

Making Sense of Rape in South Africa: a Feminist Grounded Theory Analysis

Nicola Rohland

Department of Psychology

University of Cape Town

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Co-supervisors: Anastasia Maw and Kim Foster

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ABSTRACT

South Africa has the highest levels of rape in the world (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Feminist theorists argue that sexual violence is a result of gender role inequality found in patriarchal cultures which oppress women and empower men (Chesler, 1997). Literature which explores how women and men make meaning of and understand sexual violence in the South African context is limited. In order to gain access to these understandings two gender divided focus groups were facilitated with undergraduate students. An anti-rape advert was viewed by each focus group to facilitate discussion around sexual violence in South Africa. Feminist Grounded Theory was employed as this method of analysis truly allows for the voices of the participants to be heard. The findings indicated that men denied any responsibility for the rape epidemic in South Africa. In contrast, these women accepted responsibility for rape as they acknowledged that men would not take responsibility. It was clear that gendered notions of power and powerlessness play a large role in the meaning-making of rape in South Africa.

Key words: Feminist; Feminist Grounded Theory; Gender; Rape; Sexual Violence; South Africa.

The Human Rights Watch report on domestic violence and rape of 1995 reported that South Africa had the highest rape statistics in the world (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The Victims of Crime Survey reported that 134 rapes occurred per 100 000 in South Africa during 1997 (Statistics South Africa). In 1998, it was reported that 115.6 rapes occurred per 100 000 in South Africa, also indicating these as the highest rape statistics in the world (Walker, 2005). This has led some feminist researchers to suggest that there is a gender civil war in this country (Moffett, 2006).

These statistics are still not reflective of the true extent of the rape epidemic as many rapes go unreported (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Only 68 of the 134 women raped reported their rape to the police (Statistics South Africa). Various barriers contribute to the under reporting of rape: the victim's fear or retaliation by the perpetrator, fear of not being believed, difficulty in obtaining physical access to the police, and fear of institutional processes such as being treated poorly by the police (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Only 19.8% of the 22 121 reported cases of rape during 1997 resulted in conviction (Statistics South Africa) indicating that the belief that institutional processes are ineffective has some basis. Additional causes for the under reporting of rape have been suggested: concern for the rapist, self blame, the social stereotype of "real" rape informed by rape myths, and the victim's attempt to repress the rape memory (Kahn & Mathie, 1994).

The proposed research will be situated in a feminist theoretical framework. Feminist theory argues that gender inequality is at the root of rape (Brownmiller, 1975; Chesler, 1997; Gavey, 2005; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; Moffett, 2006; Posel, 2005; Ward, 1995). A concern exists that popular understandings of rape are based on rape myths, which in turn perpetuates the occurrence of rape. These rape myths contribute to the high levels of rape in South Africa through maintaining a violent patriarchal society in which rape is used by men to control and dominate the agency of women.

As feminist literature indicates that gender inequality plays an important role in understanding rape it is important to understand discourses surrounding rape and how gender fits into these discourses (Chesler, 1997). South African research suggests that rape has been positioned as a race, class or culture problem rather than a gender problem. Liebling and Shah (2001) confirmed that culture is used as "an excuse to disguise

practices that continuously oppress and violate women” (Liebling & Shah, 2001, p. 4). The research included in the literature review reflects that South African society has created an image of the rapist as poor and black and this image serves to undermine the role that gender inequality plays in gender based violence, namely rape.

Feminist contributions to the discourse of rape

The first major feminist work published on the discourse of rape was *Against Our Will* by Susan Brownmiller (1975). She defined rape as “a conscious process of intimidation by which *all men* keep *all women* in a state of fear” (Brownmiller, 1975, p. 15). She argued that rape contributed to the sexual exploitation of women and that rape should be seen as a social and political problem rooted in gender inequality. Current feminist discourse defines rape as any violation of a woman’s non-consent in relation to sex (which is not limited to coitus) (Chasteen, 2001).

The feminist anti-rape movement allowed for alternative understandings of rape in the light of the victimization of women and the increased public awareness of rape as a social problem (Chasteen, 2001; Gavey, 2005). The feminist anti-rape theory argues that rape is located in patriarchal systems that allow for the empowerment of men and the oppression of women (Chasteen, 2001; Jewkes, 2005; Moffett, 2006; Ward, 1995). As Chasteen (2001) noted: “men who rape are from every strata of society, sharing only the desire to dominate and control women through violence”. It is argued that sexual violence allows for the subordination of women not just at micro levels but also at macro levels (Gavey, 2005; Ward, 1995). Rape not only derives from gender inequality, but also serves as a tool to solidify men’s power by installing fear in women and limiting women’s movement and agency (Baron & Straus, 1987; Dosekun, 2007; Ward, 1995). Women are seen as the property of men and thus female sexuality is owned and regulated by men (Baron & Straus, 1987; Ward, 1995; Zondi, 2007). One can see that, within this framework, rape is a form of exhibiting and maintaining power relations between men and women (Gavey, 2005; Jewkes, 2005; Moffett, 2006; Posel, 2005; Ward, 1995). In addition, it has been argued that rape is a way in which men establish power in relation to each other by using violence against women as the tool to construct this power (Dosekun, 2007; Jewkes, 2005).

Constructions of heterosexual and feminist discourse about rape

The coital imperative refers to defining 'real sex' as that which culminates in heterosexual intercourse and ejaculation (Gavey, 2005; Gavey, McPhillips, & Doherty, 2001; McPhillips, Braun, & Gavey, 2001). This coital imperative is part and parcel of a mature heterosexual relationship and is seen, by both men and women, to be a necessary part of this type of relationship. The importance accorded to intercourse and ejaculation as defining 'real sex' has allowed for the limitation of rape definitions to include only intercourse and ejaculation. In addition to the limitation of rape definitions, the coital imperative also serves to position sex as defining mature heterosexual relationships. Thus the coital imperative discourse illustrates how women are labeled as abnormal when they do not want to have sex in these types of relationships. In turn, this increases pressure on women to submit to prescribed norms of sexuality (as determined by men's needs) (Gavey, 2005; Gavey et al., 2001; McPhillips et al., 2001).

The male sex drive discourse identifies male sexuality and desire as supreme to female sexuality and desire. This discourse serves to limit female sexual agency as male sexuality is defined by aggression and action and female sexuality is defined in terms of passivity (Gavey et al., 2001; Gavey, 2005). Women's sexual desire and needs are not central to any heterosexual discourse and are determined in relation to men's sexual desire and needs. Gavey (2005) argues that the coital imperative could be seen as part of the male sex drive discourse as sexual encounters are defined by the coital imperative which determines coitus as the main event of sex, leaving little choice for women to determine what sex involves. These discourses endanger women in heterosexual encounters as their agency is limited (Gavey, 2005). According to a feminist theoretical framework, these dominant discourses around sexuality allow one to see that sex is determined by gendered discourses that allow for the subordination of women and empowerment of men.

