

UNDERSTANDING RISK INFLUENCES FOR SEXUAL VIOLENCE
AGAINST WOMEN ON A TERTIARY INSTITUTION CAMPUS IN
SOUTH AFRICA

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Declaration

I hereby declare that the current study is my own work; it is not copied from anyone else's. This study was never submitted to any other institution.

The American Psychological Association (APA) convention is used for referencing and citations.

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ABSTRACT

This qualitative study focused on understanding risk influences for sexual violence against female students at the University of KwaZulu Natal, Westville Campus (formerly the University of Durban- Westville) in South Africa with the aim of suggesting intervention strategies for prevention.

The participants of the study were male and female students at the University. One hour same gender focus group interviews were facilitated by trained Psychology Masters students of the institution in the afternoons after lectures. Interviews for the male groups were facilitated by males and female groups by females. Participants' responses were captured by tape recorders and then transcribed.

Thematic analysis was used to analyse data. The factors that influence sexual violence on campus are discussed within the framework of the Theory of Triadic Influence (TTI). The emergent data of the current study suggested multiple influences for sexual violence within the three streams of influences of the TTI, namely, the intrapersonal, social context and cultural environmental streams of influence.

It emerged that sexual violence was a problem on campus and most incidences were not reported to the University authorities. Participants in the current study also revealed a broader understanding of sexual violence than the current definition of rape. The majority of incidences of rape were reported to occur within the first few weeks of the academic year at parties meant to welcome new students.

At intrapersonal level first year students' inability to adjust to University life, lack of assertiveness, misinterpretation of a woman's friendly behaviour by male as well as alcohol and drug abuse emerged as factors influencing sexual violence against women at the intrapersonal level.

At the social context level, peer influence among male and female students was found to be another contributing factor for sexual violence against women on campus. Depending on the group norms, male students would be pressured into being violent towards their partners. Female students were found to be pressurized into remaining in an abusive relationship.

At the cultural/ environmental level, participants revealed beliefs of men's superiority over women and these were reported to be brought about by socialization in society.

Based on this study recommendations are made for possible interventions to prevent incidences of sexual violence against women in tertiary educational institutions in South Africa. These include orientation programmes for first year students that will assist them adjust to University lifestyle. Life skills education should be aimed at changing men's negative attitudes and aggressive behaviours as these have detrimental effects towards partners. Social events aimed at entertaining students should be closely monitored in order to eliminate every kind of unacceptable behaviour.

1. INTRODUCTION

The United Nations declaration on the Elimination of "violence against women" defines violence against women as "any act of gender-based violence that results in, or is likely to result in, physical, sexual or psychological harm or suffering to women, including threats of such acts, coercion or arbitrary deprivation of liberty, whether occurring in public or in private life" (United Nations, General Assembly, 1993).

Hirschowitz, Worku, and Orkin (2000) give definitions of the different categories of gender-based violence against women; these include: abuse, sexual assault and rape. Abuse can take different forms including economic, emotional, physical or sexual. Sexual abuse is considered to be any unwanted physical invasion of an individual's body that is sexual in nature. This abuse ranges from touching and kissing through to forced oral sex, forced sexual penetration or rape and being forced to perform prostitution and bestial acts.

Sexual assault is defined as unlawful and intentional application of force to another person, or making the person believe that such force will immediately be applied, with the intent to commit the sexual act.

Sampsel, Bernard, Kerr, Persley, et al. (1999) indicate that violence against women is a significant problem at every age across the life span because women are consistently more likely to be targets of physical, sexual, and emotional abuse. Golge, Yayuz, Mderrisolgu and Yayuz (2003) mention that rape is a serious and growing problem in societies all over the world. Sampsel et al. (1999) maintain that fear of violence against women affects all women, not just those who are immediate targets. The prevalence of women abuse imposes clear social constraints on women. This is reflected in the guilt that is the typical response of an abused woman. Women may not be immediately angry at the violation; instead they may feel ashamed because rape myths suggesting that women incite abuse abound (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

1. 1 Definition of rape

According to The Sexual Offences Bill 2006, “the new definition of rape in South Africa indicates that any person (A), who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (B), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape” (Combrinck, 2006, 2).

“This new definition describes ‘sexual penetration’ as any act that causes penetration (to any extent) of the genital organs of one person into the genital organs, anus or mouth of another person, or of any other body part or object into the genital organs or anus of another person ” (Combrinck, 2006, 2). “The definition does not make any reference to the sex of the perpetrator or the victim, nor does it prioritize certain forms of sexual penetration above others. The interest to be protected here is that of sexual and physical autonomy and integrity, and from a policy perspective, the extension of the definition of rape is welcomed” (Combrinck, 2006, 2).

Contrary to popular belief, the majority of rapes are not committed by strangers, but rather by an acquaintance, a relative, a friend or other trusted person (Randall & Haskell, 1995 cited in Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002).

1.1.1 Types of rapists

Holmes (1991) differentiated between four types of rapists, namely: the power rapist, anger rapist, sadistic rapist and the date rapist.

The *power rapist* suffers from a great sense of insecurity; he has an overwhelming fear of impotence and doubts about his own masculinity. He always compensates for these feelings of inadequacy by controlling others. This rapist believes that women like to be raped and often dates women prior to raping them.

The *anger rapist* believes that he must retaliate for an imagined wrong or loss. This type of rapist usually feels some type of conflict that impels him to assault a victim. These attacks are often unplanned, explosive attacks directed toward randomly selected victims.

Sex is the weapon used and the rapist will vent his rage and anger by beating and degrading his victim.

The *sadistic rapist* seeks revenge for punishment from another person by the use of violence and cruelty. The victim is typically only a symbol of the source of anger. The

The *gang rapist* rapes in the company of his peers. Reducing the victim to the low status of an object, the gang rapist seeks confirmation of his own masculinity and expresses power and authority over another person, validating his superior position.

The *date rapist* is someone who is known to the victim and who forces unwanted sexual advances on her.

1.2 Consequences of rape

Rape affects all women, regardless of whether they are personally raped or not because they fear rape, they take precautionary measures which limit their freedom (Vogelman, 1990). Sexual and physical abuse experienced at a younger or older age, have been linked to a variety of psychological, behavioral and physical problems. Finkelhor and Browne (1985) mention that studies with adult women have demonstrated that a history of child sexual abuse is related to later *psychological problems* such as depression, anxiety, and substance abuse. Similarly, victims of adult sexual abuse exhibit a broad spectrum of psychological problems that include depression, anxiety, somatization, substance abuse, and post traumatic stress disorder (Winfield, George, Swartz & Blazer, 1990).

Disturbances in the victim's *behaviour* may also be noted and could include crying more than usual, restlessness, agitation, poor concentration, excessive alertness and watchfulness and increased washing behaviour because of a persistent feeling of being dirty after the rape (Frazier & Borgida, 1985).

Campbell, Ahrens and Courtney (2004) reveal in their recent studies that sexual victimization may be linked with risky sexual behaviours. Women with histories of sexual abuse and/ or adult sexual abuse have been found to have more sexual partners, to be more likely to engage in high- risk practices, for example, unprotected anal sex, and to

be more likely to have multiple STD infections in their lifetimes compared with women who have not been sexually victimized. Hence, this increases the risk of HIV infection. Campbell et al. (2004) mention that the reasons behind the association between sexual victimization and increased sexual risk behaviours are not well understood, but it is possible that the increased distress, self-blame and societal blame that stem from being raped may contribute to risk –taking behaviour.

Holmes (1991) mentions different categories of consequences of rape for the victim. These include personal, social and economic consequences. A victim may experience feelings of guilt, shame, and responsibility for the crime- as if she invited it. These may be coupled with social withdrawal and retreat. A victim may install extra security measures with the belief that these would deter an attack in future.

The *physical symptoms* of the rape victim may include general bruising and pain from the physical attack on various parts of the victim's body, tension headaches, fatigue and sleep disturbances, eating disturbances, nausea, stomach aches or gastrointestinal irritability, vaginal pain and/or discharge (James & Gilliland, 2001).

Academic performance may also be adversely affected. Frinter and Rubinson (1993) in their study on women students reported that 37.1 % of the sample who experienced sexual assault reported a decrease in academic performance level after the incident; some reduced their course load while others suspended their studies for varying lengths of time.

1.3 Rape Myths

Holmes (1991) describes rape myths as existing for the purpose of legitimizing it. Some of the rape myths include: -

Rape is a crime caused by uncontrollable sex drive. This would mean that perpetrators cannot control their sex drive and they do not have partners with whom they can negotiate for sex. To the contrary, Holmes (1991) mentions that this argument is not valid because all men in prison for serial rape and even murder involving rape are either married or otherwise have available sex partners.

A second myth is that *women can resist rape if they want to*. This suggests that women allow themselves to be raped and can stop it before it happens. It also tends to put the blame on the victim.

There is also a belief that *rapes are committed by strangers*. This myth suggests that women should always be in the company of their acquaintances in order not to be raped, and that coercive sexual intercourse with someone you know is unlikely to be referred to as rape.

Some women hold on to a belief that *rape cannot happen to them* (Holmes, 1991). This is based on a false assumption that it is only attractive women that are likely to be raped. Holmes warns that it must be remembered that rape is a crime of violence and not of sex, and sexual attractiveness is not a selective trait used by rapists when they are stalking their victims.

1.4 Prevalence of rape in South Africa

Rape is a traumatic experience and sensitive issue, and may be under reported to the police and also to fieldworkers during surveys. Hence available data on rape cases has to be interpreted with caution. Holmes (1991) mentions that rape is one of the most underreported crimes committed as it is accompanied by degradation and violence. Victims who are brave enough to report are likely to go through more trauma with their encounter with the police, the investigation of the crime and the ordeal of the trial which may include rudeness and poor treatment by the police (CIET, 2000).

Further, many women do not report because they have lost hope and belief that the perpetrator will be convicted. Few rape cases go to court; for example, in Soweto police stations these range between 5% and 50%, (CIET, 2000).

Other reasons for not reporting rape are that victims may be fearful of reprisal, of being blamed, that police may not be able to solve the problem and may not take the incident seriously and that they may not be able to identify the perpetrator (Hirschowitz, Worku & Orkin, 2000).

Notwithstanding the above, there is still a high prevalence of rape cases that are reported in South Africa. According to Wood, Maforah and Jewkes (1998), violent practices against women in South Africa has been described as endemic in the sense that they are widespread, common and deeply entrenched.

Adar and Stevens (cited in Petersen, Bhana & McKay, 2005) mention that South Africa is reported to have one of the highest rates of sexual violence in the world, with estimates suggesting that 119 per 100 000 females are raped per year (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1997).

The figures in Crime Information Analysis Centre (CIAC, 2003) reveal that 52 000 cases of rape and attempted rape were reported in South Africa during 2002. They also provide a breakdown of rapes per age category with 41% of rapes occurring in girls under the age of 18 years, with a rape ratio of 220 per 100 000 of the female population in this age range.

Female rape victims thus range from young girl children to adult women. Available survey data indicates that approximately 1,6 % of South African women report rape before the age of 15 years, with children in 10 – 14 year age category facing the highest risk of victimization, with most rapes being perpetrated by a person who is known to the child (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

According to the UNAIDS (2004) fourth global report, from an early age, many young women experience rape and forced sex. About 25% of women between ages 15 – 24 years of age in Kwa- Zulu Natal, South Africa reported that they had been tricked or persuaded into their first sexual experience. This was seen as a serious concern as violent or forced sex can increase the risk of transmitting HIV, because forced vaginal penetration commonly causes abrasions and cuts that allow the virus to cross the vaginal wall easily.

