruptions (Parker, 2005). After the interview, a debriefing session took place. At this stage the participants were provided with a list of contact details of help-

lines and organisations (Appendix B). Interviews were fully transcribed. The transcribed data and any particular observations that were recorded during the interviews were used for discourse analysis.

Data Analysis

In this study the term "discourse" is from the Foucauldian perspective where discourses are ways of constructing knowledge through social practices, forms of subjectivity, and power relations (Weedon, 1987). A discursive point of departure allows for exploration of how we use and are used by language in society. Students' talk therefore reflected the communities and languages in which they participate (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). The analysis of discourse is useful for showing how powerful images of the world and the self circulate in society. This allows for the development of challenges towards "traditional" discourses. Harris, Lea, and Foster (1995) termed these resistant discourses "progressive" as they challenge hegemonic gender structures.

The analysis of the data followed a framework of discourse analysis as set out by Anderson and Doherty (2008) in order to identify the use of traditional and/or progressive discourses. This partial replication of Anderson and Doherty (2008) requires locating the construction of rape within a patriarchal society. Variability and patterns were looked for and particular attention was paid to the portrayal of power relations and subject positions when talking about rape. As a post-structural perspective was taken, these accounts were treated as possible versions of reality and not universal truths (Doherty & Anderson, 1998). This results in a multiplicity of competing stories and resisting discourses (Parker, 2005).

Ethical Considerations

The Research Ethics Committee of the Department of Psychology at the University of Cape Town gave ethical approval for this study. Informed consent forms (Appendix C) were signed at the start of each interview and notified the students of the purpose of the study and acknowledged its voluntary nature. Participants were assured of their anonymity, and therefore, their names are omitted from the study. The sensitive nature of the topic created the possibility that students could experience emotional distress. Therefore, students were debriefed and asked if they were experiencing any negative feelings at the end of each interview. All participants were also given a list with the contact details of a clinical psychologist and various organizations (Appendix D).

Reflexivity

Qualitative research acknowledges that the researcher shapes and influences the research process. Hence, it needs to be acknowledged that I, as the researcher, do not enter the study value-free but encounter the world from my own perspective (Parker, 2005). That I am a young, white female who interviewed men about a sensitive gender issue and that this might have influenced the type of discourses they made use of was carefully considered. I do believe that my participants were mindful in how they constructed their talk as they did not want to offend me, a female, when talking about rape. As I maintained a neutral but encouraging disposition, I believe that this set them at ease and allowed them to openly discuss relevant issues.

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

A discourse analysis of the interviews identified patterns of uncertainties and contradictions. Contradictions were situated around a polarity of "traditional" versus "progressive" discourses. On the one hand, patriarchal discourses of female control were used of in the process of sense making when talking about rape. On the other hand, in accord with expectations about young, educated men, feminist and progressive perspectives were also employed (McMahon, 2010). Thus, male students appeared to be in a conflicting space between female control discourses and feminist ideologies as was expressed in the contradictions and tensions present in their talk.

Patriarchal Discourses and Female Control

Patriarchal discourses used by the participants operated to fulfill an ideological function of controlling women. Levett (1989) identified that through discourses of female control restrictions are imposed upon women by identifying informal rules controlling their behaviour. The notion that South Africa is a dangerous country and that women should be aware of this emerged:

> *Especially in South Africa, you need to be careful. Umm… and it's a lot*
> *harder for a woman to walk around by herself…it's a much bigger security*
> *issue (Participant 6).*

By acknowledging and accepting the world as dangerous, participants ignored how rape exerts social control over women by restricting their movements (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Vogelman, 1990). Rape was portrayed as an unavoidable consequence of our "dangerous society" (Participant 1). Similarly, Anderson and Doherty (2008) identified that a common cultural reaction to rape is the use of derogatory statements directed at the victim in addition to,

or even instead of, the perpetrator. In this study victim blaming was the first reaction expressed by all of the participants:

> *Well…woman leaves campus late and walks home foolishly… (Participant 10).*

Such accounts threaten the status of the survivor as a legitimate victim by implying that she precipitated her attack through her own recklessness (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). In this way, the perpetrator is exonerated from responsibility and his behaviour is normalized. It is a form of secondary victimization as the victim is indirectly blamed for the rape in such a manner as to seem "reasonable", often by suggesting that the victim had other strategies available to her which she did not make use of. This included the presence of another person who had the ability to "protect" her:

> *She should have gotten a lift or something (Participant 4).*
>
> *It's not the greatest idea…umm…especially as a young women, ja, walking at 10:30 pm at night on a dark path- she should have had a chaperone or someone else to walk with her (Participant 2)*