Dominant understandings of rape

Rape myths

Rape myths are defined as “attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women” (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p. 133). Examples of rape myths include: “only bad girls get raped”; “women ask for it”; and “any healthy woman can resist a rapist if she really wants to” (Burt, 1980, p. 217). Three functions of rape myths have been identified: (1) the denial of the reality or extent of sexual assault; (2) the confirmation of the world as an inherently good place, in which bad things only happen to those who deserve them; and (3) they lead to the oppression and social control of women (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Thus rape myths allow for the shift of blame from the rapist to the rape survivor.

Various studies have explored popular discourses of rape which highlight the use of rape myths in understandings of rape. Kahn and Mathie (1994) wished to understand why some women define acts of sexual coercion as rape whereas others do not. Women who had been raped (in terms of feminist definitions) but did not believe that they had been raped, seemed to hold a definition of rape saturated with rape myths and defined by blitz or stranger rape. A blitz rape is understood to involve high levels of force by a stranger. Thus those women who had experienced sexual coercion by an acquaintance or where there had been little force involved did not define their experience as rape. The dangerous disjunction between rape definitions and understandings and rape experiences does not allow for the accurate reporting of rape and further contributes to the subordination of women as dominant understandings of rape are saturated with rape myths.

Chasteen (2001) studied the individual perceptions that women hold in relation to rape. Her sample consisted of a diverse group of American women. The author found that parts of feminist theory around rape had become a part of how many of these women understood rape. For example, the women in the study believed that rape was extremely common and that rapists were rarely strangers. They said that the woman’s experience should determine whether sex is consensual or not. This idea that rape is a subjective experience is in line with feminist theory around rape. Even though these women had

embraced some aspects of feminist theory it was found that individual constructions of rape varied considerably among them and this indicated the high variability of rape definitions.

Discourses of rape in the South African context

Men and popular notions of rape

Research carried out in Germany, England and Zimbabwe has confirmed the feminist argument that rape may be motivated by men's desire to exert power over women (Chiroro, Bohner, Viki, & Jarvis, 2004). Rape myth acceptance and rape proclivity (the inclination to rape) are positively correlated. Chiroro et al (2004) carried out research to find out if anticipated sexual arousal or the anticipation of sexual dominance mediated this relationship. The study confirmed that the anticipated enjoyment of sexual dominance mediates the relationship between rape myth acceptance and rape proclivity. Thus a motivation for men to rape women is their ability to exert power.

It is important to understand how men define and understand rape in a South African context as rape is vastly perpetrated by men. A study done in Zwelibomvu in KwaZulu Natal (which is traditionally a Zulu area) highlights that rape myths are rife in some traditional contexts in South Africa (Zondi, 2007). The author uses the tradition of *ilobolo* (dowry) and the practice of polygamy to show the patriarchal processes at work which serve to mark women as the property of men with their purpose being to serve men in the institution of marriage. In this light rape is condoned as women are the paid for property of their husbands. However, it is important to note that these wives and husbands rarely believe that acts of sexual coercion amount to rape as marriage serves to perpetuate normative gender stereotypes.

Many men who are violent against women live in contexts (such as South Africa) where violence is a social norm (Moffett, 2006; Sikweyiya, Jewkes, & Morrell, 2007). In such violent contexts men do not often accept responsibility for their acts of violence as they are not perceived as abnormal or wrong. Sikweyiya et al (2007) carried out a study with 20 Xhosa men recruited from Mthatha in the Eastern Cape. It was found that the majority of these men believed many rape myths. These rape myths included the belief that rape could only occur when a man had used considerable force with a woman, and if

the perpetrator had scratches on his skin from the protest of a woman. These men believed that rape was a serious problem for men as women used accusations (that men had raped) against men in order to protect their reputations (even though they were thought to have 'asked for it'. They used language which distanced themselves from past acts of sexual coercion. For example, one of the respondents said "sometimes you do things not knowing their repercussions or even because of age, because it is something that I would not do now, maybe it was because of my age" (Sikweyiya et al., 2007, p. 56).

These studies show that men tend to explain away their responsibility for acts of sexual coercion, and institutions such as marriage and *ilobolo* 'allow' for men to rape women as they are the property of men (Ward, 1995; Zondi, 2007). Jewkes (2005) notes that popular understandings of rape (which are informed by rape myths) allow for the act to be socially accepted as illustrated in the example of marriage as an institution which can perpetuate unequal gender roles. Rape myths such as victim blaming allow for men's positions to go unchallenged.

Both of these studies were carried out in low socio economic areas and with black men coming from traditional African cultures. The majority of studies involving perceptions held by South African men about rape are carried out with black men. As all men are capable of raping according to feminist theory, research must be carried out with men from every strata of South African society (Chasteen, 2001; Moffett, 2006). Research which fails to acknowledge that rape is a gender problem is dangerous and continues to perpetuate belief of rape myths. This will not allow for social change to occur. In addition, research (around understandings of rape) needs to be done with men from every strata of society...

Causes of the South African rape epidemic

Moffett (2006) argues that Apartheid has contributed to rape as a social problem in our country through its history of violence and 'othering'. She argues that during political transitions to democracies a rhetoric of equality covers up the reconstruction of patriarchal power. Further, the deeply racialised hierarchies of our past are contributing to the current 'gender civil war'. Rape myths position the black man as the rapist despite the

fact that rape is arguably a result of gender inequality. This racial positioning stifles open discussion of rape and contributes to the avoidance of confrontation with the perpetrators: men. She argues that these popular discourses of racism in relation to gender based violence serve only to cover up gender inequality and the patriarchal processes to blame for the rape epidemic (Moffett, 2006).

Moffett (2006) refers to two anti rape adverts in which Charlize Theron publicly acknowledged the role of men as the perpetrators of rape. These adverts were banned as complaints by members of the public were made. These complainants argued that the adverts were biased against men as they implied that all men were potential rapists and that men were accused of condoning the rape of women through complacency. This illustrates that many South African people are unwilling to place the responsibility for the rape epidemic with men.