1.5 Prevalence of rape in tertiary educational institutions

Paul, McManus and Hayes (2000) assert that there has been an increase of research focus on young adolescents' and young adults' sexual attitudes and behaviours. This has been due to the threat of young people's high risk of contracting HIV/AIDS. Paul, McManus and Hayes (2000) maintain that adolescents and young adults engage in high risk behaviours namely, unprotected sex, have more than one sex partner and consume alcohol such that their judgment is impaired. It is argued that these behaviours are at high levels at college campuses where most students' lifestyle is described as promoting sexual permissiveness and multiple sexual partners (Paul et al., 2000).

1.5.1 International Studies

An overview of the statistics pertaining to campus rates of sexual assault brings one to the conclusion that sexual aggression is common in tertiary institutions. The results of a study by Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski (1987) across 32 United States colleges, showed high incidence and prevalence rates of sexual violence perpetrated against the women respondents. Since the age of 14 years, 53% were victims of some form of sexual abuse with 27% reporting that they had been victims of rape or attempted rape.

Wilson, Calhoun and Bernat (1999) conducted surveys on college women in the United States and found that 54% of women surveyed reported experiencing some form of sexual victimization – that is rape, attempted rape, and sexual coercion. Of the college men surveyed, 25% admitted to some type of sexually aggressive behaviour. The results also revealed that 57 % of the rapes occurred on a date, and 87% of the women indicated that they knew their assailants.

1.5.2 Institutions in South Africa

There is paucity of studies on rape on campuses in South Africa. Daniels (2002) studied perceptions of sexual harassment amongst Stellenbosch University students. The results revealed that students in general did not have a clear understanding of what kind of conduct constitutes sexual harassment. In particular, women in the survey consistently viewed more incidents as contributing to sexual harassment than men.

Hoffman (2002) conducted a study that was aimed at quantifying the number of traumatic events experienced by Technikon Pretoria male and female students. Females reported a significantly higher incidence of the experience of unwanted sexual activity on campus than males.

At the University of Cape Town, a committee of Enquiry into sexual harassment was established in response to a concern that sexual harassment and violence against women were occurring on campus. Ramphela, Molteno, Simons and Sutherland (1991) observed that a variety of sexual violent acts exist at this institution and that the single greatest problem that needed to be addressed was that of community tolerance for sexually harassing behaviour. Rampele et al. (1991) found that 45% of female respondents reported having experienced some form of sexual harassment within one month of being at university. Over 70% of these experiences occurred more than once and none of them were reported to any university authority, although most of them were reported to friends or family members. Victims' reasons for not reporting sexual harassment were because the incident of sexual harassment was not regarded as "serious enough". While the majority of the incidents occurred during orientation week, over a third of incidents took place during normal university activities. When these experiences occur repeatedly, unnoticed, ignored and unchallenged, this is likely to send a message to both male and female students that women can be treated with a lack of respect and also violently as it does not matter to anyone. This tolerance is likely to exacerbate sexual violence on campus.

At the University of Transkei, Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) conducted a study aimed at assessing students' perception of what constitutes sexual harassment, to determine students' experiences of sexual harassment and to find out whether there are any significant gender-related differences in the perception and experience of sexual harassment. Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) mention that this study was conducted because sexual harassment has become a serious problem in educational institutions. At the University of Transkei Mayekiso and Bhana (1997) mention that sexual harassment was

prevalent in this institution but very few cases were reported formally; for example, in 1996 only 4 cases of attempted rape were reported.

The results of this study suggested that there were significant gender- related differences in the perception of what constitutes sexual harassment as females identified more categories of sexual harassment than males. Furthermore, the results indicated that students tend to be tolerant of and accept behaviour that constitute sexual harassment like “sexually loaded noises” and the majority of males did not consider ‘derogatory remarks about women to constitute sexual harassment (Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997). It was during week-ends and at female residences of the institution that students felt unsafe. Sexual harassment of students by academic staff was also reported; this was perceived as an abuse of power in the lecturer- student relationship.

With a high prevalence of rape across all ages, this issue should be perceived as one of the most serious public health issues given its detrimental effects on individuals’ lives, including the possibility of HIV infection. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) maintain that the magnitude and complexity of the problem of rape is such that addressing it requires a committed multi- sectorial partnership response of different sectors in society. Currently the focus is on the management of the few cases that are reported to the police, with the assumption that giving harsh sentences to convicted perpetrators will deter further incidences of rape.

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) assert that although this approach is of great importance, it needs to be seen as part of an overall strategy as only a few cases are reported. Hence, the overall strategy of solving the problem of sexual violence against women would include interventions to prevent the occurrence of rape that focus on the main causal and contributory factors (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

1.6 Conclusion

Sexual violence against women is a world wide problem that is particularly acute in South Africa. Some perpetrators of rape are never convicted because only a few cases are reported. Victims suffer the painful experience of the crime, emotionally; psychologically

and physiologically. Expanding the definition of rape should result in more men being convicted but an urgent need for prevention intervention strategies are highlighted. Given the high prevalence of rape and forced sex in South Africa, particularly amongst young women, as well as the paucity of studies on sexual violence on tertiary institution campuses in South Africa, this study aims to develop an in depth understanding of the factors influencing sexual violence on one tertiary educational campus as well as students' understanding of sexual violence with the view to making recommendations for prevention interventions.

CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the theoretical framework to be used in the study, namely, the Theory of Triadic Influence (TTI), as well as the previous literature on factors that make men become perpetrators and women victims of sexual violence. These factors will be discussed within the framework of the TTI. Previous literature on intervention programmes will also be discussed.

2.2 *The Theory of Triadic Influence*

TTI is a health theory that explains three streams of influences of human behaviour, namely the intrapersonal stream of influence, situation context/ social normative stream of influence and cultural/ environmental stream of influence (Flay & Petraitis, 1994). The TTI helps us to understand what interventions may be needed to mitigate negative influences and strengthen protective influences.

The TTI was deemed appropriate for providing a theoretical framework within which to understand the risk influences for sexual violence against women as it understands risk influences as operating at multiple levels. Flay and Petraitis (1994) mention that some theories of health behaviour focus on proximal cognitive predictors of behaviour, some focus on expectancy – value formulations, some focus on social support and bonding process, some focus on social learning processes. The theory of triadic influence (TTI) is comprehensive in that it integrates constructs from a number of health promotion theories.

This theory seeks to understand health related behaviour (HRB) as a product of multiple streams of influence. These influences include *intra-personal level influences*, an intra-personal stream linked to biology/ personality which influences self- determination/ control and social skills leading to self-efficacy; *situation context/ social normative level influences*, a social normative stream linked to social situation-contextual influences

including social bonding and social learning influencing social normative beliefs; and *cultural/ environmental level influences*, a cultural attitudinal stream linked to cultural environmental influences on knowledge and values, informing attitudes (Flay & Petraitis, 1994).

Flay and Petraitis (1994) maintain that the TTI includes the assumption that health related behaviours are most immediately controlled by decisions or intentions, and that decisions to perform health- promoting or health compromising behaviours are a function of one's attitude towards performing the HRB, social normative pressures to perform HRBs, and perceptions of self- efficacy in performing HRBs.

Another assumption of the TTI is that intrapersonal influences are thought to originate in inherited dispositions and personality characteristics and flow through health related self- efficacy. Social influences are thought to originate in a person's current social situation or immediate micro-environment and flow through factors that affect social normative beliefs regarding HRBs. Attitudinal influences are believed to arise from the broad cultural or macro-environment and flow through factors that affect health-related values, knowledge, expectations, and evaluations regarding the personal, financial and social consequences of HRBs (Flay & Petraitis, 1994).

The TTI contends that attitudinal, social, and intrapersonal influences independently and interactively affect decisions to act or not to act in a certain way. The theory is also intended to account for factors that have direct as well as indirect effects on behaviour (Flay & Petraitis, 1994).

2.2.1 Intrapersonal level Influences

The TTI recognizes that inherited traits and personality dispositions contribute to health-related decisions and behaviours. This is based on an observation that two people under similar social conditions and with similar attitudes toward HRBs might not make identical decisions regarding HRBs. The TTI takes the position that one's general ability to control one's behaviours and emotions are likely to lead to greater self- determination

(Flay & Petraitis, 1994). According to the TTI, extroversion/introversion and sociability are thought to contribute to HRBs by shaping health-related skills. Introversion and weak sociability are thought to have an adverse effect on a person's general social competence and this will in turn affect the person's perceptions of his or her skills at performing HRBs (Flay & Petraitis, 1994).

2.2.2 Situation context/ Social normative Influence

Social normative influences originate in an individual's more immediate social setting, and consist of factors that are thought to affect HRBs by shaping the perceived social pressures to adopt a given HRB. The social normative stream assumes that one's HRBs are influenced by observation and imitation of attitudes and behaviours of other people with whom one is most closely bonded (Flay & Petraitis, 1994). This assumption is derived from Bandura's social learning theory. The TTI assumes that perceived norms and motivation to comply combine to affect social normative beliefs directly, and so shape decisions to adopt a particular HRB indirectly (Flay & Petraitis, 1994).

2.2.3 Cultural / environmental level influences

According to the TTI broad socio-cultural or environmental factors influence the shaping of HRBs through contributing to health knowledge, values, expectations and evaluations. The TTI contends that health related beliefs and personal values converge to shape attitudes toward HRBs.

2.3 Review of relevant literature on risk influences for sexual violence

2.3.1 Intrapersonal level Influences

2.3.1.1 Social Competence

a) Poor Communication skills

Koralewski and Conger (1992) conducted a study at Purdue University, Indiana to investigate the relationship between sexual coercion and social competence with 64 college males aged between 18 and 23. Only males who reported that they had been sexually coercive were included in this study with the aim of determining if their sexual coercion was due to their poor social skill which is basically communication.

This study found that men do not use sexual coercion against women because they do not have the appropriate skills to negotiate for sex and suggests that there are other factors that drive them to do so. Likely factors suggested by Koralewski and Conger (1992) include dis-inhibiting factors like alcohol and other personality features.

Testa, VanZile, and Livingston (2007) conducted a longitudinal study among a sample study of 927 women, aged 18-30, in Buffalo area, New York, with the aim of determining the likelihood of women's sexual victimization subsequent to alcohol abuse, sexual activity and sexual assertiveness. The study was conducted between May 2000 and April 2002 and consisted of three 2-hr sessions of computer-assisted self interviews on women's social experiences. Women's low sexual refusal assertiveness was found to make her more vulnerable to sexual coercion by an intimate partner and such women were also found to be more willing to remain in coercive relationships. (Testa et al., 2007).

Greene and Navarro (1998) conducted a study with 274 undergraduate women of a comprehensive university in the upper west of the US. The study was aimed at examining the relative contributions of protective and risk factors related to victim characteristics and victim behaviours in situations where women are likely to be sexually victimized. The study examined different protective factors that may mitigate vulnerability to sexual abuse among college women. Assertiveness was identified as one of the protective factors. However, Greene and Navarro (1998) argue that assertiveness as a general behavioural tendency may not consistently be a protective factor in sexual victimization situations, hence, a need for situation specific assertiveness which was referred to as assertiveness with the opposite gender. In their study it was revealed that women with low assertiveness when in the company of men are more likely to be victims of sexual violence. These results were interpreted as suggesting that situation –specific heterosexual assertiveness was found to be an important protective factor against sexual abuse (Greene & Navarro, 1998).

In South Africa, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Rose- Junius (2006) conducted a study with rural men in the Eastern Province aimed at determining the prevalence, patterns and factors causing rape of intimate partners as well as women who were non- intimate partners by young men aged between 15- 26 years. Most volunteers were recruited from schools in 70 villages for the Stepping Stone HIV prevention intervention programme. They completed questionnaires in face-to-face interviews over a period of two years. In the interview participants were asked about the usual manner of communication in their relationship with partners in order to establish whether they were verbally abusive towards partners. The results revealed that poorer communication skills by men were significantly associated with risk of raping (Jewkes et al., 2006). However, Koralewski and Conger (1992) argue that poor communication skills and other factors make some men more likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence.