The selection of categories used to describe the victim included "naïve", "stupid", "foolish" and "silly" (Participants 3, 6, 9 and 10) and these derogatory statements about the victim were made without acknowledging the role of the perpetrator (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). Conversely, constructions of the victim as rational for taking the short cut home were not employed. Anderson and Doherty (2008), state that when victims become the focus of the crime, they also become the target for intervention. This leads to a preoccupation with regulating "wayward" females according to traditional dictates of femininity while the seriousness of rape as a violent crime is undermined (Lea, 2007). This is another way in which rape becomes a women's problem. My study supports results obtained by McMahon (2010) which found that despite a new generation of university students who likely received some education on sexual violence, victim-blaming beliefs persist. It must also be noted that as the given vignettes focused mostly on the experience of the victim, the participants could have been influenced by this when constructing their discourses.

Constructions of femininity and masculinity. Gavey (2005) argued that society provides a context for rape because of set preconditions for femininity and masculinity that perpetuate patriarchal discourses. Examples of such traditional portrayals of feminine and masculine qualities included constructing women as passive victims while men were constructed as active, virile and strong. It also acknowledged double standards in acceptable behaviour of different genders but failed to find fault with it.

Cause guys have a mental psych to fight if something happens (Participant 3).

Like the guy would go out late at night clubbing or partying or some friends and he would be fine, if girls would do that maybe on her way home she might get raped (Participant 9).

*Because, you know, I can do those things. To be honest, any man can do it…it's terrible to say but **any man can rape**! (Participant 2, own emphasis added).*

In keeping with traditional notions of masculinity, participant 2 acknowledged the inherent, physical power that all men have over all females. Such talk by men perpetuates patriarchal discourses by depicting women as weak victims and objects onto which men can enforce their strength (Gavey, 2005). Furthermore, most of the participants expressed more emotional and shocked reactions with regards to the vignette of the male rape victim in comparison to the female rape victim, drawing on traditional notions of masculinity and femininity to explain their reactions:

It's a bit strange that he is a man and got raped by a man because you should be able to fight him off. I mean, women are obviously, like, less able to do that… (Participant 1).

Maybe as a personal view…umm…that males might feel a little bit more, this is not the right word- ashamed? It's kind of…more embarrassing (Participant 2).

It seemed that the presence of a male rape victim conflicted with patriarchal notions of men as either perpetrators of rape or strong protectors who are able to defend themselves (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). The presence of a male victim upsets discourses of female control by opening up the category of "victim" to both genders (Hollway, 1998). It could also be that, as the participants were male, they were able to identify more strongly with the male victim. In addition, it was evident that most of the participants drew upon patriarchal discourses to inform their talk about what was acceptable behaviour from females in general (Gavey, 2005). Conservative women were described as deserving more respect while discourses about females acting "inappropriately" showed expressions of disgust. It emerged from five participants that females had to act according to a set standard of what is acceptable before they were worthy of being respected.

If I see girls who wear clothes that are too arousing, I'll actually disrespect them (Participant 1).

And also, to have an idea of what she was wearing that night, maybe she was just showing legs in short skirts, but maybe she went out like that she would be

> *arousing men, maybe it would make one of the men want to rape her, so it's not*
> *just the guy getting like that (Participant 3).*

In this instance, the motivation of men who want to rape is being justified and rationalized. The female is constructed as socially deviant because she is not following the patriarchal rules of femininity. Lerner's (1997) "just world" discourse where individuals precipitate good or bad outcomes because of their specific behaviour also comes into play as woman were portrayed as deserving to be raped because they broke the patriarchal rules of appropriate female behaviour. The same participant added:

> *They shouldn't flirt around and tease like that if they are not sure of what they*
> *are doing. If they act all slutty… it would get most guys thinking why he should*
> *and why she's saying all that… and then you could confront her, then the guy*
> *might get angry and rape her (Participant 3)*

Such statements are also in accord with what Hollway (1998) identified as "have/hold" discourses, where women are reduced to mere instigators of the "male sex drive" and are expected to restrict their behaviour in order not to provoke men as men cannot control their own sexual behaviour. Females are therefore reduced to mere instigators of the male sex drive. Three participants also drew upon discourses of "nature" and "basic hormones and urges" to expand on the "have/hold" discourse:

> *Just because a women is wearing very revealing clothing it is very tempting. She*
> *is basically tempting you to flirt with her, whatever, I mean, she might not be,*
> *but… it is the same as there is this delicious meal in front of you but it's not*
> *yours. But you want to eat it, and every urge, and you are very hungry…*
> *(Participant 6).*
>
>   *A lot of men end up doing something on impulse, on primal impulse or instinct*
> *(Participant 2).*

The male sex drive discourse holds that the "need" to have sex is a strong, almost overwhelming drive that exists in all healthy, normal men. Participants drew on male sex-drive discourses to justify and explain behaviour, including sexual coercion (Hollway, 1998). These discourses reflect those found by researchers who interviewed young men living in a Limpopo township and expressed the belief that male sexuality was biologically predetermined which legitimized specific patterns of social interaction (Wojcicki, 2002).

The psychopathic rapist. Anderson and Doherty (2008) found that university participants made use of discourses that portrayed the rapist as subhuman, animalistic and without agency. This was evident with four of the participants:

> *Rape, you don't need to have a conscience for that. It's kind of, I never heard of a*
> *rapist with a conscience, you know? (Participant 3).*
>
> *Whereas I read a story like this, here, and I think it's some kind of sociopath,*
> *or psychopath walking down the street…. (Participant 7).*

Contrary to the commonly held view by these participants that rapists are psychopathic strangers, a number of statistics have shown that most rape victims are raped by someone that they know (Moffett, 2006). By maintaining that the rapist is an "unknown, psychopathic other" the participants failed to recognize the role that all men play in perpetuating a rape-supportive culture. They were thus able to distance themselves and deny responsibility for all acts of rape (Anderson & Doherty, 2008). Conversely, conversations that acknowledged the rapist focused on trying to understand the rapists' role in the attack as opposed to blaming him. This was evident when three participants engaged with the actions of the rapist:

> *I mean, both [being raped or being a rapist] can be equally torturing at the end*
> *of the day (Participant 10).*
>
> *I wouldn't say that what he did was evil because it wasn't inherently evil, the*
> *act was evil, but what he tried to achieve was something positive in his own life*
> *(Participant 7).*

Definitions and descriptions of rape. Various patriarchal descriptions included the rape myths that women do not always mean "no" when they say it and emphasizing that rape a purely sexual act (Bourke, 2007). Furthermore, it emerged that three of the participants employed the rape myth that "no" does not really mean "no" and, in this way, women were constructed as being unable to express their sexual agency.

> *There are, like, varying degrees of like no (Participant 1).*

Consent and issues of want became confused in these discourses and tended to make definitions of rape unclear (Davion, 1999; Lyon, 2004; Murphy, 1996). Such descriptions further depict women as passive objects and denies them the agency of deciding whether or not they want to engage in sexual acts. Furthermore, Vogelman (1990) states that in propagating false accounts of what rape is, rape myths give men tacit permission to rape and help them rationalize and evade responsibility for their sexually violent behavior. A discourse by one participant employed this strategy:

> *But power, I don't really, it's not really a big issue, it's not really something that*
> *fits here, rape is just purely arousal (Participant 6).*

In denying the aspects of power, the violent nature of rape which emphasizes the need to conquer and control the victim is ignored (Vogelman, 1990). In summary, patriarchal

discourses of female control were clearly evident in the talk of educated male students when discussing rape vignettes. The notion of victim blaming as identified by Anderson and Doherty (2008) was apparent in these discourses. Furthermore, traditional constructions of femininity and masculinity, portrayals of the rapist as inherently psychopathic as well as patriarchal descriptions about rape were manifested.

Resisting or "Progressive" Discourses

In contrast to patriarchal discourses, "progressive" discourses aimed to resist and challenge discourses that control women's behavior. The absence of several rape myths, including that rape always requires physical force, could indicate that male participants no longer felt the need to use these patriarchal discourses when drawing on socially sanctioned scripts to talk about rape (Bourke, 2007). Dominant patterns of progressive discourses involved critical engagement with the vignettes, challenging rape myths, identifying a crisis of masculinity, broad definitions of rape and a call for social action. Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberher, and Tarule (1986) identified that when individuals speak in terms of multiplicity, they are challenging institutions by not taking authorities' truth for granted. Critical engagement and reflection is important for allowing one self to think differently and be less governed by power relations. This need to engage critically was acknowledged by some of the participants, often by way of criticizing the given scenarios.

> *A woman being sexually assaulted after her class, stereotypical dance class…*
> *(Participant 5).*
>
> *I don't accept anything unless I question it first (Participant 3).*

Some participants challenged and argued against the use of traditional rape myths by identifying problems that are located within a broader spectrum of feminist issues. The notion of females asking to be raped because of the way that they dressed or behaved was challenged by three of the participants.