Posel (2005) showed how public knowledge of the rise of baby rape led to the questioning of the morality of the new democracy in South Africa, which in turn led to the naming of a crisis of masculinity in this country. Although the rape of any child is disturbing it is important to note that it was the stark binary between the innocent child (not woman) and the evil man that allowed for the critical examination of masculinity to occur in this case. The violation of the idea of fathers who protected their children created new public space in which to discuss the crisis of masculinity. According to Posel (2005, p. 247) “rape now exemplified the most fundamental political and moral challenges confronting the newborn democratic nation: the terms and conditions of the nation’s moral community, the manner of the national subject (who are we that we can do such things to our children?), and the meaning of hard-fought liberation and democracy”.

Accurate data on the prevalence of rape in South Africa is unknown however it is clear that rape has become a social epidemic in this country. There is little available research which seeks to explain dominant understandings of rape held by members of the South African population. It is imperative to gain access to these understandings as attempts at social change will not be effective until this has been done. This study seeks to gain access to the understandings that a small sample of university students have of rape and to explore the role that gender plays in the construction of these understandings.

DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

Research design

Feminist theory argues that gender is a socially constructed category which creates and maintains gender inequity between men and women (Chesler, 1997; Gildemeister, 2004; Letherby, 2003). Thus a focus of feminist research is on analysing gender relationships in terms of their hierarchical arrangement and social inequity. Feminist theorists argued that most research methodologies failed to recognise that gender inequality exists and that phenomena are experienced differently by men and women (Letherby, 2003; Robert, 1981). These methodologies denied the existence of a gender divide through the use of methods which excluded women's voices. Feminist research was developed in response to the limited research that reflected women's voices and experiences (Gildemeister, 2004; Letherby, 2003; Roberts, 1981).

The notion of reflexivity is at the core of feminist research (Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Letherby, 2003; Oakley, 1998). Reflexivity is the acknowledgment that both the researcher's and the participants' subjectivity has an impact on the research process, and involves the researcher's reflection on this impact on the research process (Flick, 2006). Feminist research methodologies are political and acknowledge that the personal and political sympathies of the researcher inform the research process. The subjectivity of the researcher influences the knowledge claims that are made (Letherby, 2003; Oakley, 1998) and thus reflexivity is a crucial part of the research process. One must thus endeavour to produce a collaborative and non-oppressive relationship (Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Letherby, 2003; Oakley, 1998).

In addition, one must be reflexive about the relationship between the participants and researcher and how this informs your research. One's history, development and biography will impact on the way in which one will understand other people's experiences (Letherby, 2003). Key to this methodology is that the personal is political (Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Letherby, 2003). Letherby (2003) argues that the researcher's choices (for example the research topic and methods employed) are all political acts as they are informed by one's ideology (values and opinions). Feminist research should produce useful knowledge informed by women's experiences which in turn can aid social and individual change (Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Letherby, 2003). In sum:

“any research may be considered ‘feminist’ which incorporates two main aims; a sensitivity of the role of gender within society and the differential experiences of males and females and a critical approach to the tools of research on society, the structures of methodology and epistemology within which ‘knowledge’ is placed within the public domain...” (Millen, 1997 as cited in Letherby, 2003, p. 73).

The study will employ qualitative methodology. Feminist research is known for its use of qualitative methodology as a tool through which women’s voices can be heard (Letherby, 2003; Oakley, 1998). Qualitative research allows for the processes of meaning-making and experiences to be explored (Willig, 2001). Qualitative methodology is informed by various theoretical frameworks and is used to gain a better understanding of social realities by drawing attention to processes, meaning patterns and structural features (Flick, von Kardorff, & Steinke, 2004). As this study attempted to gain access to understandings of gendered relations and sexuality, the processes which inform them, and their subsequent impact on rape discourses, a qualitative methodology informed by feminist theory was used. Feminist Grounded theory was used as the method of analysis as this method allows for the participants voices to be heard (Wuest, 1995). Grounded theory analysis relies on the generation of theory from the data collected.

Research sample

The sample consisted of ten (five women and five men) first year undergraduate psychology students from the University of Cape Town. Their ages ranged from 19 years to 26 years of age and race was varied. In order to facilitate open and free discussion only first year students were chosen to participate so that they would feel more comfortable in sharing their views. There were no other exclusion criteria that were employed in this study. I chose to sample from the University population as these students were easily accessible through SRPP and I was interested in looking at rape perceptions of those coming of age in a ‘new’ South Africa (post 1994).

Research site

The focus groups were conducted on UCT campus in a classroom in the Graduate Humanities building. This site was chosen so that transport difficulties could be avoided. Further, it was thought that students would feel more comfortable participating in research in a familiar place. As this building is where the psychology department is located it was thought that they might have felt more comfortable with the legitimacy of the research process.

Data collection materials

Two focus groups (consisting of five participants each) were used to collect data for this study. The focus groups were divided according to gender as it was thought that gendered discourses would develop more starkly than in mixed gender focus groups. Further, it was thought that participants would feel more comfortable speaking about rape (a sensitive topic) with others who were of the same gender. It is important that participants feel comfortable and that the setting is non-threatening (Litosseliti, 2003). It has been argued that participants should share some common characteristics so that rapport might be built and thus increased disclosure might be facilitated (Millward, 2006).

Focus groups are small structured groups consisting of selected participants and a facilitator (Litosseliti, 2003). This method allows for data and insights to be produced through interaction. Using a focus group is seen as using a quasi-naturalistic method which allows for simulations of everyday conversations, which can then be analysed to explore the “processes of social interaction” which lead to understandings found in the data (Millward, 2006).

Focus groups provide an opportunity to generate discussion which in turn reveals meanings and the negotiation of meanings, and because there are a number of participants they allow for diverse opinions and points of view which are present in everyday discussions and debates (Flick, 2006). Flick (2006) suggests that focus groups should be used in cases where the interaction and dynamics of the group add something to the knowledge produced. This study aimed to engage participants in a discussion relating to the media clip that they watched and relied on the participants engaging with each other around the topic of rape. The interaction of the group was integral to the research, as the

group shed light on the processes of negotiation around the development of the understandings around gendered sexuality and rape. Thus, focus groups were the most appropriate method for this particular study.

However, a limitation of using focus groups is that documenting the group interaction is difficult (Flick, 2006). A video recorder was used to document this group interaction as video recordings allow for the documentation of data to be independent of perspectives. Not only did the video recording allow for the clear identification of participants, but it also allowed for non verbal communication to be analysed.