Petersen, Bhana and McKay (2005) conducted a qualitative study in a semi –rural Zulu tribal area outside of Durban in KwaZulu-Natal using ten focus groups of adolescent boys and girls between the ages 14 -16. The study was aimed at investigating factors that cause boys and girls to be perpetrators and victims of sexual violence, respectively. The results of the study found that poor communication skills were reported to be a contributory factor for sexual violence. In this regard, girls were reported to lack assertive and refusal skills as they are generally socialized into adopting a passive role in relation to boys/ men and this made them more vulnerable to rape. Boys reported that girls should learn to refuse firmly instead of sending mixed and confusing messages to boys especially when talking about relationship issues (Petersen et al., 2005).

The literature cited reveal that poor communication skills make some men and women more likely to be involved in sexual violence however; there are other contributing factors like personality features and alcohol consumption. This argument supports the notion that sexual violence could be attributed to a combination of different factors.

b) Risk recognition

Wilson, Calhoun and Bernat (1999) conducted a study with undergraduate women students aged between 15 and 27 years of age at Southeastern University in Georgia, USA. The purpose of the study was to investigate the role of revictimisation in recognizing situations that have a potential of sexual assault in a dating relationship. Participants were instructed to listen to a vignette of a dating situation depicting persistent verbal coercion by a male towards a female. Each participant was instructed to press a button as an indication that the verbal coercion was perceived to have a potential risk of sexual assault. The length of time needed by participants to indicate when a man in the vignette was signaling potential sexual assault was referred to as the decision latency (Wilson, Calhoun & Bernat, 1999). Thereafter, participants completed a series of questionnaires about their own sexual experiences. Participants were grouped into three categories as per their sexual experiences, namely; non victim (NV), single victimization (SV) and revictimisation (RV). Results of the study revealed that revictimised women exhibited longer latencies than both single- incident victims and non- victims who did not differ from each other. These results suggest that revictimised women delay in recognizing and responding to danger signals in sexual interactions (Wilson, Calhoun & Bernat, 1999) suggesting that this poor recognition for the potential for assault is a risk factor.

c) Poor Adjustment

Further, Greene and Navarro (1998) maintain that some women who experience a series of sexual victimization are rendered more vulnerable to revictimization as a result of the process of traumatic sexualisation. Traumatic sexualisation can be hypothesized as a dynamic psychological process in which prior victimization partially influences the subsequent development of behavioural and emotional variables which put them at risk of revictimization. Behavioural variables include negative influences from peers, like having multiple sexual partners and excessive use of alcohol. Emotional variables include depression, anxiety, feelings of powerlessness and feelings of insecurity towards a partner in a relationship (Greene & Navarro, 1998).

d) Use of Alcohol and drugs

DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998) obtained information from the Canadian National Survey (CNS), a project funded by the government that was based on women undergraduate students. The aim of the survey was to investigate the prevalence of women's physical, sexual and psychological abuse by their partners. Among other risk factors, researchers aimed at finding a causal link between alcohol abuse and woman abuse. The results of the study confirmed the link between alcohol abuse and sexual abuse; the more men and women drink, and the more they drink with their partners, the more likely it is that they will be abused sexually. Hence, the physical and sexual abuse increases with the increase amount of alcohol consumption (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998).

Koss's study (cited in Jewkes and Abrahams, 2002) found that 15% of college women reported experiencing completed nonconsensual sexual intercourse since the age of 14; and of these women, 55% indicated that they had been drinking prior to the assault.

Testa et al. (2007) found that drug use was a risk factor for intimate partner victimization as women who use drugs have partners who also use drugs. The results revealed uncertainty about whether sexual victimization occurs because or when the woman is using drugs (Testa et al., 2007).

Local studies reveal similar findings. Jewkes et al. (2006) found that rape of a non partner and partners were both associated with heavy alcohol consumption. Further in a study conducted by King, Flisher, Noubary, Reece, Marais and Lombard (2004) alcohol abuse was found to be related to sexual violence whereas tobacco consumption and other drug use were not.

Drinking alcohol and taking drugs increases the risk of women being raped, probably because it reduces their ability to interpret and act on warning signs and to effectively defend themselves (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002; King et al., 2004).

2.3.1.2 Early Childhood experiences

Messman- Moore and Brown (2004) investigated the influence of childhood maltreatment within the family on adult rape. Participants were women at a public university in the Midwest who were recruited for a study on College Women's Life Experiences. Child sexual abuse (CSA) was defined as contact abuse of a sexual nature before the age of 17 by a relative (Messman- Moore & Brown, 2004).

Results of the study revealed that child sexual abuse (CSA) rarely occurred in isolation from other forms of childhood maltreatment (Messman- Moore & Brown, 2004). CSA was found to be a predictor of adult victimization. Childhood emotional abuse was also found to be a predictor of adult rape. Experiencing multiple forms of child abuse was found to increase vulnerability to adult rape and these negative childhood experiences are likely to result to revictimisation (Messman- Moore & Brown, 2004).

Sanders, Storrs and Moore (1999) found that childhood neglect that did not necessarily include sexual abuse was also associated with sexual victimisation later in life. In their study, 30 College women who had been raped on a date showed significantly higher scores on subscales that assessed negative home environment or neglect compared to a control group. A negative home environment was described as one in which a child experienced depression, dissociation and traumatic experiences that were not necessarily sexual abuse.

The literature cited suggest that women's negative childhood experiences, like childhood sexual abuse, emotional neglect as well as a negative home environment are all contributing factors toward sexual violence.

2. 3. 2 Situation context/ Social normative Influence

According to Flay and Petraitis (1994) the theoretical origins of the situation context stream lie in the assumption that one's own HRBs can be shaped by observing and imitating the attitudes and behaviours of other people to whom one is most closely bonded. Hence in this stream, studies investigating variables like normative behaviours of

peer groups, family situation and peer influence and how they are likely to influence sexual violence against women are reported on.

2.3.2.1 Family Influence

The home situation is an immediate social context that has been found to influence the likelihood of sexual abuse. Petersen et al. (2005) conducted a study in a relatively underdeveloped area outside Durban, KwaZulu Natal where youth were often alone at home while elders in the family were at work. Petersen et al. (2005) maintain that parents' absence from home makes girls and boys, especially after they have reached puberty, more vulnerable to victims and perpetrators of rape. Father absence leaves boys without adequate role models in the home and girls are often vulnerable to the lack of an adequate adult protective shield (Petersen et al. 2005).

King et al. (2004) found similar findings in the Eastern Cape that living with one parent was related to sexual abuse. King et al. (2004) suggest that the results highlight the important parental role in protecting and controlling the youth, the absence or lack thereof makes the youth more vulnerable to risky behaviours.

2.3.2.2 Peer Influence

DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998) mention that in Canada, College men were found to be highly influenced by peer groups. Peer groups in this context refer to attachments to male peers and the resources that these men provide which encourage and legitimate woman abuse (DeKeseredy, 1990, as cited in DeKeseredy, 1998). The results of the Canadian National Survey (CNS) revealed that male peers are seen as influential in that they are a source of support financially, emotionally, academically and socially.

2.3.2.3 Role models

Rape behaviour may be linked to the aggressive sexual socialization of men. Some young men idolize males who use their sexuality to act out violent and aggressive behaviour, regarding them as their role models (Ring & Kilmartin, 1991). As a result, some boys and

men not only become desensitized to violence but also have problems distinguishing aggressive behaviour from sexual behaviour.

Vogelman (1990) mentions that a boy who is raised in a violent home, learns that violence is normal, is a simple means to get what he wants and to control the behaviour of others. Hence, this belief manifests itself when, as an adult, he forces a woman into a relationship by raping her. Using Bandura's theory of modeling, it is likely that violent behaviour of fathers is frequently modeled by their sons. This is especially significant in their sons' relations with women, since the violence was directed to their mothers (Vogelman, 1990).

2. 3. 3 Cultural / environmental level influence

2.3.3.1 Patriarchal attitudes as a causal influence for sexual violence

DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998) argue that patriarchy is comprised of 2 elements, namely, structure and ideology. Structurally, patriarchy is a hierarchical social organization in which males have more power and privileges than women. Patriarchal ideology is the belief that it is natural and right that women be in inferior positions than men. Societal patriarchy is evident at the societal level and familial patriarchy refers to male control in domestic and intimate relationships (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998). Familial patriarchy insists on women's obedience, respect, loyalty dependency, sexual access, and sexual fidelity. These are understood to be closely related and they strongly influence each other. Men who believe in patriarchal beliefs and attitudes have been found to more likely engage in sexual, physical, and psychological abuse against women (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998).

Koralewski and Conger (1992) conducted a study in Indiana with the aim of investigating what influences men to rape women. The study measured men's attitudes towards women. The results revealed that men who uphold traditional roles and who lack empathy for women in sexual relationships are more likely to be sexually aggressive in their relationships. Further, sexually aggressive men were holding on to rape myths and were accepting of interpersonal violence (Koralewski & Conger, 1992).

Sims, Noel and Maisto (2007) conducted a study on 213 male and female students at a university in the southeastern United States of America. The aim of the study was to investigate how male and female students attribute blame for rape by reading vignettes on 4 rape scenarios. Participants read scenarios which depicted different conditions, namely, presence of alcohol – meaning the victim appeared to be intoxicated; a scenario in which there was no signs of alcohol consumption by the victim; high resistance whereby the victim pushes the perpetrator and shouts at him to stop. The low resistance scenario portrays a situation where there was mutual kissing and later the victim told the perpetrator to stop but he continued to have sex with her (Sims et al., 2007).

Both male and female participants answered questions that required them to decide who was to blame for each of the rape incidents, the perpetrator or the victim. Further, correlation of participants' attitude towards women and attribution of blame in these scenarios was investigated. Results of the study revealed that participants who endorsed more traditional roles towards women, regardless of gender, were more likely to blame the victim for the rape incident. The female was held more responsible when alcohol was present than when it was not (Sims et al., 2007). Sims et al. (2007) mention that participants put more blame on the victim if she drank too much alcohol; this was deemed to indicate that she wanted sex when in fact this was not necessarily the case.

These studies suggest that patriarchy is associated with different forms of violence against women. Men who hold on to traditional roles and rape myths are more likely to be sexually aggressive in their relationships. There is evidence of victim blaming and rape being an expression and an assertion of men's power and control over women.

In South Africa, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) maintain that rape, like domestic violence, is both a manifestation of male dominance over women as well as an assertion of that position. This does not imply that men are naturally aggressive, but emphasizes the idea that they want to be superior and in control of women. Furthermore, it reinforces the belief that men have sexual entitlement over women. This notion features strongly in the dominant social constructions of masculinity in South Africa. This is evident in African culture where a man has to pay *lobola* in exchange for a wife. This practice is seen as

giving men power and dominance over women. This is part of being a new bride as women report that they believe they have to give in to a man's demand for sex whenever he wants it (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

In support of these assertions, Dallimore (2000), in a study of adolescent risk taking behaviour in KwaZulu Natal, found that adolescent girls are submissive and are controlled by their partners to such an extent that they cannot insist that they engage in protected sex with their partners as this may result to a violent reaction. Most women reported that they rely on their partners for their basic economic needs and personal protection, thus making it even more difficult to negotiate for safer sex (Dallimore, 2000).

Further, Wood and Jewkes (2001) in an ethnographic study on relationships of young people found that young men deployed the use of sexual violence to ensure sexual availability, to discourage or punish infidelity, to assert control over the commencement and ending of sexual relationships and discouraged attempts to undermine the boyfriend's success in having relationships with other women.