> *Women who wear revealing clothing, there is a few things they might say by that.*
> *They could be saying: "I want to wear this because I feel comfortable in it"*
> *(Participant 5).*
>
> *Women are victimized for the way she dresses or for taking a dark alley home*
> *after class. Then she is raped because of it, she was actually looking for it. Which*
> *is absolutely, I mean, it is stupid reasoning (Participant 7)*

Critical stances gave students opportunities to reflect on and consider the impact of their sociopolitical context and agency within this context (Belenky et al., 1986). These

constructions also challenged notions of victim blaming by allowing alternative interpretations and criticisms. There were also moments when participants would reflect on their own talk and assumptions, thus allowing for other forms of interpretations.

> *She should have been more aware…hmm… but I think at the same time you can't always live in fear… (Participant 8).*

This critical stance illustrates the students' realization of constructing meanings (Belenky et al., 1986). It challenges the notion of universal truths and the legitimacy of rape myths. The following excerpts identified patriarchal constructions and attempted to criticize them. The first quote is critically interacting with the notion of victim-blaming while the second excerpt attempts to draw away from patriarchal discourses which objectify women as objects for male sex drives.

> *Saying being more careful does not mean it was her fault being raped, obviously (Participant 5).*
>
> *You can admire her but, no need to make her feel like she is exhibit A in one specimen that you can just look at for your viewing pleasure and that she means nothing else (Participant 2).*

Therefore, all but two of the interviewed male students drew upon some form of critical engagement and reflection about traditional rape discourses, in this way challenging patriarchal constructions of rape.

The crisis of masculinity. In opposition to the previously mentioned patriarchal constructions of masculinity, a strong motive that emerged from the data was the tendency for the male participants to react in an emotional way to the content of the vignettes. This is in direct conflict to patriarchal notions of masculinity that call upon men to be hard and unaffected. Feelings such as being "ashamed of being a man" (Participant 5) and angered by the actions of other men who commit the act of rape were also evident in six of the participants.

> *If you're going to rape someone it doesn't matter who it is, it's sad you know. I can't… I can't quantify the amount of emotions I had in each story (Participant 6).*
>
> *The fact that we are somehow tied to the same sex as the perpetrator. Especially in this country with the worst rape statistics in the world. There is a massive problem with masculinity in this country (Participant 5).*

Although these discourses do not directly state the presence of a "crisis of masculinity", they do identify that there are problems with traditional, patriarchal notions of masculinity which are perpetuating a rape-supportive culture in South Africa.

Definitions and descriptions of rape. In contrast to patriarchal discourses, progressive and resisting discourses drew upon broad constructions of rape that are more supportive of the rape victim (Burt, 1980). Students drew on broad, feminist definitions, which acknowledged how women are disempowered through the act of rape (Bourke, 2007; Chasteen 2001). Some examples included unwanted touching, brushing of bodies and even those acts which did not involve physical interactions such as dirty talk. Male students constructed the act of sex as one of equality where women should be able to freely express their sexual agency.

> *Anything that's sexual, you don't want to do, that's rape! (Participant 6).*
> *Even when the girl gives consent and then halfway through that she's like*
> *"no, no we can't do this" then the guy is supposed to stop because if he doesn't*
> *then that's rape (Participant 10).*

Broad definitions of rape were further supported by rape being identified as an overall human rights problem by six of the participants, rejecting discourses of rape which suggests that rape only affects females or is a "women's problem".

> *Differences between individual people are more than differences between gender*
> *(Participant 5).*

The findings of my study where educated males employed broad definitions of rape are in direct contrast to a study conducted by (Wood et al., 2007) on how youth in South African townships constructed rape. It was found that in this setting, the category of "forced sex" included a wide continuum of practices incorporating both talk and action, and was seen as socially expected and scripted. In this context, forced sex was not rape. My findings, however, suggest that my participants would include these concepts of forced sex in their definitions of rape.

Rape as an act of violence and not just sexual. Another way in which three participants protested against patriarchal discourses was by acknowledging that rape is not just about sex but that it also contains a power dimension (Bourke, 2007).

> *But I think there's definitely an underlying mechanism in so far as, there is a*
> *power thing… (Participant 4).*

Such discourses protest against rape myths which employ patriarchal discourses of rape as potentially pleasurable acts while also critically engaging in an attempt to construct rape as an oppressive act of violence (Vogelman, 1990).