The video recorder was placed behind me, outside the group in such a way that all of the participants could be seen and included in the recording. I was not visually recorded but I argue that capturing my non verbal expressions was less important than those of the participants. A researcher cannot ignore that a video recorder will have an influence on participants statements (Flick, 2006). Despite this I chose to use the video recorder as the participants might have already behaved differently due to their participation in a research study. I did not believe that their behaviour was affected drastically enough to change their perceptions and understandings of gendered sexuality and rape. I did make it clear that if any of the participants felt uncomfortable they were free to withdraw from the study. I confirmed the confidentiality of the data collected and the anonymity of each participant. Each participant was given a pseudonym during the process of transcription.

I made the decision to facilitate the male focus group despite my anxiety that the male participants would offer different information depending on the gender of the facilitator. I made this decision as it was important for me to be present so that I could guide the discussion in terms of my individual instincts and there was little time for the proper training of a research assistant. Litosseliti (2003) argues that the researcher is at a great advantage when they are the group facilitator. This is because the researcher has greater insight and in-context knowledge about the research and thus important links between the data and the research question can be made more easily. I acknowledge that my female presence in an all male focus group might have limited complete disclosure, however I feel that my presence allowed for an interesting dynamic which was reflected on during the process of analysis.

Procedure

In each focus group I welcomed the participants and gave them a participant information sheet (see Appendix A) which gave an introduction to the study and consent forms (see Appendix B) were signed. I began the media clip (see Appendix C) and the video recorder. After the media clip had been viewed I facilitated an open discussion, with an interview schedule as a guide (see Appendix D), which was stimulated by the clip. After the discussion came to an end (after about fifty minutes) I asked each participant to fill out a demographic sheet (see Appendix E).

The data collected from both focus groups was transcribed verbatim. They were then analysed according to feminist grounded theory. Each participant was sent their respective focus group transcription via email. This was done so that the research process could be more collaborative and to ensure that each participant felt that their voices had been reflected correctly (this is in line with both the requirements of feminist research and grounded analysis) (Keddy, Sims, & Stern, 1996; Kusher & Morrow, 2003). In addition, feminist research makes a commitment to making knowledge accessible to those who are able to use it (such as participants, the public and academics) (Kusher & Morrow, 2003).

Data analysis

Feminist grounded theory was employed as the method of analysis in this research as the inductive nature of this research demands that the voices of the participants be heard (Brine, 1994; Keddy et al., 1996; Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Wuest, 1995)). Grounded theory “seeks what participants construct as their social reality” (Wuest, 1995, p. 132). Keddy et al. state that feminist grounded theory allows for the “complex analysis of complex questions” (p. 450) and allows for the deconstruction of contextual discourse (Keddy et al., 1996). As the aim of this research is to gain access to participant’s understandings of rape, rather than testing these understandings against a preconceived theoretical framework, feminist grounded theory was deemed appropriate for this study.

Grounded theory was originally developed by Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967 in response to the need for a systematic qualitative method of inductive research which yielded objective results (Glaser, 1992). Since then two forms of grounded theory

have developed: objectivist and constructivist. The objectivist approach claims that data is grounded in reality and that the emergent theory is constructed through an objective process in which researchers do not have much influence (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). This study employs constructivist grounded theory as it is compatible with feminist epistemology (Keddy et al., 1996; Kusher & Morrow, 2003; Wuest, 1995). This form encourages the reflexivity of the researcher and acknowledges that all research is informed by the ideologies held by both the researcher and participants. In addition, this approach notes that the interactional process between the researcher and participants informs the data collected and the subsequent emerging theory (Charmaz, 2000, 2006). Thus emerging theories are not objective but rather informed by subjective experiences of the research at hand. Wuest (1995) argues that the key to ensuring the compatibility of feminist research and grounded theory is in the process of reflexivity as feminist researchers will almost certainly analyse data in terms of feminist theory. Reflexivity will help the researcher to create theory that emerges from the voices of the participants.

I used the technique of memo writing throughout the process of analysis. These memos consisted of taking notes of concepts which appeared and of my personal thoughts, feelings and ideas relating to the research process (which allowed for my reflexivity). I read the transcripts and coded each phrase until concepts called sub-categories emerged. These sub-categories were constantly compared for similarities and differences within the respective focus groups and then across the focus groups until core categories were developed. This constant comparative analysis is central to grounded theory (Keddy et al., 1996). Henwood & Pidgeon (2006) emphasise the need to identify differences as they allow for one to fully understand the data. I read the transcripts a number of times in order to ground my analysis in the data and make sure that the data became saturated (that there was nothing else to code or categorise) (Willig, 2001). Keddy et al. (1996) encourages researchers to write about the story lines which participants spend the most time “anguishing” over. Categories were then integrated so that the emergence of theory could be facilitated (Willig, 2001).

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The advert that was posted on the SRPP board sought to be clear and open about what the study involved. My contact details were included so that prospective participants were able to ask questions if they wished to. Consent was attained through the signing of consent forms at the beginning of each focus group. Confidentiality was confirmed in writing on the participant information sheet which was handed out to all participants at the beginning of the study. All identifying information was removed from the research report and pseudonyms were given to each participant. Confidentiality within the groups was discussed with the group before the video clip was viewed and an agreement was made between participants. The video tape and transcripts were kept in a secure place so that anonymity and confidentiality was not threatened by external access to this documentation of the data.

Researchers have a responsibility to conduct ethical research, especially where sensitive topics are being researched. “Sensitive topics are those that seem either threatening, or contain an element of risk in some way” (Liebling & Shah, 2001, p. 1). Rape can thus be seen as a sensitive topic. . I was aware that this particular study might lead to participants exposing stigmatising or incriminating evidence about themselves. For example, a participant could have held extremely derogative views of women which might have caused upset among other participants within the focus group. It has been argued that although conducting ethical research is very important, “this should not be at the expense of the prevalent continued silence surrounding abuse of women” (Liebling & Shah, 2001, p. 1). This study aimed to contribute to breaking this silence surrounding the abuse of women and thus sexist and derogatory views were challenged through the use of transitioning questions such as “does anyone have another view on this...”.

I knew that participants might have had their own experiences relating to rape which could cause them distress. I did not ask any direct questions about personal life experiences. Participants (including myself) could have offended each other within the focus group and caused emotional harm. In both cases participants would have been referred to student wellness and if they chose to withdraw from the study they would not have been prejudiced against and are would have been able to participate in another study or make alternative arrangements with the department to receive their SRPP credits.

Everything recorded in the focus group was transcribed verbatim and was not altered in any way so that the data was a true reflection of each participant's contribution to the study. The participants were offered an opportunity to read the transcripts and analysis and to make comments. Participants were also sent the findings and analysis of the research. In this way the research process endeavoured to be collaborative..