In addition, Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman, et al., (2005) conducted an anonymous survey in Cape Town, South Africa to examine HIV risks among 412 men who were reported to have been sexually violent to women. Results of the survey revealed that such men were younger; they had multiple sex partners, they could exchange money for sex and were found to be more likely to endorse rape myths.

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) found that women in South Africa are also coerced into sex in the workplace. Some women working in farms at Mpumalanga, South Africa, were reported to have been forced to have sex with leaders of workers' groups in order to be employed, and to avoid mistreatment and dismissal when already employed. Further, girls have also been reported to have been threatened with failing examinations or getting poor marks if they refused to have sex with their teachers (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) maintain that rape in South Africa needs to be understood as a problem of gender-based violence that is influenced by a culture of violence in this society. In this regard, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) suggest that the very high prevalence of sexual violence reflects a high level of social tolerance to the crime. This is evident in the lenient sentence handed down by judges and magistrates in the few cases that get reported; the tendency of victims not to report the crime; and the tendency to protect young girls from rape. Further, young boys are not taught either at home or at school to respect women's rights to withhold consent from sex (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The Community Information, Empowerment and Transparency (CIET) investigators refer to this as a culture of violence, (CIET Africa, 2000 cited in Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Transactional relationships which are common in South Africa have also been found to be a mechanism for men to exert their masculinity. It enables them to have violent and controlling relationships as well as multiple partners. Dunkle et al. (2007) investigated the prevalence and predictors of transactional relationships with casual and main girlfriends of men in the rural villages of Eastern Cape, South Africa. Participants were enrolled in Stepping Stones, a HIV intervention programme. Transactional relationships are described as sexual relationships strongly motivated by an exchange of material resources and financial gain. Such relationships provide basic needs and also have potential for causing and sustaining power imbalances within relationships (Luke 2003 cited in Dunkle et al., 2007). Further, due to these material gains women tend to maintain these relationships despite the physical and sexual abuse they experience. Data was collected from participants by assessing transactional sex with casual partners and transactionally motivated relationships with main partners. Results of the study revealed that there were fewer men who reported having transactional relationships with the main partner. And the direction of the exchange could be from men to women as well as from women to men.

Dunkle et al. (2007) further investigated the associations of these material exchanges with gender-based violence by measuring participants' traditional beliefs towards

women, revealing a high association between perpetration of gender based violence and transactional relationships with a main partner. Furthermore, men who reported to be getting material resources from women were found equally likely to exert some controlling and violent behaviour towards their partners in their relationships (Dunkle et al., 2007).

2.3.3.2 Patriarchal attitudes as a factor for not reporting rape

Ahrens (2006) maintains that the decision to not report rape is attributed to the manner in which the victim is handled. The study focused on a qualitative narrative of eight rape victims. The results revealed that insensitive questioning and harshness from the professionals, friends and family led to feelings of shame, regret, and loss of trust for the professional's support and uncertainty about whether the incident would be viewed as rape.

Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) in a study of the epidemiology of rape in South Africa found that many rape cases are not reported. Victims of sexual violence experience many barriers to reporting to the police. For some women it is not easy to get to the police station and present convincing evidence for the case.

Those who report are often intimidated by the perpetrator. Police were reported to be harsh when dealing with victims of sexual abuse. This kind of behaviour may be attributed to victim-blaming attitude on the part of personnel within the criminal justice system.

Furthermore, this study also revealed that there is corruption in courts; some perpetrators are never sentenced as dockets are "lost" (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). The few perpetrators that are tried are given lenient sentences and this is likely to make the victim believe that rape is not a serious crime.

Results of these studies suggest that reporting of rape in South Africa is traumatic and that it is unlikely that more cases will be reported unless there is an improvement in the

handling and dealing with victims of sexual violence. A holistic approach that involves all stakeholders should be implemented in trying to encourage victims to report perpetrators of sexual violence.

2.3.4 Conclusion

The literature reveals that there are multiple risk influences within each of the three streams of influence within the Theory of Triadic Influence which render some men and women at risk for becoming perpetrators and victims of sexual violence. There are, however, few studies which have attempted to understand the problem of sexual violence from an ecological systemic perspective. Further, there is a paucity of studies investigating sexual violence on tertiary educational campuses in South Africa. Using the TTI as a theoretical framework, this study therefore aims to develop in-depth understanding of the factors that influence some men and some women to be perpetrators and victims of sexual violence on one identified university campus and an understanding of what constitutes sexual violence, with the view to making recommendations for intervention strategies to prevent these incidences in similar contexts.

3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction to methodology

This section provides an overview of the aims and objectives, research design and the methods used in understanding the multiple level influences for sexual violence against women on one university campus. The target site and sample are also described.

3.2 Aim and objectives of the Study

3.2.1 Aim

Using the Theory of Triadic Influence (TTI) as a theoretical framework, the aim of this study was to develop an understanding of the factors that influence some males to perpetrate sexual violence and some young women to become victims thereof on one tertiary educational campus with the view to informing prevention interventions. A secondary aim was to understand students' understanding of sexual violence.

3.2.2 Objectives

1. To understand intra-personal level influences for sexual violence against young adult women at an identified tertiary educational campus.
2. To understand situation context/ social normative level influences for sexual violence at an identified tertiary educational campus.
3. To understand cultural/ environmental level influences for sexual violence against women at an identified tertiary educational campus.

3.3 Research Design

This qualitative research was used to generate a deeper understanding of the influences contributing to sexual violence at an identified tertiary educational campus. Qualitative research was suitable for this study as it involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter in an attempt to make sense of or interpret the phenomenon in terms of the meaning people bring to it (Neuman, 1997). Neuman (1997) also mentions that qualitative strategies are more suitable for a research study that focuses on the meanings individuals assign to their experiences as it involves their emotions, motivations and other subjective aspects attached to it.

3.4 Site of study

The study site was the former University of Durban-Westville campus (now integrated into the University of KwaZulu-Natal). It was chosen as a representative tertiary institution campus. It has residences for students on campus and off campus. At the time of data collection, the institution was still the University of Durban-Westville. While previously a historically disadvantaged institution, being a university built to service specifically the Indian population under the apartheid government, the former University of Durban-Westville was open to all race groups since 1984. Although the majority of students at the time of the study were from the Indian and Black African racial groups, the student body comprised of all races, having different ethnic background and religion.

3.5 Participants

The participants of the current study were both male and female students irrespective of race, from different levels of education within the institution. The sample was a volunteer, convenience sample drawn from students studying first level Psychology on the campus. Each participant was given a stipend of R20.00 in appreciation for their time given to participating in the study.

3.6 Data Collection method

Focus group interviews were used as the primary research tool, as they were deemed useful for gaining an in- depth understanding of attitudes, beliefs and perceptions of a specific group of people (Kreuger, 1988).

In a focus group, participants are observed while interacting on a particular topic, and sharing their similarities and differences in personal experiences and opinions. Morgan (1988) maintains that an advantage of the focus group interview structure is that it encourages participants to interact freely and share their ideas on experiences on a particular topic. This makes it possible to get diverse but relevant and valuable information from a group within a short time. However, focus group interviews have

some limitations as Morgan (1988) suggests, with one of them being the possibility of the “herd instinct” where an individual may dominate the group.

The study comprised of three male focus groups and four female focus groups each with ten members, totaling approximately 70 participants in all. Krueger (1988) recommends that members of a focus group should have seven to ten people. This number allows all participants to get an opportunity to share their views. It is a large enough number of people to hold and bring up for discussion different views on a concept.

The topic for discussion of the current study was relatively sensitive; hence it was likely that some participants would find it difficult to express their views on this topic in a one-to-one interview setting. Therefore, the focus group interviews were deemed appropriate as inhibitions that are experienced when discussing such topics could be relaxed (Kreuger, 1988). Furthermore focus group interviews would allow a facilitator to probe further to get more clarity on some aspects on the topic.

The study opted for homogeneity in focus groups with separate male and female groups. Furthermore, participants were all students of approximately the same age group. According to Kreuger (1988), the investigator of the study should decide how homogeneity is established within focus groups depending on the topic for discussion. Patton (1987) asserts that the homogeneity in a focus group involves people who are more or less equally affected by an event under discussion, which would facilitate freedom for participants to express their true feelings about the issues discussed.

Conducting interviews with seven focus groups of males and females could not be handled by only one novice investigator; hence assistance was obtained from the other nine Psychology Masters male and female students at the university. Kreuger (1988) maintains that the facilitator for a focus group should be able communicate clearly about the topic under discussion for a smooth flow of the discussion. Hence, Masters Students were trained in the facilitation skills for the focus group interviews. Furthermore, they

were made aware of the intentions of the study in order that they could comprehend participants' responses.

Another advantage of having fellow students as facilitators was that they are of a similar age to the participants' age group; they appear like, dress and understand the campus lifestyle. These issues were thought to be useful to ease the tension and allow for true expression of what students perceived about the sexual violence on campus.

The current study ensured that the male groups were interviewed by male facilitators and the female groups by female facilitators. This was thought to allow more freedom in expressing views and feelings on sexual violence without fear of intimidation by members of the opposite sex. Williams and Heikes (1993) in their study on the importance of researcher's gender in the interview found that when a sensitive topic is discussed it is recommended to have an interviewer of same gender as participants. The reason was that participants are likely to respond more earnestly without having to avoid offending an interviewer of the opposite gender.

Areas that were explored included perceptions of the influences at the intra-personal level, social context/ social normative level and cultural/ environmental level. A semi-structured interview guide with open ended questions was used to guide the discussion process across all groups (see Appendix A). All facilitators followed this guide. Patton (1987) recommends the standardized open-ended interview as it minimizes variation in the questions asked in different groups. Hence, the data emerging from all interviews should contain responses to similar questions.

3.7 Data Analysis

Thematic analysis was used to analyse the qualitative data. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) mention that thematic analysis requires that a researcher becomes familiar with the data and reflects on it in order to be able to interpret it well. Boyatzis (1998) also mentions that this kind of data analysis is preferred in qualitative studies as it allows an investigator to translate data and be able to communicate it. This means gaining a good

understanding of the emergent data and arranging it such that it answers questions on the phenomenon being studied.

According to Terre Blanche and Durrheim (1999) the process of thematic analysis consists of five steps, namely:-

1. Familiarisation and immersion
2. Inducing themes
3. Coding
4. Elaboration
5. Interpretation and checking

3.7.1 Familiarisation and immersion

This initial step entails a thorough reading of data with the aim of understanding it clearly. This is done in order to understand important issues in the data that emerge from respondents (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

3.7.2 Inducing themes

The focus areas form themes. These issues and concepts emerge recurrently. Boyatzis (1998) explains that such concepts tend to form a pattern in the data. The themes can be further classified into sub-themes (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

3.7.3 Coding

Coding means grouping together meaningful pieces of data under a code heading with the aim of clustering them under a theme. It begins by marking related sections of data and putting them under a relevant theme. These pieces of meaningful data are further analysed alone and also in relation to other clusters (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

3.7.4 Elaboration

It means looking closely into and exploring further the data that has been coded and put under a particular theme. During this step a researcher gets a chance of identifying any

necessary inputs as more clarity of meaning emerges from the data (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999).

A step by step implementation of thematic analysis was used in analyzing the transcriptions. Firstly photocopies of transcripts were made that were to be used in data analysis. The investigator read through all transcripts in order to familiarize herself with the contents. Thereafter some themes were identified and labeled. Encoding was done by cutting straps of the relevant sections of data and classifying them under themes deemed appropriate. These were pasted on large blank pages. After encoding, elaboration ensued whereby the whole analysis was read through again checking for any mistakes in encoding.

3.8 Reliability and Validity Checks

Reliability and validity are essential tests that should be evident in all research studies for them to gain an acceptance in the field of research. Patton (2001) asserts that these are the two important factors to be noted by researchers in conducting their studies. Steps to ensure reliability and validity were employed in the current study.