Call for social action. The call for social action against rape was a powerful motive throughout the interviews, acknowledged by eight of the participants. Such discourses acknowledged that men and women can share a joint gender politics (Morrell, 2002), and participants were often critical about the current lack of action and joint movements. Specific feminist strategies of resistance were recognized by many of the participants.

> *I feel like it divides me and how I stand as a male and I need to fight against it more. Talk about it more; take part in the "Slut Walk". [-]* ***As a man you can take a stand to fight this*** *(Participant 7, own emphasis added).*

These discourses are in conflict with Moffett (2006) who argued that South African men often view rape as being good for society. This participant also directly acknowledges that rape can be a man's problem in so far as it is in conflict with his own male identity, and that men can protest it. Contrary to Anderson and Doherty (2008), students challenged patriarchal sensibilities by calling for social action. Some participants also acknowledged the lack of support not only for women's movements but female rights in general. McMahon (2010) found that male students are less likely to challenge others around issues of sexist language. This was evident in the interviews, where several participants pointed out the use of derogatory language when speaking about females. These discourses are progressive as the students acknowledged and protested against their own lack of social action.

> *Men just don't stand up for, you know, when a guy has a rant about a girl "Oh, she's such a slut", men don't go "Dude, she's a person", you know (Participant 5).*

An important side note is the presence of one male participant who wanted to become involved in rape counselling. In this instance, the importance of minority theory as a social phenomenon should be considered. Moscovici (1976) found that it is possible for one opinion expressed in resistance to dominant discourses to lead the way and become an example which others will potentially follow, eventually creating a chorus of resisting discourses which can then displace the previously dominant discourse. Participant 7 identified his motive for wanting to become a counsellor as wanting to take a stand against rape, but also doubted whether his presence as a male would help female rape victims. In keeping with the importance and power of counselling, belief in the role of the "talking cure" was evident in three of the

participants. Benefits of the "therapeutic process of confession" (Hook, 2004, p. 228) were discussed as possible ways of healing after the destructive experience of rape.

> *If they have a lot of counselling...but....it is possible [to get over being raped]*
> *(Participant 5).*

It is therefore evident that, in certain instances, students felt capable of drawing on progressive and resisting discourses.

Contradictions and Tensions in Talk

Although the presence of both patriarchal and progressive discourses were noted, there were tensions present about when and how these contradictory discourses were used and they often shared discursive spaces. Potter (1998) identified that the concept of attitudes are not fixed but rather, when examining discourses, one finds that people often express contradictory opinions. This was evident in my study in two significant ways. The first was that participants 1, 3 and 6 tended towards traditional discourses which contradicted and created tension with participants 5 and 7 who tended to use mostly progressive discourses. The second way was that the remaining participants 2, 4, 8, 9 and 10 made use of a combination of both patriarchal and progressive discourses, creating contradictions within their own talk. In this way, there was uncertainty in the use of "progressive" discourses where students tried to construct resisting discourses while at the same time still identifying and resorting to patriarchal reflections.

> *But then I can't say that it's worse than a female being raped as well...but ja, I*
> *think it is just the embarrassment factor as well for the male (Participant 2).*

In this excerpt, the participant rationalizes his opinion by acknowledging that the statement he is making is not progressive and, in this way, qualifies his opinion that male rape is worse. There is tension between that which he knows he is "supposed" to say and his opinion.

> *I feel it puts down the name of men in general [-] ...old-fashioned ways of*
> *thinking, that they are above women...hmmm... just because men are more*
> *physically dominant (Participant 10).*

Here, the contradiction is evident when the participant points to the physical superiority of men while at the same time, trying to draw on a progressive discourse of resistance against patriarchal notions. While this discourse may appear to be progressive, the participant still drew upon and acknowledged the physical domination that men have over females, therefore recognizing the patriarchal notion that men are able to exert their physical strength over women (Gavey, 2005). This progressive world challenges the traditional notions of rape and

gender stereotypes but this was done in a contradictory way. The participants were more critical because they did not take traditional sense-making processes for granted. But, new perspectives were also not fully progressive as they resorted to patriarchal discourses in the sense-making process. Overall, the students' world appeared to be fluent and changing as the men made many contradictions in their attempts to not use traditional discourses (Potter, 1998). These students appeared to be in a polar space where tensions occurred between female control discourses and feminist ideologies. According to Hollway (1998), contradictions are the result of co-existing new and old discourses. Contradictions and interruptions of dominant discourses therefore provide a site for social change by challenging of rape myths and patriarchal discourses. Given these tensions, the role of education and culture were important resources which assisted the process of making sense and finding resolutions in the contradictory space between patriarchal and progressive discourses.