Reflexivity

Feminist research acknowledges that all research is biased and value laden (Letherby, 2003; Roberts, 1981). The research question was informed by feminist understandings of rape and as such was constructed to explore gendered understandings of rape. As I position myself within a feminist framework I acknowledge that this positioning has had an effect on the entire research process, from my choice of words and reactions to statements during the focus groups, to the analysis of the data, and the final write up of my report. For example, in the analysis of the data I was aware of my tendency to look for gendered discourses, and for any evidence which supported the feminist theoretical framework. My awareness of this tendency helped me to critique my analysis so that my analysis strived to reflect the voices of the participants. I needed to be open and reflexive about this so that readers are able to critically assess my work.

As I am female this could have had an effect on how both focus groups responded and interacted during the data collection. I feel that my presence as another woman helped make the female group feel more at ease with the research situation and I was able to build better rapport with that group. This affected my experience of the data collection process. In the male focus group I felt a little intimidated by the possible reactions of the participants to the clip. The men expressed some hostile views about the statement made in the video clip and this limited the way in which I probed or asked questions.

The subjectivity of the researcher will always have an impact on the research process, thus it is important to be continuously reflexive about all aspects of the process (Oakley, 1998; Roberts, 1981). In order to allow for continuous reflexivity, I kept notes in a research journal about my feelings, positioning and ideas in relation to the research process. This allowed for a greater understanding of my subjective involvement in the research process.

RESULTS

One important core category emerged from the data: *responsibility*. Both focus groups struggled over the question of which gender should be held responsible for rape in South Africa. This question of responsibility related to who needs to stand up and fight against rape and who is to blame for rape (in both individual and social contexts). This core category is illustrated in Figure 1.

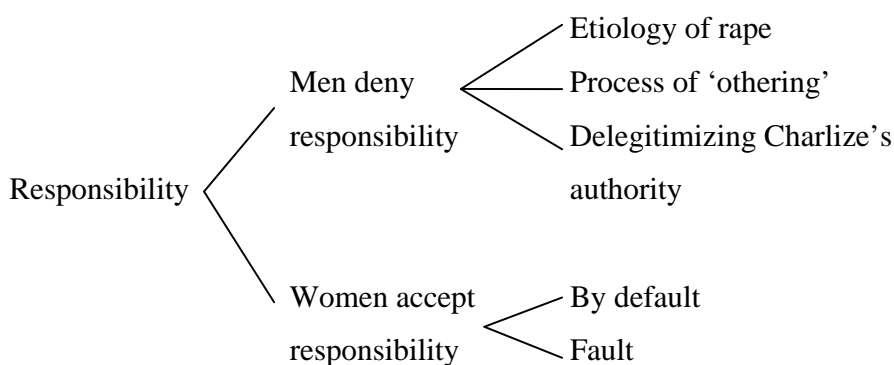


Figure 1. Core category of responsibility

Men deny responsibility

These men said that although rape was a problem in South Africa and that rape is vastly perpetrated by men, rape is still not their responsibility. They used the following sub-categories of rape to justify their lack of responsibility: the etiology of rape; the process of 'othering', and the delegitimization of Charlize's authority. These sub-categories are explained here.

Etiology of rape

These men understood rape as a symptom of men feeling emasculated or disempowered. Central to the definition of masculinity was men's need to be in control of women. If a man is not in control then he is not seen as a real man.

Allen: The man has to be in control. If a man can't control his woman then he's not a real man, ja...

Feelings of emasculation were understood as a result of a man's loss of control. In order for the man to reestablish his masculinity he might exert control over a woman by raping her. Rape is thus seen as a tool through which to exert power.

Kobus: Its people who are disempowered or feel emasculated in some way, and want to show they can still do something, and end up doing it in the worst possible way.

Chris: I think rape is more of a symptom, its psychological effects of men in South Africa.... It's more a symptom of what's causing us to feel certain ways. So the guys out there raping, you have to find out what's causing them to feel that need to dominate others...instead of saying don't do that, cause that's just the symptom, rather find out what it is. It's like trying to tell someone to not be schizophrenic – you need to find the cause.

This understanding of the etiology of rape can be seen as a rationalization of rape. It does not overtly place fault with the man for committing the act but rather locates rape as a symptom of emasculation. Thus the emasculation of men is seen as the real problem and not the fact that some men to choose to rape.

Women's increasing independence in the public sphere was acknowledged. However, it was positioned as a threat to masculinity as men are thought to have less control over their women. This increasing independence was believed to lead to the frustration of some men and their feeling of emasculation (which leads to the exertion of control over women sometimes in the form of rape).

Kobus: Ja, it's (rape is) not about sex, it's this whole notion of power of some sort, and I think there is a whole alpha male culture in South Africa.

Ronald: Ja, it's like the whole independence thing with women in the work place, they are becoming more superior...

Thomas: ... (men) they like to show whose boss.

Kobus: Some of my friends, in their late 20's are already married, the guys are the breadwinners. I think it would upset them if their wives earned more money. It's still very old fashioned in a way...its Afrikaans people. It's based on old values that women shall be subservient to their husbands...that kind of kak...I think a man in an old fashioned situation is

more likely to feel emasculated whereas men who are more liberal might not.

Women's increasing independence is seen as a cause for emasculation and indirectly is positioned as an understanding of why rape occurs. This rationalization places responsibility on women (rather than men) to regulate their independence in order to avoid the emasculation of men. Normative ideas of masculinity are not questioned but instead women's increasing independence is challenged as the problem.

Process of 'othering'

These men used the process of 'othering' as a way to distance themselves from men who rape and they did this in various ways. As they had defined rapists as men who felt emasculated due to their loss of control these men gave alternative definitions of masculinity for themselves such as being the protector and provider of their family. None of the men used control (which was associated with rapists identity and was thus perceived as negative) to define themselves or their masculinity. Thus these alternative definitions of masculinity were perceived as positive in contrast to control as negative.

Nicola: What does masculinity mean to you guys?

Chris: To be able to protect.

Ronald: I think being able to support a family, a man always wants to support his family.

These men believed that rapists are the ones who should be held responsible, not all men. They felt that Charlize's statement was unfair as she said that men do not think that rape is their problem. They explicitly stated that rape was in no uncertain terms their fault (problem) as they were not going about raping women. These types of statements served to mitigate their responsibility as men:

Kobus: It's (Charlize's statement) very harsh, it's not like it's happening in our front lawn and we are not doing anything about it...I think it's a very harsh indictment of men in general, considering men in general are not rapists.

