Sex role identity, rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity amongst young South African male students

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Clinical Psychology by Coursework and Research Report

Johannesburg, 2014

Abstract

This research explored the relationship between sex-role identity, rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity in a population of young South African men. A questionnaire consisting of a demographic section, the Bem Sex Role Inventory, the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Short Form Scale, and the Gender Equitable Men Scale was administered online to 253 male students studying engineering at a Johannesburg based university. Correlation analyses were used to infer the relationships between the three variables, while a multiple regression assessed whether particular combinations of sex-role identity and attitudes towards gender equity could predict higher rape myth acceptance as well as whether particular combinations of sex-role identity and rape myth acceptance might predict more positive attitudes towards gender equity. The results showed that neither masculinity nor androgyny had any statistically significant relationship with rape myth acceptance or attitudes towards gender equity, and that there was no significant difference with regard to scale sores between those students identifying as androgynous and those identifying as masculine. There was, however, a strong inverse relationship between rape myth acceptance and attitudes endorsing gender equity in the direction anticipated. Results showed that this relationship was also predictive in nature, illustrating that attitudes towards women, in terms of their role and responsibilities, was predictive of greater likelihood of acceptance of rape myths. It was evident that the young men sampled were less likely to accept rape myths and more likely to present emancipated attitudes towards intimate relationships and gendered power relations than has been found in previous related studies. In addition, it was found that differences in relation to some of the demographic characteristics of the sample, such as whether participants resided in an all male residence or not, were linked to significantly different scores on the rape myth and gender equity measures. These results need to be interpreted with caution given that actual differences in scores were minimal (given the limited range of scores) and that these findings were secondary to the main aims of the study.

(Keywords: sex-role identity, gender identity; masculinity, femininity, androgyny, rape myth acceptance, gender equity, sexual violence)

Declaration

I declare that this is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for a Masters degree in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at another university.

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Hinor Shushan

_____day of _____, 2014.

Acknowledgements

I would like to express my deep gratitude to the following people who have contributed generously to this research project:

To Prof. Gill Eagle, my supervisor, for your expertise and patient guidance of this research work; your passion in this field invigorated my own. Your input was invaluable and really shaped my work and my own development in both my thinking and writing.

Thank you to Prof. Gill Finchilescu, Prof. Carol Long and Mike Greyling for your valuable and constructive suggestions during the course of this research work.

To my dear friend and colleague Lauren McClurg: thank you for your friendship and for your ongoing support and encouragement during the process.

Thank you to my partner Jonty for being unconditionally loving and giving me the courage and focus to always push on.

To my family who were with me from start to end, thank you for your thoughtfulness, love and support which you continually showed me.

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Chapter One: Orientation to the Study

Introduction and Rationale

South Africa is deemed to be one of the most progressive countries in the world in terms of the rights enshrined in the constitution, including gender focused rights. Despite this political and legal commitment to creating and sustaining a progressive egalitarian society, the prevalence of sexual violence against women in South Africa remains extremely high. South Africa has recently become referred to as the 'rape capital of the world' (SAPA, 2012) and such a damaging label and what it portrays and represents cannot easily be ignored.

This research study was motivated by the recent social uprising against rape and violence against women in South Africa and took as its focus the exploration of aspects of gender identity and attitudes towards gender and rape amongst young South African men, given that young men represent a high-risk group for the perpetration of sexual violence in society. This study aimed to explore three variables: sex-role identity; rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity, and their possible inter-relationships. Understanding the relationship between the three variables mentioned represented an opportunity to better comprehend some aspects of sexual violence in a country where sexual assault against women is extremely high and is commonly understood to reflect problems in gender relations and gender related behaviours and attitudes.

The relevance of the choice of sample in this study, namely young South African male students is underpinned by contemporary research findings on gender violence and rape perpetration. It has been argued by Jewkes, a prominent researcher on sexual violence in South Africa, that interventions to rid South Africa of social problems, such as the high rates of sexual assault and rape, would have the most impact when targeting the youth (Jewkes, et al., 2012). Furthermore, in a Gauteng-based study conducted by Jewkes, et al. (2012), it was found that male students represent the second highest prevalence group for perpetrating multiple rape or 'gang rape'. It was hoped that by exploring aspects of young

men's gender identity and the relationship this may have with attitudes towards sexual violence and gender equality that this research might create a degree of insight into some of the underlying attributes that lead to acceptance and, by implication, perhaps perpetration of sexual violence.

Social protests and campaigns against rape have seldom been more pronounced in South Africa than in the last year, with calls for focused intervention to reduce levels of sexual violence, including rape. However, it was intended that the research would have more than immediate term applicability given that South Africa has been fighting against the social ills of sexual violence at the legal, political and societal levels over more than two decades and thus that addressing high levels of sexual violence represents a relevant and long-standing challenge (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012). Studies have shown that a women's right to give or withhold consent to sexual intercourse is one of the most commonly violated of all human rights in South Africa (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Ongoing campaigns and increased awareness about sexual violence towards women has only slightly decreased reported rape (by less than 2%) between 2011 and 2012 (SAPS, 2012). This seems to suggest that key in the strategy to reduce sexual violence towards women may be changing the underlying gender attitudes (and related behaviours) of perpetrators rather than focusing on increasing awareness.