3.8.1 Reliability

According to Durrheim and Wassenaar (1999) reliability of a study is the degree to which the results of a study are repeatable. Measures to ensure reliability of this study included keeping a detailed account of how the data was collected and analysed. Patton (1987) mentions that such measures in qualitative studies can be ensured by maintaining that tape recordings and transcripts based on them can provide highly detailed and accessible representations of data. In this study, high quality tape recording was ensured and all ends of the tables had speakers to capture all responses from interviewees as these would be important for data analysis. Seven group interviews of one hour each were conducted in the afternoons in a room with no interruptions. The adequacy of transcripts was further maintained by listening to the tapes carefully and noting the intonation in the interviewees' responses. The tapes were kept in a safe place so that correction by an experienced researcher could be made possible.

3.8.2 Validity

Internal validity is concerned with ensuring that we are studying what we intended to study (Durrheim, 1999). This will ensure that the results and conclusions drawn are indeed a true reflection of the study question. To ensure internal validity, the researcher attempts to ensure accuracy of data interpretation and eliminate any kind of subjectivity that may have ensued during the process (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999). To this end, the researcher employed replication logic interviewing 4 female and 3 male focus groups. This was aimed at accumulating sufficient and contextually relevant information on risk influences for sexual violence on campus. Repeating interviews on the same topic with different groups makes the results obtained more robust and trustworthy. Further, peer review by the supervisor was also employed to assess whether the findings were plausible based on the data.

External validity is concerned with whether the results of a study can be generalised to other more or less similar situations. While statistical generalization is not feasible in qualitative studies (Merriam, 2002), detailing sufficient, rich and contextually relevant findings of a study can assist others to assess whether the findings are applicable to other settings and populations. Hopefully this study has provided sufficient detail to enable this to happen.

3.9 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Ethical approval was obtained from the former University of Durban-Westville Ethics Committee. Consent from respondents was voluntary and informed (see informed consent form in Appendix B). Participants were given the opportunity to withdraw from the process at any time should they feel that they no longer wanted to participate. The School of Psychology's counseling services were made available should any specific issues or traumas arise regarding the content of the study.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the emergent themes from both male and female groups. The gender and group number are included where excerpts or quotations are used to illustrate a particular theme.

4.2 Understanding of sexual violence

The results of the focus group interviews with both male and female students suggest a very broad understanding of sexual violence against women which ranges from rape which may include physical aggression to sexual harassment and disrespect of females and their wishes.

With regard to rape this was understood to be possible by a stranger, a partner in a long term relationship or a casual partner.

"I would say it's the physical and intentional sex or sexual intercourse ... when a male has sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent ...um.... It happens in marriages as well in relationships ... and it can happen between two strangers. Right. When a woman is forced sexually to do sexual action and is either hurt around genital area." (Female group3):

"It is sexual intercourse that happens but by force without an agreement."

"(Sexual violence) entails rape and sexual harassment." (Male group4)

Most respondents felt that rape needed to be accompanied by physical aggression to constitute rape.

" It entails sexual abuse, physical abuse, trying to force someone without their consent."(Male group 4)

“It’s when a male forces you to have sex, forcing himself to you violently like beat you up.”(Female group 1)

Sexual violence was also described by some respondents, two female groups, as involving harassment and indecent touching of women by men.

“It happens, or you know someone looking around and grabbing your ass, or you know something like that. I do not know I think men take it for granted that they can just do that they can just walk around town and brush their hand against your boobs.” (Female group 2)

“And sexual violence I think it can be small things like touching your bum.”(Female group 4)

Further some female students felt that men’s disrespect of their wishes in relation to intimacy was indicative of sexual violence.

“ Out of curiosity you go with him and when you get there he kisses you and if you tell him to stop he asks what’s wrong, you know this sexual act is just to get to know each other well. And I think that is violence against women” (Female group 4)

Females seemed to be aware that a kiss is not regarded as sexual violence even though it was non consensual.

“Most of the time people will say what the hell, it was just a kiss, a kiss is just a kiss.”(Female group 4)

One male group raised a concern that the new laws have brought to an end what used to be a normal act of exciting women with no intent of harming them. In their Black culture it was acceptable to pass verbal remarks and appreciate women’s beauty.

" ...I would say there is some interference with our culture...when you see a girl you pass some good remarks just to titillate her... but now you are abusing her (if you do so)".(Male Group 4)

4. 3 Extent of sexual violence on campus

When asked about whether sexual violence is a problem on campus, all groups, both male and female acknowledged the fact that it was a big problem. All groups reported to have heard about it happening in bashes and evening parties organized especially for first year students.

"I think there is (sexual violence) mostly in the bashes" (Female group 3)
: "... it is rare if you are not at bashes."(Female group 3)

"Well. I haven't seen, I haven't witnessed sexual violence but I have heard like a couple of months ago in the first semester, I heard of a case where I think it was a party in residence or something and a girl got raped , but I do not know how true it is..." (Male group 4)

"Ya I have seen it happening, I've seen it there by the sport centre, they gather up in nice with booze, not that I've seen it happening; there are women, guys pick and choose, ya that's how it goes." (Male group 2)

Sexual violence was also reported to be perpetrated by male lecturers who purportedly abused their power by demanding sex in exchange for higher marks. Further female students were reported to be unlikely to report these incidences given unequal power relations.

"You will find male lecturers asking girls to come back to their office. And she knows if she sleeps with him she will get her an A (symbol), so she doesn't want to tell anyone (Female group 1)

“...Well you see she wants her A, so there is nothing I can do about it. So if I go tell, he won't want that he will say it did not happen because he has power.” (Female group 1)

One male group had a different view about the extent of the problem on campus; males feel that if a man responds to a girl's flirtatious behaviour that should not be seen as sexual violence. Further, this group mentioned that dressing provocatively e.g., wearing short skirts, indicated the desire for sexual attention.

“ If they (girls) are tempting men, that is not sexual violence.... If she wears a short skirt and you approach her, you introduce yourself then she says it's sexual harassment”. (Male group 2)

4.4 Non- reporting of sexual violence on campus

Female groups mentioned that female students generally do not seek professional help both medically and emotionally. Instead they were reported to prefer to relate the incident to a trusted friend for advice.

“...(reporting sexual violence) becomes a problem because as women most of the time we are sensitive in some things but we cannot just talk about them. We always want to shout it out so that we can get help; but we just do not do that.” (Female group3)

Female group 4: *“The guy came as though he was helping the girl out because she is lonely...(but ended up raping her). She could not say no because she is a quiet somebody. So I told her to go to the clinic. She doesn't want to speak to anybody there”.*

“ Some friends are very supportive, and you' ll find that we(females) have friends who know the right routes to life and that friend will (advise you) to talk to someone who knows a lot better than I do because this is a huge problem like rape, so there are supportive friends.” (Female group 4)

Further, female groups also reported that women were unlikely to report rape because of a fear that when the incident was reported, the offender would defend himself so well that the victim is not believed.

“She was all over me, she was all over me. That’s what they (males) say; ...and (the authorities) will believe them (males)” (Female group 4)

This reticence to report rape was understood to be reinforced by society and reports in the media on how sexual violence cases are handled which causes women to dread the idea of going through the trauma that appears to accompany reporting.

“ ...and the thought of going to court and losing the case because that happens a lot. Rather keep quiet than exposing yourself.” (Female group1)

“... when they show cases like this going to courts and the lawyers or whoever prosecuting you, is asking questions, they are like forcing you to say, no I deserve it. So you think I do not want to go through this and go over all the gory (details) so I might as well keep quiet.” (Female group 1)

4. 5 Causes of sexual violence against women

There were various reasons cited as the cause of sexual violence against women on campus.

4.5.1 Alcohol and other drugs

Using alcohol was reported to be one of the influences of rape on campus. During bashes (huge parties organized for all students on campus) a high consumption of alcohol by both female and male students was reported. It was during these parties that girls got drunk and were reported to be taken advantage of by males.

“Ya women get drunk too and propose to the guys, when they are drunk they are too easy” (Male group 2)

“... if a girl is drunk it is not easy for her to control her feelings ...even if she is raped she cannot identify the rapist.”(Male group 1)

*“ Men are men even when they are drunk, all we think of girls. She cannot control herself when she is drunk, she wants it more than the guy, the guy cannot say no...”
(Male group 3)*

Men were reported to offer females alcohol as it is known to soften them.

“...because he can get a girl drunk and take advantage of her.”(Female group 1)

“I wanted to say when a man is drunk he can grab a woman any way he likes.”(Female group 4)

Students had access to alcohol even though there was no liquor store on campus. Smoking dagga on campus was also reported to happen and identified as a contributory factor as it can make one sexually aroused.

“It has a huge impact, because once you are high, I do not know how to explain it but sexually, if someone kisses you, you want it quickly. So with them they might sit looking at a girl wearing a short skirt and they feel oh gosh if only I could have her.” (Female group 4)

4. 5.2 Dress and behaviour of female students

Female students were reported to often dress in mini skirts to lectures and also to bashes. Both male and female groups perceived this as women indicating that they wanted sexual attention from men. Provocative behaviour on the part of girls was also viewed as a problem.

“Also it’s the way they dress, the see through dresses transparent. She wears a see-through and a short skirt and you see a big thing there...” (Male group 2)

“It is the way you behave, how you dress and you conduct yourself such that you want to be touched; then men notice and get to know you.” (Male group 1)

“ It is fine to wear a short skirt but what attracts guys is when you are dirty dancing...every man will come after you”. (Female group 1)

4. 5.3 Peer pressure

Negative peer group affiliation and peer group pressure was reported by both male and female to be a contributing factor. Males reported experiencing pressure to have sexual encounters with many girls. A male without a partner was reported to sometimes resort to forcing a sexual encounter with a girl who seemed to be an easy target so as to be able to fit in with the group norms of being sexually active.

“ If you do not have a girlfriend then you are likely to engage in sexual violence , because you just want to have sex.”(Male group 2)

Females similarly attributed sexual violence against women to men’s need to live up to the ideal of having multiple partners.

Peer pressure...it is all about being cool, and how many girls you have slept with.” (Female group 4)

“It’s all about their (males’) ego”. (Female group 4)

Female students were reported to be ridiculed for being virgins and not being able to share any sexual experiences when chatting with a group of friends.

“... when you come to University you want to make new friends because maybe you left old ones at High school... you find that it is an in thing to have sex, you go and do it even if you did not want to so you do it because of peer pressure...” (Female group3)

4.5.4 Heterosexual communication

Male and female students were also reported to misunderstand one another. A friendly girl who befriends a male student was understood to be seeking sexual attention and also seen as an easy type. This was reported to lead to some males approaching these women and demanding sexual favors.

“...some girls are more comfortable making friends with guys and (they are perceived as being easy and seeking sexual attention from guys) and guys think they have to respond to her sexually only to find that she is not there...” (Male group 1)

Females were also reported to lack assertiveness in heterosexual relationships resulting in males not taking seriously what girls say and demanding what they want from them.

The girls because of their background, it is difficult for them to say no to guys even though a guy pushes a girl she doesn't like it and I carry on.”(Male group1)

4.5.5 Mixed gender residences

The campus had residences that accommodate both male and female students who share bathrooms. Students mentioned that this arrangement increased the chance of sexual violence. There was no tight control of access into the residences and people who were not students were reported to come in and stay for as long as they wished without being told to leave the students' residences.

“...in the showers, a male can just peep, and then the next thing he's in the shower and pushes you over...” (Female group 4)

“When I got to the bathroom in Block S residence, there was a girl following me; you know its something that (is uncomfortable).” (Male group 1)

4.5.6 Media on Campus

Female respondents mentioned that the campus media in the form of posters and the campus radio gave out messages which promoted sexual violence. Posters used to inform students about forthcoming bashes and parties showed pictures of half naked women with messages which suggested that girls who attended these events would be sexually available.