This statement indicates that these men did not see rape as a gender issue (where normative masculinity serves to oppress women) despite previously identifying the emasculation of men as the cause for rape.

Furthermore, these men ‘othered’ the rapist as poor and black in accordance with their understanding of rape as caused by the emasculation of men. They believed that men in poorer contexts would feel emasculated due to their lack of control over their context and that the majority of people in South Africa who live in poor areas are black men. Thus the link was made that most rapists are black. In addition, one of the men said that due to the racial demographics of this country most rapists would be black. None of the members of the male focus group identified as black and thus they were able to further distance themselves from rapists.

Kobus: Well, statistically, you will probably find that more black men are rapists because of the sheer numbers.

Chris: I’m inclined to say there is going to be a correlation between poverty and a certain area, because you are more likely going to live a harsher lifestyle where you are going to react in a nature where you are frustrated. It’s (rape is) probably going to happen more if you are frustrated. And then, I would say that the majority of people who do live in poverty stricken areas are black people.

One of the men said that he did not know anyone who had raped thus indicating that he was not part of a social circle that committed this act. This statement allowed for him to ‘other’ rapists and thus ‘other’ any responsibility for rape:

Allen: ...I mean, I personally don’t know anyone who has raped anyone.

Rapists were also referred to in a manner which indicated that they were abnormal and thus these people raped because they were “screwed up” not because they were men. This understanding of rapists allows for the responsibility of rape to be shifted from all ‘normal’ men to the ‘abnormal’ perpetrators.

Delegitimizing Charlize’s authority

These men felt that Charlize’s statement was “harsh” and that her message did not “inspire” men to take any action to change the current situation. They understood her

statement as according blame to all men for the rape epidemic in South Africa. They thought that blaming men was not helpful and that she should have rather appealed for their help and that she could have told them what they should do to help out. This statement indicates their dismissive attitude of her role in the advert:

Chris: I don't think it's helpful...it's more of an "it's your fault" type of message, that doesn't help. It doesn't really tell me what I can do to help.

They thought that the advert was not successful as it only served to attack and anger men and did not inspire change. They said that it should have been a man in the advert rather than Charlize and that they would have listened to a man instead.

Kobus: I would have been more effective if it was a man in the advert.

Nicola: If it was a man talking to you would you have been offended?

Kobus: Perhaps not...it would have felt different, I would have been thinking more about what he was saying, instead of "what a bitch".

Charlize had inferred that all men should be held responsible for the rape epidemic in South Africa. By stripping her of any authority to make such statements (by saying that her advert had not been successful in making men want to help) they were able to delegitimize her statement and thus rid themselves of any responsibility for rape.

Women accept responsibility

The women said that men should be responsible for rape but they acknowledged that men do not take responsibility for the rape epidemic thus women have been forced to accept responsibility. This responsibility relates to women having to take a public stand against rape and to take preventative measures for their safety.

By default

These women believed that rape had become their responsibility (by default) as men did not want to take the responsibility for rape even though they were the perpetrators. They said that women should then take a stand against rape together.

Anne: I think that what we need to do more than anything is stand up together...I don't think they (men) are going to do it on their own. I don't think that men will realize...you know they don't take responsibility, so it's

ended up lying on us more than it should...first and foremost they should take responsibility. They are the ones doing it. But we should also take some responsibility.

Women explained rape in similar terms to the men: they said that men raped as they felt the need to be in control of women. These women did not explicitly mention the notion of emasculation as the cause of rape but they hinted at it. They said that some men did not appreciate the growing independence of women in the public sphere as they still want to feel in control of their women.

Anne:...some guys, I know they feel belittled and feel that women are disrespecting them...It's changing in the public sphere, but not in the private sphere...you go to work and you are this independent woman, and then you go home and you are back to being subordinate so that your husband can feel better about your independence.

Lisa:...I think men still want control over certain things...the whole issue of salary, I think a woman might still feel that she should downplay if she earns more than a man, in a relationship...things are changing, but I still think men want that bit of control.

Women thus acknowledged that their independence is seen as a threat to men's masculinity (emasculation) and this could lead to men exerting control over them (through rape). They spoke about how women know that men need to be in control and women should take safety precautions by not overtly showing much independence. Thus these women accord the responsibility of taking precautions to women as men will never change.

Women used clothing to illustrate the precautions that women must take to help ensure their safety. They believed that they needed to cover their bodies in order to protect themselves from unwelcome sexual responses from men. They expressed a fear of angering or provoking these unwelcome sexual responses and positioned these responses as a normal reaction that men had in relation to the display of women's bodies. The women acknowledged that it was unfair that they should have to cover themselves up in fear that they might provoke an unwanted response from men. However there was a general consensus that this was a necessity as men were not able to control their

impulses. These women thus felt that they could not control men's unwanted sexual responses to their bodies but instead needed to control how much of their bodies they put on display and thus they accepted responsibility. The following extract illustrates this point:

Karen: Ja, why do we have to constantly restrict ourselves and restrict our freedom of expression, guys don't do it. It's not like, if a guy is walking around in a pair of shorts he is going to be raped...

Lisa: It's frustrating...

Karen: it's terrible that we have to do this. It's true, I'm terrified of wearing anything revealing. That's why when I go out I am completely covered.

Amy: We should be able to wear whatever we want and feel comfortable and the fact that we have to live in fear, that we can't wear something too short, or our jeans are too tight and our ass is showing...you know, the guy in the corner is looking at you funny, it's really not fair. But the reality is...

Although these women acknowledged that this limitation of their agency is “terrible”, “unfair” and “frustrating” they are still accepting of this limitation as it is seen as a necessary precaution in South Africa. These women regulate their own independence because of their fear that they might overstep their female gender role boundaries (by exhibiting too much freedom) and their acknowledgment and acceptance that men have the power to punish women for this.

Fault

Women have acknowledged that men will not take responsibility for rape and will not change, thus women have accepted responsibility. In addition, they said that one cannot say that it is a woman's fault if she is raped but questions arose around whether some responsibility for the rape could be attributed to her too. They talked about the vulnerable positions in which women place themselves (knowingly) which might contribute to a subsequent rape. This example below illustrates that some women are seen as deserving of their rape as they were promiscuous or misleading:

Ella: ...growing up I just watched the way girls behave, and honestly these girls just throw themselves at guys, I have heard so many times that girls invite guys home...and then the guy think it's ok, cause the girl consented to it...I don't know what guys really think of this, but it must be so conflicting having, on the one hand, to believe that real men don't rape, but then on the other hand standing in a club and having three different girls coming up to you and volunteering themselves for sex...And I know some of the girls who have done this, they are like horrified when they hear about rape stories, but then they will go and do that...