The role of education. It was evident that the participants drew upon intellectual theories and rationalizations in order to engage with the vignettes in a critical manner. Due to their education, participants had a wider range of explanatory discourses to draw upon for assisting resistance and reflection. At least four participants drew upon a number of different academic theories:

> *In evolutionary psychology, you find primates who are much more evolved…but if a female baboon steps out of line, she's instantly put in her place and bitten on her ear. I wonder how women… you see our natural past and evolution and feel, you know? (Participant 5).*
>
> *Whether your belief in a spiritual way or a physical way, if you're a nihilist or a Christian or a Buddhist, it's the same… that part of you where you are at your most fragile, you know? (Participant 7).*

The use of the discursive marker "you know" at the end of both of their sentences indicate that they are not yet confident in their academic voices and that they are still attempting to make use of academic theories and engagement in an appropriate manner. In their effort to "intellectualize" the phenomena of rape, however, it was acknowledged by one participant that engaging with rape discourses in an academic manner created a "distance" from the physical act of rape (Lea, 2007). Two participants employed educated discourses to remove themselves from the actual reality of rape.

> *There's a part of me that decides if something's academic it almost flicks off a*
> *switch, you know? So there's a part of me that just wants to immediately resort to*
> *just numbing down the emotional stuff… (Participant 8).*

When reflecting about whether it is important to talk about rape, it was evident that although rape was not a comfortable topic, most of the participants drew upon the notion of academic significance to support discussions about rape.

> *From an academic point of view, that's something that has to be done, you know?*
> *But I don't have a problem speaking about it. I think talking about it has a lot*
> *more positive products than not talking about it (Participant 7)*

According to Sikweyiya et al. (2011) one of greatest challenge confronting men who want to escape the structures of narrow, sexist and prescriptive masculinity has been to find a language that expresses their emotion, this is evident in the contradictory discourses employed. I want to suggest that, through the critical engagement that is encouraged in an educational setting, South African men are starting to make use of a language to express their emotions about rape without having to, necessarily, draw upon rape myths and patriarchal discourses. However, it must also be acknowledged that the standard academic repertoire drawn upon in this analysis has been evident in academic literature for decades (from Gavey, 1989; Belenky et al., 1986) and, therefore, despite this population of students being one of the first to emerge as educated, young men in post-apartheid South Africa, many of their discursive practices were distinctly unoriginal.

The role of culture as informing politically correct race discourses. A phenomena that emerged was that nine of the participants drew upon their cultural heritage in a process of sense making and interaction with contradictory concepts. Not one participant talked about "race", neither was the word implied at any time during the process of data collection. Moffett (2006) states that, in South Africa, any discussion about rape is automatically assumed to be submerged within narratives about race or class. I agree with the statement, and my findings also suggests that educated South African men display a certain level of aversion to the term "race", choosing rather to draw upon cultural or class scripts. Although this might appear to be a progressive sense-making discourse, this phenomenon is a legacy from the apartheid era when Boonzaier and Sharp (1988) first recognized that white South Africans drew upon discourses of culture to justify apartheid practices. Once again, educated male participants were drawing on cultural notions in order to appear more progressive and non-racist but were unaware that they were making use of justification discourses that are over 20 years old.

You know, so I just feel like why, why in different societies, because we are
culturally different, you know, each culture should be approached differently
(Participant 7).

Participants also acknowledged the role that cultural influences played in influencing their opinions and beliefs. They drew upon their cultural identities to either distance or associate themselves with a particular way of being. One participant drew upon his socio-economic class in order to distance himself from those men who are traditionally viewed as "rapists" in South Africa, a reference to "poor, black rapist":

I don't feel ashamed, simply because I feel that I am not part of that socio-
economic status. I mean, the world is essentially divided by socio-economic
status. And so… I don't… it's not applicable to me (Participant 6).

Especially in our own UCT culture, I don't think lots of women think of it all
the time (Participant 9).

Half of the participants actively drew upon notions that poverty and joblessness are key to the etiology of rape without acknowledging that such claims might be offensive to the poor or unemployed (Moffett, 2006). The statements also imply that, because these participants are not part of poor, black cultures, rape and all its consequences is not their responsibility not a "relevant concern" (Participant 10). Moffett (2006) argues, however, that white, educated men are just as likely to rape as poor, black men but the majority of rapists are black because the majority of men in South Africa are black. Sikweyiya et al. (2011) also found that rape is social practice present in all racial and cultural groups in South Africa. Yet, the educated males in my study drew upon their social status to distance themselves from the stereotypical poor, black South African man who rapes. Furthermore, drawing on cultural identities and discourses allowed male participants to criticize other cultural groups without appearing racist. This was, therefore, a politically correct way to judge and criticize the practices of other cultures.