“Posters, those bash posters where there is a naked woman, that’s unnecessary.” (Female group 4)

Concerned female students were reported to have complained about such posters to no avail which was felt to reflect how women’s viewpoints and rights were generally not taken into consideration by broader society.

The campus radio was also reported to play music that did not show respect for females and which programmed men into thinking that they needed to have sex with women.

“And the thing is with those posters there’s been so many complains but still they come back and there is another naked woman. That’s the thing I was trying to say, you know, women are ignored in society ...” (Female group 4)

“Music can also create violence because if you think about it if you are in the cafeteria, there’s forever this music. So he thinks, oh pictures, and girls and everything so all he is it’s programming in his mind as it were.” (Female group 4)

4. 5. 7 Adjustment to University life

Most female students were reported to experience adjustment problems during their first year at University. While they were under strict supervision by parents at home and/ or by wardens at boarding schools, on campus there were very few controls and guidance with first year students being particularly vulnerable to being taken advantage of by older male students.

“ ... one thing I experienced at this varsity, you know these third year students males, they take advantage of us because we are first year students because they know we don't know the place they take you somewhere, I' ll show you something.” (Female group 4)

“I think there are first year women... you know ... they attack those young ones because we can't get the old ones. It is easy for them when they get the young ones, they use them and come sexually, and they think these people are jamming there but they just want sex, you know.”(Male group 1)

4. 5. 8 Culture and Socialisation

Patriarchal society which entrenches the belief that males are superior, as well as cultural beliefs and practices which support this view were felt to result in males believing that women should accommodate men's sexual desires.

“ I think in community side everyone is accustomed to that males are more powerful than women, you know and that ends up affecting sexual abuse because when men come everyone knows that they are aggressive or dominate , they use it to their advantage like sexually so. (Male group 2)

Participants felt that the media messages confirm this power imbalance between males and females.

“The media plays a role and men look at TV and stuff and they might feel they have a right to control a woman and tell them what to do.”(Female group 1)

“ Men have to have power and control.” (Female group 1)

4. 5. 9 Accepting violence to maintain a relationship

Female students were reported to accept violence in order to maintain a relationship. This was understood to stem from dependency on the male which extended beyond economic dependency to include emotional and social dependency which became confused with love.

“ Also they are (women) dependent on males.” (Male group 1)

“ ...That is obvious emotional, financial, and social dependency.” (Male group 3)

To some females, physical abuse is mistaken for love; partners who are violent were reported to sometimes be regarded as loving.

“You find that many of the women like to be abused, you know I do not understand about women sometimes because they think it is good when a person abuses you, they feel good about it...” (Male group1)

4.5. 10 Experiences of physical/ emotional/ sexual abuse

A family history where there was physical violence by a father towards the mother was also mentioned as contributing to men behaving aggressively towards others and their partners.

‘ If your parents abused you and that’s how you were brought up you think that’s the way to do things. You can do it to someone else.’ (Male group 3)

“ Even if you know it is wrong then you will have that anger inside you and you can’t take it out on your parents and so you take it out on someone else.” (Male group 1)

Some people have anger inside them for whatever specific reason. Maybe it comes from home, maybe they had a bad childhood, maybe they themselves were molested or things

like that. And it could affect them on campus; they could see a girl and maybe take it out on her.”(Female group 3)

Witnessing or experiencing sexual abuse in a family was also mentioned as a contributory factor to women accepting sexual violence as the norm and not reporting it. A female whose mother did not report a male partner, or a father who sexually abused a daughter as he was a bread winner, was reported to contribute to how such offences were dealt with by women who had had these childhood experiences. Their response to sexual violence was reported to be a learned one of keeping quiet for as long as you are supported financially.

“ Ya some times you find that this girl is used to seeing abuse at home because the mother is also abused. If the mother does not do a thing about it and keep quiet then the girl thinks this is right, and this is what a woman should do” (Male group 3)

“This thing you see is common because you find that the father provides for the family and the mother can see that it is tough without this man then she keeps quiet.” (Female 4)

Adulthood experiences were also mentioned to be contributing factors to sexual abuse. A male who, unlike his peers, experiences continual break-ups in his relationships with girls was reported to likely suffer emotional instability and low self-esteem which may result in aggression towards women.

“When they are not getting enough attention or where if they are joining a group and the boys are getting a lot of attention and they are getting dumped every time they approach someone. I mean that emotional instability could cause them to become violent. I am not saying this would happen to all guys but some people are more sensitive than others; it depends on the individual.” (Female group 3)

4. 5. 11 Sex as commodity

The practice of female students accepting favours in exchange for sex was also reported to be a contributing factor, with men expecting sex in exchange for favours, like commodities as well as drinks etc. Men were reported to feel they are entitled to sex in exchange for these favours and if the woman refuses this could lead to sexual violence.

“Sometimes you find that women want to be in the standard they can't be in. You find that they see a guy driving a nice car, ...I go [with] that guy and I have to be good and please someone and this increases sexual violence. She says no sometimes and the guy says that I bought this and that so you need to give it to me.”(Male group 1)

“ They tend to go and meet these rich guys, and hang around with them and they're gonna buy drinks and stuff ,and then maybe when it's time to go back home and suddenly you just have this conflict because you do not want to give this guy something that he wants in return.”(Female group3)

4. 5. 12 Support Services on Campus

Students were aware that there are support services such as counseling on campus, but reported that female students were unlikely to seek help from these services for fear of being shamed and blamed for the assault. As a result they are more likely to keep the incident a secret.

“ I think this is a big movement to expose and bring everything out, to say I've been abused and I did not stand up for myself but I 'm encouraging you to stand up for yourself. And she does not want people to know. Like it happened to me and I do not want anybody to know. It's like something is stripped off you.”(Female group1)

*: “ ...If I was drunk and I told whoever was counseling me that I was drunk, she would be like well no wonder you got raped. They will think I deserve it because I was drunk.”
(Female group2)*

Further students were also concerned about being seen going to these services as well as having to wait for an appointment, complaining about the lack of availability of staff.

People won't go to the clinic on campus because you are too worried people will find out about or see you or whatever...They will say bad thing about you (Female group1)

"But then you would have to wait for a good couple of hours. And in the mean time you could so easily change your mind." (Female group 4)

" The clinic is like closed half the time, I swear, you go there you and " sorry we are closed for lunch and then you come back later.... "sorry the nurse is really busy , I do not know what she is doing but she is busy." (Female group3)

Respondents also complained about insufficient visibility of security guards on campus.

"There isn't enough security, especially around the venues where toilets are". (Female group3)

"They are always bundled up in one place, that's the problem, they are not all over. They are always either around their office or there at the Senate Chamber."(Female group 4)

4. 6. Suggested Interventions

4.6.1 Increased lighting in all areas of campus

The campus was reported to have had some dark areas that made sexual violence more likely to happen. Improved lighting was suggested

"There are a lot of really dark corners everywhere." (Female group 2)

4.6.2 Workshops, support groups and educational programs,

Workshops to raise awareness amongst men and support groups for women to discuss their fears were suggested.

Maybe have groups like these where we can talk about our feelings and our fears.”
(Female group 1)

“ To strategise workshops, people be taught about things that will affect them. Find things that are entertaining and at the same time preventing this (sexual violence against women). ”(Male group 3)

Participants also felt that it would be a good idea if there could be a compulsory module for all students on issues like sexual violence.

“I suggest that the University offers a module which talk about these things (sexual violence) and which is compulsory for every student. ” (Male group 1)

4.6.3 Improved counseling services

Some female students mentioned that they would find it much easier to be counseled by a counselor of their own age.

“Student counselors. It is easier to talk to a student who is named a counselor because you know that person has been entrusted with your confidentiality. Someone who will only come on campus for counseling would be more acceptable in order to ensure confidentiality”. (Female group 3)

It was also suggested that it would be better if a student counselor was a person from outside campus in order to ensure confidentiality and prevent chances of a victim feeling shameful when they meet.

‘But I think it would be better to get somebody from outside, not from Durban-Westville. ‘Cause if you bump into somebody who was counseling you last night and you just bump into her and you’re like “ oh my gosh, she knows that something happened to me and then you just don’t feel comfortable.”(Female group 3)

4.6. 4 Destigmatizing survivors of sexual violence

Non-reporting was also reported to result from a fear of being known as the victim of sexual violence. Inviting survivors could help other victims to come forward and get necessary help

“We could have people come on campus to speak if they have been raped so that other can get courage to come forward.” (Female group 1)

People who can relate their experiences on sexual violence were viewed as possible role models who could help other victims deal with their experiences.

“ I think they do not become victims anymore they become heroes because she was strong enough to out and tell other people that it happened.”(Female group 1)

4. 6. 5 Tighter control on access into residences

Visitors were allowed into residences but it was suggested that there needed to be more control in terms of access into the residences. After ten o'clock in the evening all visitors, especially non-students, were expected to vacate residences but there were no strict measures undertaken to ensure this.

“They do not check there after 10 pm. No one comes to check because some guys stay with their girlfriends.”(Female group 4)

4.6.6 Conclusion

Both male and female participants shared their understanding of what constitutes sexual violence against women, the factors that made some men and some women more likely to be involved. Participants suggested intervention strategies for eliminating sexual violence on campus. Strategies were focusing on individual students and the physical environment of the campus.

It was noted that although participants were responding to guiding questions from facilitators they were interacting freely without any fear of intimidation from the opposite gender.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers a discussion of the emergent data reported in the results section in relation to the literature. The themes are discussed using the TTI as a broad theoretical framework. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future research and programmes to prevent sexual violence against women on tertiary educational campuses in South Africa as well as limitations of the study.

5.2 Understanding of sexual violence

Sexual violence was described by participants in this study as males having sex with a woman without her consent; it may involve physical abuse, sexual harassment and fondling. Sexual violence was understood to occur between intimate partners, strangers and also acquaintances. This understanding was broader than the current definition of rape described as “any act that causes penetration (to any extent) of the genital organs of one person into the genital organs, anus or mouth of another person, or of any other body part or object into the genital organs or anus of another person” (Combrinck, 2006, 2).

5.3 Intrapersonal Factors

Participants mentioned how a person’s sense of self and social skills made some men and some women more likely to be perpetrators and victims of sexual violence on campus.

5.3.1 Adjustment to University life

It emerged that first year students in particular face a huge challenge of adjusting to University life. There are huge parties in which there is high consumption of alcohol and the parties continuing for the whole night without strict monitoring by the University authorities. It is during these parties where it was reported that there is a high risk for sexual violence.

Furthermore, it emerged that it is a big adjustment for first year students to come from a home environment where there was parental monitoring and control to having little monitoring as they are expected to take full responsibility for their studies and how they behave.

Being away from a familiar home environment with family members and friends was reported to be another contributing factor for first year students who seek out emotional intimacy from newly met fellow students on campus. It was reported that this was the time when first year female students were more vulnerable to being taken advantage of by senior male students. Some of the new female students become involved in relationships that are characterized by abuse which is mistaken for love. They become involved in a relationship with the hope of gaining emotional intimacy from a partner. It emerged especially from female participants that these relationships are characterized by emotional abuse and sexual coercion as men put pressure on women to have sex before women are ready for this kind of intimacy.

The emergent data is consistent with previous research results which revealed that many young women reported being coerced by men into initiating a sexual relationship (Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

Female participants further reported that women have difficulty in terminating abusive relationships because a relationship is regarded as a source of emotional and social security. Fellow students on campus become aware that she belongs to a certain man and thus feels "safe". Perpetrators target new female students under the pretence of helping them know the campus better and protecting them from further abuse by other University male students.

This notion is consistent with results by Greene and Navarro (1998) who assert that emotional insecurity and feelings of powerlessness render women more vulnerable to abusive relationships that are often associated with sexual violence.