Amy: Some of the girls, who do this in clubs, do get raped later on, and they are not even taken seriously anymore.

One of the women said that theoretically she did not believe that rape should be blamed on women in any way but acknowledged that in reality she found herself attributing responsibility to women and this bothered her. She said:

Ella: I have a problem with women's responsibility...on a personal note, a friend of mine was raped, I was horrified about how I reacted. You have this image about how you would react, but when it happens, without telling too much, she let him into her house. The first thing I thought was...oh, but you opened the door...you, you opened the door, and I couldn't stand the thought that I was thinking that it was somehow her fault. I would love to think it is all the man's fault, when I think about it objectively, when I am removed it is his fault, but then I was just horrified that I thought that she shouldn't have opened that door, like she had a choice.

This statement indicates that the idea of women's responsibility was not clearly defined in the women's group and that women are still negotiating and forming their understandings around responsibility.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

A feminist grounded theory analysis showed that rape has been constructed as a gender issue by these women as they explained that men rape in order to control women. This is

in line with feminist theory around rape which positions rape as stemming from a patriarchal society in which women are oppressed and men hold the power (Chesler, 1997; Jewkes, 2005; Moffett, 2006). Although these men explained rape as caused by the emasculation of men they did not identify men's need to control or dominate as problematic. Rather, the cause of the emasculation leads to rape. The cause is thus the problem identified by the men as they said that rape is just the "symptom". Therefore women's independence (as a cause for emasculation) was seen as the problem. This understanding serves to oppress women as it places blame for rape with their increasing independence.

South African research about men's understandings of rape indicated that men tend to shift responsibility for the act of rape (Sikweyiya et al., 2007; Zondi, 2007). This study indicated that these men see rape as a problem however in they also shifted responsibility for social change. The notion of the rapist as a black man was supported in this study which indicates that the argument made by Moffett (2006) has some standing. These men used the process of 'othering' to distance themselves from responsibility. Moffet (2006) argued that the positioning of the rapist as a black man stifles open discussion and further oppresses minorities.

It is clear from the findings that these women do not feel empowered to stop men from raping women. These women accepted that men would not change, nor would they take responsibility for rape. Thus they felt that they were forced to take responsibility for taking a stand against rape and for taking safety precautions (such as covering their bodies). These women live in fear of provoking unwanted male sexual responses (such as rape) and thus regulate their independence accordingly. Rape is therefore seen as a tool used by men to regulate women's independence. These women saw rape as a form of punishment far worse than the limitation of their independence as limited independence is a normal experience for women. Feminist theorists have argued that rape stems from gender inequality and serves to solidify men's power by installing fear in women and limiting women's movement and agency (Baron & Straus, 1987; Dosekun, 2007; Ward, 1995). It is clear that these women constructed understandings in line with feminist theory.

The findings indicate that we still live in a patriarchal society despite the enshrined right of equality in our constitution and despite notions that gender roles are evolving. Four of these women had been taught about gender roles in society in some way. Only one of the men had received any instruction in the role that gender plays. Thus these women might have been more aware of feminist theory and might have been more inclined to construct their discourse around these understandings. However, I argue that the way in which these women offered personal experiences and the way in which these women involved themselves in the discussion lead me to believe that these constructions were informed by their daily experiences of gender and were not due to theoretical understandings.

This study aimed to contribute to rape literature which seeks to gain greater insight about understandings and meaning-making around rape and this was achieved. If we can better understand how rape is understood in our South African context then we can think about ways of challenging and changing those perceptions and hopefully affecting social change. At an individual level I hoped to create a forum from which these men and women could think about and develop their understandings of the roles that they play in contributing to social change. I received an e-mail from one of the female participants which indicated that it had led to her to do this. This was an important part of this research as feminist research strives to affect social and individual change (Letherby, 2003).

On a reflective note, it is important to question the role that I played in the process of research. My presence as a white, female post graduate student styled the ways in which participants related and responded to the topic at hand. I believe that my presence in the male group had the largest effect on the results as they wished to construct notions of themselves and masculinity that were positive in contrast to notions of rapists which were negative. As women are the survivors of rape and men are the perpetrators (as stated in the advert), I believe that these men wished to convey to me that they were not part of this perpetrator group. Thus my results are context specific and cannot be generalised to the population sampled from.

In addition due to the limited sample size and not having a truly representative sample, findings cannot be generalised. Focus groups also lack test-retest reliability as the

same conversation can never be recreated. Further, it is difficult to distinguish between an individual view and a group view as individual behaviour is influenced by group behaviour (Litosseliti, 20030). However, my research aimed to gain greater insight to understandings of rape in a specific context and this is suited to qualitative methodology.

In addition, grounded theory was used on a limited scale and thus it is acknowledged that that a grounded theory analysis should be extended further. Limited time did not allow for the process of theoretical sampling. I recommend that new focus groups be facilitated with the same procedure and that theoretical sampling should be carried out so that further data may be collected and the analysis can be extended.

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APPENDIX A**Participant Information Sheet****Participant Information****Gendered Perceptions of Rape in South Africa**

Thank you for participating in my study which contributes towards my Honours in Psychology. The study will entail the viewing of a media clip. Afterwards we will have a discussion about everyone's thoughts. Two focus groups are being held which consist of first year students, one group with 10 male students and the other group with 10 female students. The study should last no longer than 90 minutes and you will be credited accordingly for SRPP. Once the final research report has been completed, I will e-mail it to each of you. If you wish to make comments about the report please feel free to do so.

The purpose of this discussion is to allow for all of you to share your views on the media clip that will be shown. There are no right or wrong answers, and all of your views are important. I encourage you all to share as much as you wish to. It is important to allow for others to contribute to the discussion without interrupting them. I will be video recording this group discussion so that I do not leave out any of your contributions to the research. Your permission for the use of the video recorder is given upon signing the consent form.

If you are no longer willing to participate in the study you are free to leave at any time without any ramifications. If this is the case you are able to make up your SRPP credit through participating in another study or making an alternative arrangement with the department.

If at any stage you feel distressed or need to talk to somebody, I will refer you to the Student Wellness centre.

Contact details: 021 650 1017

You are welcome to discuss this study with me: Nicola 072 355 9336

APPENDIX B**Consent Form**

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN
DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

CONSENT FORM

I agree to participate in this study. I realise that this information will be used for educational purposes. I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time and that all information will be treated with confidentiality and anonymity. I read the participant information sheet. I understand the intent of the study.