I have heard of some stories in their culture that seem somewhat backwards in
terms of mentality…hmmm… (Participant 2).

Conversely, the notion of rape being such a serious issue as to transcend cultural boundaries, showing its relevance across cultures was identified by three participants:

Rape is still wrong, it doesn't matter what culture says (Participant 9).

These cultural discourses show that the term "race" has many social and emotional connotations and, therefore, "cultural" scripts were drawn upon to criticize people from other races without sounding like a traditional racist (Boonzaier & Sharp, 1988). In this way, sexual

violence in post-apartheid South Africa is still being fuelled and influenced by apartheid discourses (Moffett, 2006).

CONCLUSION

It is therefore evident that this study showed educated male students still make use of traditional, patriarchal discourses when talking about rape. This study supported findings by Anderson and Doherty (2008) where male students constructed patriarchal discourses of rape and made use of rape myths in the form of victim blaming. Further patriarchal discourses which were identified included traditional gendered constructions of masculinity and femininity as well as patriarchal definitions and descriptions of rape. All of these discourses exemplified how talk about rape and rape victimhood are defined in ways that reflect the social, political and cultural conditions of our society where rape myths and a rape-supportive culture is still evident (Gavey, 2005). Conversely, progressive discourses were also employed to resist patriarchal structures and male participants critically engaged with and resisted traditional notions of patriarchy by criticising traditional rape myths, identifying a crises of masculinity, drawing on broad definitions of rape as well as recognizing a joint gender politics protesting against rape. Three male participants also claimed the problem of rape as being the responsibility of men and acknowledged that men should take action against it. This was in conflict with findings by Wood et al. (2007) who found that young men in township settings in South Africa employed narrow definitions of rape. These discourses demonstrated that educated male students are more aware of and, therefore, also make use of progressive, resisting discourses when talking about rape in an effort to challenge patriarchal discourses.

Concurrently, it was also shown that there were many contradictions and tensions evident in the discourses employed. Contradictions were evident between participants who tended to use more patriarchal discourses and participants who tended to use more progressive discourses. The rest of the participants simultaneously employed both traditional and resisting discourses, creating contradictions and tensions within their own talk. Therefore, in their attempt to protest against patriarchal discourses, students still resorted to them in a process of sense making. This indicated that students' discourses are fluent and constantly changing. The role of education and culture provided resources for students in making sense of this third space. It was shown that education and academic influences could provide students with a language to express their progressive discourses but that these discourses have long been evident in the academic literature (Gavey, 1989). Students were uncomfortable with the strength of their own academic voices and found that critical engagement with vignettes often

served to create a distance between the scenario and their academic theorizations Lea (2007). Furthermore, in an attempt to appear progressive, male students did not refer to race but drew upon cultural notions in order to justify and rationalize their opinions in a politically correct way, a justification discourse identified by Boonzaier and Sharp (1988) and already made use of during the apartheid era.

A limitation of this study is its sample size. As the study made use of only ten male participants, this does lead to the question of whether the identified phenomena can be accurately applied to the relevant population. Recommendations for future research would include a larger sample exploring the phenomena identified in this study. Another important area of research would be examining educated female perspectives on rape, as a clear need emerged for this during the research process when three female students approached the researcher and requested to be part of the study. Female students are thus expressing a need to form part of such research which can play a resisting role against rape.

This study aims to contribute to the body of work on rape in South Africa. Given the high rates of rape in South Africa this study adds to the understanding of how educated men construct and understand rape. As men are the main perpetrators of rape this study can assist in the effort of transforming male discourses from a traditional to a progressive stance which, in turn, can lead to men acknowledging rape as a "men's problem" rather than a "women's problem".

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APPENDIX A

Interview Schedule/ Guideline:

1. *Ask the participants to read the vignettes (Events 1,2 and 3) and reach their own conclusions around the event.*

Prompts: How would you describe what happened here?

How does this make you feel?

How would you describe this act?

2. *What do you think is considered to be rape?*

Prompts: How would you personally define rape?

What does the word 'rape' mean to you?

3. *How do you feel about talking about rape?*

Prompts: How do you feel about talking about rape in this interview?

How do you feel about talking about rape with others?