5.3.2 Influence of personal experiences

It emerged from the current study that some childhood as well as adulthood experiences for men and women are likely to make them more vulnerable to sexual violence.

It was reported that early childhood experiences influence adult sexual experiences for both males and females. Negative childhood experiences like neglect by parents, sexual abuse, physical and emotional abuse were reported to be more likely to result in some men and women becoming perpetrators and victims of sexual violence in adulthood.

The emergent data is consistent with the results of the previous studies, e.g., that of Messman-Moore and Brown (2004) who found, in a study of college women at Midwestern University, that women who reported multiple forms of abuse in childhood were found to be more at risk for sexual revictimisation.

It emerged that a perpetrator of sexual violence may harbour feelings of anger or resentment against women due to violence in the family. Furthermore, it was reported that a young man who witnessed his father abusing his mother is likely to be violent towards his partner in his relationship. This notion supports Bandura's social learning theory (1986) which emphasizes the importance of observing and modeling the behaviors, attitudes, and emotional reactions of others.

Jewkes et al., (2006) conducted a study with young men from villages in South Africa with the aim of understanding factors associated with making some men more likely to be perpetrators of sexual violence against women. The results of the study revealed that men who had self-reported having raped had had adverse childhood experiences. These include sexual, physical and emotional abuse as well as witnessing violence between parents.

Another reported factor was that a woman who has learnt to believe that it is normal for women to be abused in their intimate relationships because she witnessed it at home with her mother being abused by a father/partner was found to be more at risk for remaining in an abusive relationship.

Sexual violence in relationships was also suggested to be as a result of a lack of sufficient education on acceptable and appropriate behaviour towards a partner in a relationship.

According to (Richter as cited in Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah & Jordan, 2001) older family members are no longer taking the responsibility of informing boys and girls in the family about relationship and sexual matters; they were more at risk for sexual victimisation. Their source for such information is often peers who may also have inaccurate information. However, Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) maintain that boys and girls need parents to educate them about relationship issues. The role of interventions to assist parents to talk to their children about sexual relationships as a strategy to prevent sexual violence is thus highlighted.

5.3.3 Assertiveness

It was reported that women, when talking to men about sexual matters, send mixed messages that are often confusing; they are not firm when they say no to sex. This was described as indicative of women's lack of assertiveness and it was found to be a contributing factor that makes women at risk for being coerced into sex.

According to Petersen, Bhana, and McKay (2005) who conducted a study aimed at exploring factors that make youth in South Africa more vulnerable to sexual violence, girls' poor assertiveness and refusal skills was also reported to make them more vulnerable to rape.

Sexual assertiveness acts as a protective shield against sexual coercion by men; it empowers women to be firm when saying no to sex and as well as not to remain in an abusive relationship (Testa, VanZile, & Livingston, 2007). Greene and Navarro (1998) concur, and further mention that women have to acquire situation- specific heterosexual assertiveness that will protect them against sexual abuse by men.

5.3.4 Heterosexual communication

It emerged that male and female students on campus do not understand one another. Men were reported to view women's behaviour in sexual terms. A female student who is

friendly towards males was reported by participants to be asking for sexual attention from males. Koralewski and Conger (1992) referred to this interpretation as men's inability to read social cues.

5.3.5 Alcohol and drug use

It was reported that use of alcohol and drugs was associated with sexual violence on campus. Participants reported that during University parties there is excessive use of alcohol by both male and female students and this is the time during which most incidences of sexual violence occur.

Both male and female participants asserted that women who drink alcohol excessively during a party put themselves at risk of sexual coercion; this is suggestive of victim blame by both male and female participants.

Male participants reported they perceive women who drink excessively as easy victims for sexual violence. Intoxicated women were believed to be targets of nonconsensual sex as it was believed that they would not be able to recall who the perpetrator was.

It was reported that alcohol was often used by non-intimate partners who attend the University parties as catalyst for nonconsensual sex with the victim. Men buy alcohol for women during parties with the expectation of sex in return. Men regard sex after a party as an appropriate closure of time spent with a woman.

These findings concur with two of White, Donat and Bondurant (2001) findings and the links between alcohol use and sexual violence. They maintain that alcohol may be associated with sexual violence in three different ways. Women may use alcohol as a means of coping with the trauma of previous sexual victimization. To the perpetrator a woman drinking alcohol is regarded as sexually available, hence an easy victim. Excessive use of alcohol decreases a woman's ability to recognize a potentially risky situation thus making her more vulnerable to sexual abuse.

Markos (2005) in his article that reviews literature about association between alcohol and sexual behaviour, asserts that alcohol influences the behaviour of both the perpetrator and victim of sexual abuse. Intoxicated women are less likely to be able to identify and avoid risky situations like aroused intoxicated men who are potential perpetrators of sexual violence.

Larimer, Lydum, Anderson and Turner (1999) conducted a study with Greek college male and female students in order to determine the association of sex and alcohol among College students. The results of the study revealed that alcohol was associated with sexual coercion. It also emerged that both males and females used alcohol to instigate sexual intercourse with a partner. As was found in the current study, women were reported to be more likely than men to be given alcohol by partners in order to promote sex (Larimer, Lydum, Anderson & Turner, 1999).

Gidych, Loh, Lobo, et al. (2007) in a study with women from three Colleges in the United States of America found that there was a high intake of alcohol among College women. The results of the study revealed that the experience of sexual assault is associated with women's previous experiences of sexual assault and her drinking behaviour. Women who did not have a history of sexual assault were found to be less likely to be sexually victimized irrespective of their drinking behaviour. Women with a sexual victimization history were at risk for revictimisation and more so with higher use of alcohol (Gidych et al., 2007).

Male participants reported that when women are intoxicated with alcohol they dance in a manner that men perceive as sexually arousing and they refer to it as 'dirty dancing'. Male participants perceive the dance as asking for sex hence when women are coerced into sex they are not raped but "get what they have been asking for". The dance was seen as a risk factor for sexual coercion because men maintained that they cannot control their sexual desire.

Previous research suggests that men's perceived inability to control their sexual desires is not only linked to when they are intoxicated with alcohol but is believed to be in their nature. In their study in South Africa and Namibia, Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Rose-Junius (2005) found that both male and female participants mentioned that men cannot control their sexual urges. Hence, when sexually aroused, men are more likely to coerce a woman into sex.

Female participants reported that alcohol increases women's desire for sex. The emergent data is consistent with previous research. Hull and Bond (as cited in DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998) found that the effect of alcohol consumption increases sexual arousal. Furthermore, the actual physiological effects of alcohol increase the likelihood that men will victimize their partners (Bohmer & Parrot, cited in DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998). Hence, these men are likely to behave differently and inappropriately by being abusive and use alcohol influence as an excuse.

5.4 Situation context/ Social normative Influence

It emerged from the results of the current study that motivation to comply with others' behaviour may be a negative influence for some men and some women becoming perpetrator and victims of sexual violence.

5.4.1 Peer Influence

It was reported that peers influence the behaviour of both male and female university students. Depending on the group norms, the influence of the group could pressurize a member into an abusive relationship.

It emerged that men who have a large number of female partners are idolized, and serve as role models that may promote coercive sex in men's quest to have female partners. These findings are consistent with the results of a study by DeKeseredy and Schwartz (1998) with College men in Canada. The results revealed that for male students, peers are a source of emotional and financial support and information on all important issues, hence group membership is important. Some of these groups were also found to be

influential in endorsing abusive relationships with women (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1998).

Female students also reported that they feel pressurized into having a relationship by other members of the peer group. It emerged that a relationship was perceived to be a source of social security and entertainment while on campus; hence women remain in their relationships even if they are characterised by episodes of violence. The study is consistent with results of a study by Jewkes et al. (2005) which found that some girls remain in abusive relationships because they are perceived as a source of recreation, and a source of love and affection.

5.4.2 Role models

It was reported that some University students have role models to look up to as a source of inspiration. They are influenced by their success and behaviour. Male participants reported that it seems that the society tolerates sexual violence against women. Some of their male role models who have a high profile in society are known to have been sexually violent against women and were not convicted because they have money. Such examples suggest that the society tolerates violence against women if the perpetrator is a rich man.

Emergent data suggests that both men and women are influenced by their peers and role models who may exert negative influences that promote sexual violence.

5.5 Cultural / environmental influence

The emergent data revealed beliefs entrenched by patriarchal society that promote power, control and dominance of women by men.

5.5.1 Dress and flirtatious behaviour by female students

It was reported by both male and female participants that women who dressed in transparent and tight fitting clothes put themselves more at risk of being raped. Male

participants reported that women who dressed in sexually provocative manner were asking for sex and should expect men to confront them for sexual favours.

Male participants also reported that they believed that they should use some physical violence when asking for sexual favours from a woman. To them it is normal practice which women accept. The data suggests that men feel that it is important to be in control and it is acceptable to be aggressive towards women.

Male participants reported that they are socialized into being aggressive in their relationships. The data suggest that men's aggression, dominance and control over women is learnt from the society which in turn tolerates it.

Some male participants reported that they pass words of praise about a woman's appearance to women even on campus. According to their culture passing words of praise to a woman passing by is acceptable. This could be in the form of sexual remarks about clothing, body and whistling. Male participants maintain that these actions are not meant to be sexually abusive but are meant to boost a woman's self- image. Normally a woman is not asked about how she feels about these words of praise. Male participants reported that they are aware that currently in South Africa such acts may be regarded as sexual harassment if unwanted.

Sexual harassment is described as unwanted conduct of a sexual nature which is offensive to the recipient (Rubenstein, as cited in Mayekiso & Bhana, 1996). In a study with students of the University of Transkei, Mayekiso and Bhana (1996) aimed to determine students' knowledge of what constitutes sexual harassment, their experiences of sexual harassment on campus and gender differences in the perception and experiences of sexual harassment. The results of the study revealed that females could identify more actions that are characteristic of sexual harassment than men, and females reported more experiences of sexual harassment than males. Mayekiso and Bhana (1996) assert that sexual harassment is one of the strategies which men use to exert power and control over women.

It emerged that victims of sexual violence on campus do not always report them to the University authorities. Men believe that the reasons for not reporting were that women do not know their rights. On the contrary, women reported that not reporting the incidences was due to fear of not being believed and of being blamed for having caused the rape or being irresponsible for not identifying and avoiding a risky situation. It was reported that there are many cases of rape that remain unreported due to these reasons.

The emergent data is consistent with previous research in that victims do not report cases of sexual violence due to fear of reprisal, of being blamed, and fear that the incident will not be taken seriously (Hirschowitz, Worku & Orkin, 2000). It implies that only a few cases get reported as victim fear further victimization. What happens on campus is similar to how victims of sexual violence experience in the society.

It was further reported that the trauma that victims go through upon reporting rape is another reason for not reporting with many women preferring to share the incidence with a trusted friend.

Participants reported that the resources on Campus that is, the Wellness Centre and the Psychology Clinic were known to provide services to help students with academic problems. Victims of sexual abuse are overwhelmed with feelings of guilt, shame and self-blame. Hence they find it difficult to go and report sexual violence. Further it emerged that female participants feared that the professionals in the clinic would blame the victims of sexual abuse before giving them professional help.

These findings suggest evidence of rape myth acceptance by University students. According to Holmes (1991) rape myths are false beliefs about rape incidences, rape victims and rape perpetrators. These beliefs include blame the victim for causing the rape to occur. It emerged in the study that more blame is put on the victims and both males and females are likely to accept rape myths. Kalichman et al. (2007) in their study on the attitudes of Cape Town youth towards rape found that both men and women believed in

traditional roles of women being submissive and passive and there was evidence of victim blame in rape situations.