Signed:

Date:

APPENDIX C

Charlize Theron Anti-Rape Advertisement Transcript

“Hi, I’m Charlize Theron. People often ask me what the men are like in South Africa. Well, if you consider that more women are raped in South Africa than any other country in the world, that one out of three women will be raped in their lifetime in South Africa...that every 26 seconds a woman is raped in South Africa...and perhaps worst of all is that the rest of the men in South Africa seem to think that rape isn’t their problem. It’s not that easy to say what the men in South Africa are like...because there seem to be so few of them out there” – Charlize Theron.

To view: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5oZpuY97i_k

APPENDIX D

Interview Schedule

Opening question:

I would like to briefly go around the group and have each of you tell us your name, where you come from and what you are studying at UCT.

Introducing questions:

- What do you think about this advert?
- What was your first reaction to this advert?
- What does this advert make you feel?

Key questions:

- What do you think Charlize is trying to get across in this advert?
- What are your thoughts on her argument?
- Do you think that rape is a problem in South Africa? Why, and for whom?
- Who is responsible for rape?
- What does rape mean?

Transitioning questions:

- That is a very interesting view point; does anyone have any other views...?
- Does anyone else have something to say on this topic?

Probing questions:

- Do you have any other thoughts about this advert?
- Could you say more about...?
- We have been talking about...could we now move on to...?

Ending questions:

- What do you think the most important aspect of today's discussion was?
- Have we missed anything...?

APPENDIX E

Demographics Sheet

Participant Demographics

Name:

Age:

Gender:

Race:

Year at UCT:

Course of Study:.....

Nationality:

First language:.....

Email address:.....

During your school years or thereafter, here at university or elsewhere, have you ever attended workshops, lectures, or classes related to issues of gender and gender relations?

If so, please give brief details:

.....
.....

Is there anything you would like to add about your experience of this study, that you felt you couldn't add in front of the group?

.....
.....
.....
.....

Did you have any concerns about this study?

.....
.....

APPENDIX F**Plagiarism Declaration****PLAGIARISM DECLARATION**

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is using another's work and to pretend that it is one's own.
2. I have used the American Psychological Association (APA) as the convention for citation and referencing. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this research project from the work, or works of other people has been attributed and has cited and referenced.
3. This research project is my own work.
4. I have not allowed, and will not allow, anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.
5. I acknowledge that copying someone else's assignment or essay, or part of it, is wrong, and declare that this is my own work

SIGNATURE: _____

DATE: _____

APPENDIX G

SAJP Instructions to Authors



South African Journal of Psychology

Instructions to authors

Submitting a manuscript

SAJP is a peer-reviewed journal publishing empirical, theoretical and review articles on all aspects of psychology. Articles may focus on South African, African or international issues. Manuscripts to be considered for publication should be e-mailed to sajp@up.ac.za. Include a covering letter with your postal address, email address, and phone number. The covering letter should indicate that the manuscript has not been published elsewhere and is not under consideration for publication in another journal. An acknowledgement of receipt will be e-mailed to the author (within seven days, if possible) and the manuscript will be sent for review by three independent reviewers. Incorrectly structured or formatted manuscripts, or manuscripts not edited for language, will not be accepted into the review process.

Only one article per author will be published per calendar year. Exceptions to this rule will be at the sole discretion of the editor (with his or her associate editors) in the case of an exceptional article that needs to be published, a special issue where the specific article will make a significant contribution, in writing or responding to a *riposte*, etc.

Authors must please quote the manuscript number in ALL correspondence to the editor.

Revised articles

Where authors are invited to revise their manuscripts for resubmission, it is crucial that the editor be notified (by e-mail) **within three weeks** of the author's intention to resubmit. Author(s) must then submit the revised manuscript **within six weeks from the date of their expressed intention to do so and resubmit within three months**. All articles where this procedure was not followed will automatically be disqualified and removed from the process. Should an author wish to resubmit this article after a longer period, it will be treated as a completely new submission and a new article number will be allocated.

Manuscript structure

- The manuscript should be no longer than 20 pages (5 000 words).
- **First page:** The full title of the manuscript, the name(s) of the author(s) together with their affiliations, and the name, address, and e-mail address of the author to whom correspondence should be sent.
- **Second page:** The abstract, formatted as a single paragraph, and no longer than 300 words. A list of at least six keywords should be provided alphabetically below the abstract, with semi-colons between words.
- **Subsequent pages:** The text of the article should be started on a new page. The introduction to the article does not require a heading.
- **Concluding pages:** A reference list, followed by tables and figures (if any). Each table or figure should be on a separate page. Tables and figures should be numbered consecutively and their appropriate positions in the text indicated. Each table or figure

- should be provided with a title (e.g. Figure 1: Frequency distribution of critical incidents). The title should be placed at the top for tables and at the bottom for figures. The appropriate positions in the text should be indicated.
- Authors are requested to pay attention to the proportions of illustrations, tables, and figures, so that they can be accommodated in a single (136mm) column after reduction, without wasting space.

Manuscript format

- The manuscript should be an MS Word document in 12-point Times Roman font with 1.5 line spacing. There should be no font changes, margin changes, hanging indents, or other unnecessarily complex formatting codes.
- The SAJP referencing style should be adhered to. The referencing style of the SAJP is similar to those used by the British Psychological Society and the American Psychological Association. The American Psychological Association (APA, ver. 5) style guidelines and referencing format should be adhered to.
- Headings should start at the left margin, and should not be numbered. All headings should be in **bold**. Main headings should be in **CAPITAL LETTERS**.
- The beginning of paragraphs is indicated by indenting the paragraph's first line using the tab key on your keyboard, except when the paragraph follows a main or secondary heading.
- Indents are only used for block quotes.
- In the reference list, the first line of each reference starts at the margin; and subsequent lines for each reference are indented.

Language

Manuscripts should be written in English. **As the SAJP does not employ a full-time or dedicated language editor, it is compulsory that manuscripts should be accompanied by a declaration that the language has been properly edited, together with a letter by a certified language specialist, stating the name and address of the person who undertook the language editing. Failure to do so will result in the manuscript being returned to the author. Should the editor not be satisfied with the quality of language usage, in spite of the evidence that the language has been edited, she or he reserves the right to send the article to the a language editor of the Journal's choice and invoice the author(-s).**

Ethics

Authors should take great care to spell out the steps taken to facilitate ethical clearance, i.e. how they went about complying with all the ethical issues alluded to in their study (or studies), either directly or indirectly, including informed consent and permission to report the findings. If, for example, permission was not obtained from all respondents or participants, the authors should carefully explain why this was not done.