Debriefing: Ask students how they are feeling and if there are any problems.

Give list of helplines and rape organizations.

APPENDIX B

Event description 1

Read the following description and reach your own conclusions of what you think about the event and discuss it in the interview.

A 22-year-old single woman testified in court that she was raped in the campus of a middle-sized university where she was attending as a full-time student. On the evening of the attack, the woman had taken a short-cut home through the campus after attending a dance class. The alleged rape took place at 9:30 p.m., when the woman was attacked and dragged away from the main path and sexually assaulted. The woman told the court that she was aware of a man walking behind her but this had not aroused any suspicion. The woman's screams from the attack were heard by the passer-by who chased the attacker away. The woman had been raped once before about a year prior to the attack. It was known that no other woman had been sexually assaulted on the campus in the past 6 months before this alleged attack took place.

Some changes have been made to this description to create relevance for this particular study. Original description is from Anderson, I. & Doherty, K. (2008). *Accounting for Rape.* (pp. 61). London: Routledge.

APPENDIX B

Event Description 2

Read the following description and reach your own conclusions of what you think about the event and discuss it in the interview.

A female student, who is involved in many activities, has a long-term boyfriend. Although in their time together there has been no sexual activity, the relationship between the two has been comfortable and long-term. This past Friday night they went out on a date. They went for pizza and later rented a movie to watch in the dorm. While watching the movie, they began kissing. The boyfriend became aroused and began to pet heavily. The female student asked to stop, gently at first, them emphatically. She began crying and fighting, but he continued, eventually forcing her to have sex with him.

Some changes have been made to this description to make it relevant for this particular study. Original description is from Jimenez, J.A., & Abreu, J.M. (2003). Race and sex effects on attitudinal perceptions of acquaintance rape. *Journal of Counselling Psychology,* 50, 2, 252-256.

APPENDIX B

Event Description 3

Read the following description and reach your own conclusions of what you think about the event and discuss it in the interview.

A male student was raped on the campus of a middle-sized university where he was attending as a full-time student. On the evening of the attack, the man had taken a short-cut home through campus after attending an exercise class and he was aware of a man walking him but this had not aroused any suspicions. At approximately 9:30 p.m., the man was attacked and dragged away from the main path and sexually assaulted. The man's shouts from the attack were heard by the passer-by who chased the attacker away. The passer-by subsequently identified the accused in a police line-up. It was known that five other men had been sexually assaulted on the campus in the past 6 months before the alleged attack took place.

Some changes have been made to this description to create relevance for this particular study. Original description is from Anderson, I. & Doherty, K. (2008). *Accounting for Rape.* (pp. 61). London: Routledge.

APPENDIX C

University of Cape Town

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

Honours Research Project

CONSENT FORM

RESEARCHER: Michelle Hattingh

Intention of study:

This research project intends to examine UCT students' opinions of sexual relationships and acts of sexual assault, which take place in South Africa, such as the act of rape. This examination will be conducted through the form of an interview, which will be recorded by discussing topics and event descriptions of rape.

I AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY. I REALISE THAT MY PARTICIPATION WILL BE CONFIDENTIAL AND THAT MY ANONYMITY WILL BE OBTAINED WHEN THE RESEARCH IS WRITTEN UP FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES. I UNDERSTAND THAT I MAY WITHDRAW FROM THE STUDY AT ANY GIVEN TIME AND MAY REFUSE TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THAT MAKE ME FEEL UNCOMFORTABLE. I UNDERSTAND THAT ALL INFORMATION IS ONLY OF OPINIONS AND DOES NOT HAVE ANY REFLECTION ON ME OR THE OTHER PARTICIPANT PRESENT. I UNDERSTAND THAT MY PERSONAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DETAILS (BELOW) WILL ONLY BE USED FOR SAMPLING NUMBERS AND ANALYSIS FOR THIS PARTICULAR RESEARCH STUDY. I UNDERSTAND THE INTENT OF THE STUDY.

SIGNED:

DATE:

Student Number:

Course Code:

Age:

How would you choose to classify your Racial/Ethnic identity?

APPENDIX D

Professional help and Counselling

Clinical Psychologist: 073 1455 045

Life Line: 0861 322 322

AIDS Helpline: 0800 012 322

South African Men's Forum: 082 518 1177

Men in Partnership Against HIV/AIDS: 083 415 2157

DISCHO (UCT Discrimination & Harassment Services): 021 650 3530

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To my participants for getting involved and wanting to make a difference.

I thank you all and am eternally grateful for your help,

Michelle.