According to White, Donat and Bondurant (2001) gendered violence is learnt in childhood. Children who grow up in abusive homes learn that power is gendered in the sense that men are more powerful and in control. Even the media shows power imbalances between men and women. These beliefs in these power imbalances are then enacted and transferred into adult relationships.

Male students reported that men will always want to prove and maintain dominance and power over women, and this is also acted out in relationships. Men's need to maintain dominance and control is expressed through sexual aggression as a means of maintaining this authority (Petersen et al., 2005; Ziyane, 2006). Cowan and Mills (2004) concur and further explain that sexual aggression is not associated with sexual gratification.

5.5.2 Sex as commodity

It emerged that there are relationships on campus that are characterised by sex in exchange for material gains. It was reported that when men supply cash and other material things to a partner in a relationship, they expect her to give in to his sexual demands in return.

The emergent data is consistent with results of a study by Jewkes et al. (2006) in South Africa which aimed to understand the patterns and factors associated with rape of a partner. The results revealed that relationships motivated by material gains were characterized by power imbalance between partners, traditional beliefs towards women as well as gender-based violence.

Some female students reported that they were coerced into sex by male lecturers on campus in exchange for high marks. It emerged that these incidences were not reported due to fear of intimidation by the perpetrator and chances of not being believed. Contrary to findings of Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) who found that women with post-school

education in South Africa are more likely to report sexual coercion, women at the target university site reported to be overwhelmed by shame and self-blame, reporting that they preferred to keep quiet with the hope of forgetting the incidence.

5.6 Recommendations for prevention interventions and future research

Following Green and Navarro (1998) who maintain the need to identify all possible protective and risk factors for sexual abuse in universities to assist in developing appropriate prevention and intervention strategies, this study sought to understand the risk influences for students becoming either the perpetrators and victims of sexual violence on the targeted campus. Based on the findings of this study, the following recommendations for preventative measures for sexual violence against women in institutions of higher learning are thus made. Recommendations for future research are also included.

5.6.1 Recommendations for prevention interventions

5.6.1.1 Orientation for first year female students

Given that first year female students were reported to be more at risk for sexual violence, they should be cautioned about the risky behaviour that could make them more vulnerable to sexual abuse. These findings concur with Finely and Corty's study (as cited in Binder, 2001) who indicate that most of the sexual assaults on campus tend to take place in the first few weeks of the academic year. University institutions should not underestimate the amount of adjustment that awaits new students at the beginning of the year. Consequently, they suggested that educational programs to assist students to adjust should be done early in the year.

In this regard, Binder (2001) maintains that universities should have an orientation program for new students that will state clearly the policies that deal with campus crime including sexual assault and penalty for non-conformity. Furthermore, students should get an elaborate explanation of what constitutes sexual assault and what resources are available on campus for students.

The current study also revealed that a large amount of sexual assault is associated with alcohol abuse by both male and female students; hence they should be educated on the consequences of alcohol abuse. Binder (2001) recommends a comprehensive approach to preventing sexual abuse against women which includes educational programs on alcohol abuse, drug abuse and risk management. Risk management would help students make informed decisions about how much risk they are willing to assume and the consequences thereof. In term of alcohol abuse, students should be informed about the prevalence of problems associated with alcohol, signs of abuse and addiction, how to get help for oneself or friends and how alcohol abuse affects sexual conduct (Binder, 2001). Further, such programmes should also include sexual assertiveness as it has been found to be a strong protective factor against sexual violence (Green & Navarro, 1998).

5.6.1.2 Life skills education

Results of the study suggested that some male students believed that they should be in control and dominate women in their relationships. These beliefs are also accepted without question by female student and it emerged that such beliefs are acquired through socialization. Hence, intervention programmes with male students should focus on changing men's negative attitudes and sexually aggressive behaviour towards women by addressing male socialisation (Ring & Kilmartin, 1992). Further, Drieschner and Lange (1999) suggest that interventions for males should include more information on the consequences of rape, including the severe after- effects of rape to the victim. In effect such interventions are believed to be more likely to draw perpetrators' attention to the negative impact rape has on the victim. Yost and Zurbriggen (2006) suggest that men should be encouraged to engage in sexual activity only within the context of a loving relationship. This may reduce the incidence of some types of rape like stranger and date rape (Yost & Zurbriggen, 2006).

According to the results of the current study, peers influence both males' and females' behaviour towards their partners in a relationship. Hence, institutions may develop

educational sessions on risky behaviour and relationship issues aimed at informing students on life skills. These sessions could be in various forms like mixed or single-gender groups. Binder (2001) mentions that literature is inconclusive regarding the most effective educational methods for intervention strategies, some prefer mixed group setting while others recommend single –gender groups. However, the author mentioned that he used both methods in his intervention against women abuse with college students and the results revealed that the intervention showed no significant difference when there were mixed and single groups of participants (Binder, 2001).

On the contrary Ring and Kilmartin (1992) maintain that historically, rape prevention programs aimed at mixed gender groups attracted very few men because they believed that such programs would be attacking and blaming of them. Ring and Kilmartin (1992) worked on a Man-to-Man About Rape project which aimed to educate college men on socialization, intimacy, violent behaviour and sexual behaviour. Both didactic and small groups' experiential formats were used. The didactic setting was in a form of a lecture, and it covered topics on male gender development as well as men and intimacy.

The experiential format in Man- to –Man About Rape Project was interactional, it gave participants an opportunity to express their ideas on how socialization influenced their attitude and behavior towards women. According to the authors, most men who were participating in this project reported awareness on how their socialization had influenced their behaviour towards women (Ring & Kilmartin, 1992).

The experiential format would seem to be more appropriate in a single gender set up. Women could have such groups in which they discuss factors that make some women more vulnerable to sexual violence. Furthermore, it may be appropriate for ongoing support groups for men and women against women abuse.

5.6.1.3 Facilitators for the intervention program

Participants of the current study revealed that peer facilitators and peer counselors were preferred over older ones. Female participants especially mentioned that it would be easier to seek professional help from a younger counselor who may more easily understand students' lifestyle on campus than an older person.

This notion concurs with previous literature. Binder (2001) at Hobart College in the US, selected and trained highly motivated undergraduate peers to deliver a single- gender intervention program on sexual assault for new male students on campus. The author maintains that the reason was that new male students look to their peer leaders to learn more about acceptable campus life (Binder, 2001). Hence, the intervention was found to be highly effective.

Results of a study by Foubert and McEwen (1998) also revealed that having fellow students facilitating workshops on sexual assault to new male college students was successful as there was evidence of a decrease in rape myth acceptance by college men. Hence, institutions of higher learning may work on training some male and female students as peer leaders.

5.6.1.4 Monitoring of social events on campus

It emerged in the study that most sexual assault occurs during students' parties that are organized and coordinated by senior students on campus. Students' preparations for gatherings should be monitored more closely by the authorities of the institution. Monitoring students' events may mean controlling alcohol consumption, themes for the events are appropriate and that there is no unacceptable behaviour taking place (Binder, 2001).

5.6.2 Recommendations for future research

It is recommended that future studies be more representative in terms of participants' level of study, field of study and racial as well as cultural groups. A broad base survey

that involves various tertiary institutions in South Africa may enhance the generalisability of the results.

Future studies using a quantitative survey methodology focusing on factors that emerged as causes of sexual violence in the current study may allow greater generalizability of findings.

5.7 Conclusion

Students at the target institution had a broader understanding of sexual violence than the current definition of rape and which included sexual harassment. Both male and female students acknowledged the problem of sexual violence on campus and first year female students were reported to be more at risk for sexual violence as it emerged that many incidences of rape occurred during huge parties meant to welcome new students into the institution.

In relation to factors influencing becoming a perpetrator or victim of sexual violence, the results of the current study suggest that the problem of sexual violence on the targeted university campus was influenced by multiple factors within the different streams of the TTI. Hence, strategies for prevention of sexual violence should adopt a multifaceted approach that will address intrapersonal, social context and cultural/ environmental level influences.

Recommendations in this regard include that institutions of higher learning should incorporate educational programs into the curriculum that address life skills and psychosocial and health issues which students may not be exposed to in their academic courses. It is suggested that such programs should be facilitated by specialists in the field for students' maximum participation and cooperation. Further, students' activities and events during their leisure time should be more closely monitored to control high risk behaviour.

5.8 Limitations of study

1. The data emerged from a qualitative study on one tertiary educational campus in South Africa. The campus was from a historically disadvantaged institution for Indians and Blacks and the emergent data could thus be influenced by these racial groups and their socialization. This limits the generalisability of the findings to all institutions of higher learning in South Africa.

2. Most participants were first year students recruited from those enrolled for Psychology. Hence, the results reflect the perceptions and experiences of first year students studying Psychology at the university and not a representative cross- section of the campus. This also limits its generalisability.

3. Given that the data was collected through focus groups, there could be the possibility of some participants voicing their views more powerfully and influencing others' ideas, resulting in the data reflecting dominant members' views.

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Appendix A

GUIDING QUESTIONS

1. *Definition*

First of all we would like to find out what you understand by sexual violence/ how you would describe / identify it.

2. *Extent of the problem*

We would also like to get your opinions on whether you think sexual violence is a big problem on campus. If it is a big problem- why do you think it is such a problem?

3. *Most vulnerable groups*

We now get to the issues that we are really trying to explore, namely, the factors that make some males more likely to perpetrate such abuse and the factors which make some females more likely to become victims of such abuse.

Let us begin with women students

Do you think there are some women students who are more at risk of being abused sexually?

What do you think makes them more at risk?

Probe for the following:

- a) Are there any factors at an *intra- personal level* in terms of personality, life story (for an example. previous rape)?
What about assertiveness and refusal skills?
- b) Are there any factors at in their social context, for example, friends and family influences that motivate and result in behaviours that put women students at risk?
- c) What are the cultural/ environmental factors, like values and attitudes on campus that put women at risk? (Try to get to gender role attitudes)

Let us now discuss male students

1. Do you think there are some male students who are more at risk of becoming perpetrators of sexual violence? What do you think makes them more at risk?

Probe for the following

- a) Are there any factors at an *intra- personal level* that make them more at risk(like childhood neglect and abuse low self-esteem poor communication skills with the opposite sex)?
- b) Are there any factors at social context level peer pressure, poor role models, poor family relations, that put them more at risk?
- c) What campus cultural/ environmental level influences, like patriarchy, traditional gender roles attitudes that put male students more at risk?

Existing resources and services

- a) What facilities and services already exist on campus that deals with sexual violence on campus?
- b) Are these adequate?
- c) Do students use these services? If not, why?

Possible interventions

- a) Given these understandings, what programmes do you think we could introduce to try to try to reduce the problem of violence against women/ abuse/ rape?
- b) What could we do at the intra-personal, social context and cultural/ environmental levels? (Probe for different programmes for male and female students)

Appendix B

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

TITLE OF RESEARCH PROJECT:

Understanding Sexual Violence on Campus

Dear Participant

We are trying to understand both the extent and the reasons underpinning sexual violence on campus. As you are aware, violence against girls and women is a big problem in South Africa. We are trying to understand this problem better so that we can work with interested students to develop a programme for the university community to try to prevent sexual violence from occurring. Most programmes focus on helping girls and women to cope with abuse or try to avoid being abused. There are however, very few programmes which work to stop abuse from occurring in the first place.

The purpose of conducting these focus group interviews is to understand:

- 1. The factors that make some males more likely to perpetrate such abuse.*
- 2. The factors which make some females more likely to become victims of such abuse.*

By participating in this study, you will help us better understand these factors. All information generated here is confidential and anonymity will be ensured. You are free to withdraw at any stage from participating in the study. As some of the issues are of a sensitive nature and may raise personal issues for some of you which you may like to explore further, you could make an appointment to see a counselor through the Psychology Clinic or through the Personal Counseling Unit.

Signing your name on the list means you agree to participate in this study.