With regards to sex-role identity, there is room for further research addressing how traits of masculinity and femininity, which exist in men, correlate with their attitudes towards sexual violence and attitudes towards gender equity. Attitudes to gender equity and rape myth acceptance (and their relationship to sex-role identity) have not been explored simultaneously in one single piece of research in South Africa, nor has such research been conducted on young South African male students. Therefore, this research represented an opportunity to create a deeper understanding of the relational patterns between these three variables that could then enhance the understanding of gender based violence and, particularly, on-campus sexual violence in South Africa.

Acceptance of rape myths has been shown to contribute to the enactment of sexual violence as well as to the more general oppression of women as will be elaborated in

chapter two. An individual's sex-role identity and attitudes towards gender equity contribute to their belief structure about their gendered behaviour as well as their attitudes towards the behaviour of other men and women. These beliefs and attitudes may ultimately direct an individual's sexual behaviour, including whether they are willing to engage in sexual violence or to condone this in others. Therefore by exploring whether sex-role identity is related to gender equity and holding of rape myths, and in addition, whether attitudes towards gender equity are predictive of rape myth acceptance, an important contribution may be made to South African sexual violence research.

It is evident that one of the most influential groups of people in determining South Africa's future trend with regard to female rape is young South African men (Jewkes, et al., 2012). As mentioned above, this is the sample targeted for investigation in this study. By understanding the current state of rape myth acceptance in a group of young South African men, as well as how this may be predicted by their attitudes towards gender equity and their own sex-role identity, intervention programs may be better tailored to reduce problematic attitudes towards rape and, possibly, even to reduce the associated propensity to engage in rape. Ultimately, the hope of this study is to better understand and explore some of the variables that may inform and predict rape myth acceptance in young South African men. It is also hoped that this understanding may in time be used to reduce the risk of rape and sexual violence both on higher education campuses and in South Africa in general.

Broad Aims

This study aimed to explore the relationship between three variables assessed in relation to young South African male students: the first was their sex-role identity; the second was their attitude towards gender equity, and the third was their level of condonement of gender-based violence, as assessed via rape myth acceptance. This study aimed to discover whether a pattern emerged between these three variables that was indicative of a correlational relationship, as might be anticipated. More specifically, this study aimed to

assess whether sex-role identity and attitudes towards gender equity were predictive of rape myth acceptance.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

The following literature review will explore previous research and studies conducted in areas related to the three variables of interest: namely sex-role identity, rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity. The literature review will begin by briefly discussing the measurement of masculinity in terms of the sex-role identity paradigm since it is the masculinity of the subjects that was deemed most salient in studying their attitudes towards gender roles and also rape myths. It is recognized that masculinity as a construct can be understood through various theoretical lenses. However, given that gender identity (as measured in terms of conventionally agreed to traits or characteristics) provided the primary manner of framing of masculinity for the purposes of this study, it was thought that a brief discussion of this issue was warranted at the outset. This initial framing is followed by the defining of the three variables of interest (mentioned above). The literature coverage then moves on to provide a detailed exploration of theory and research relating to each variable, both independently and in relation to the other two variables (in line with the main research questions). The literature review has a strong South African focus, including consideration of the high level of gender-based violence characteristic of this context, in order to illustrate the relevance and significance of this study against this backdrop. The literature review will offer insight into recent research findings with regard to gender relations in South Africa and the prevalence of sexual violence. Some sociological, historical and research-based interpretations about the possible roots of such violence against women will be discussed.

2.1 Measuring Masculinity: The sex-role approach and Bem's work

Since masculinity is a central focus in this study, it will be helpful to elaborate on the theory which underlies the measurement of masculinity. There are many approaches to understanding masculinity and conceptualizing how a man develops characteristics of gender (Edley and Wetherell, 1995). This study has adopted a sex role approach in understanding masculinity; however, it is important to briefly mention the other main approaches to defining masculinity. Besides sex-role theory, there have been three other main approaches to understanding the development of masculinity: the biological;

psychoanalytic; and, social constructionist perspectives (Edley and Wetherell, 1995), each of which is embedded in different theoretical traditions and has different strengths and weaknesses.

For the purposes of the current research study, the sex role approach has been chosen above the other three because of its particular framing of gender identity. The sex-role approach understands gender identity as produced by means of socialization which allows for an appreciation of the incorporation of culture-specific behaviours into what constitutes 'masculinity' (Connell, 2000). While unconscious or biological forces or social constructions via language (and other communicative forms) may play an important role in the emergence of a masculine identity, it is believed that sex-role identity is largely shaped through interaction with environmental forces. The sex role identity approach allows for sex-roles to be conceptualized as a product of socially prescribed roles that are dependent on time and culture, and in this respect has something in common with social constructionist understandings of gender. The internalization of socially valued and mediated role attributes at any one point in time, explains the evolution of the concept of gender over different historical times (Archer & Lloyd, 1985). This kind of understanding of how gender becomes inscribed may also account for gender differences in different cultural settings within the same period of time; being indicative of the importance of social influence and what emerges as the norm within such an environment (Archer & Lloyd, 1985).

The sex-role approach tends to polarize masculine and feminine characteristics and this polarization forms a base for the constellation of a set of predictable traits for each gender/sex (Stets & Burke, 2000). The traits associated with masculinity and femininity are stereotyped socially and constitute the way in which men and women behave, dress and even choose their careers (Connell, 2000). Social cognitive theory, a derivative of the sex-role approach, states that it is through observational learning, imitation and reinforcement that gender roles are internalized (Bandura, 1986). An individual may be orientated to internalize social norms from the media and magazines and not necessarily only from friends and family although significant figures in an individual's life clearly play a key role in gender socialization (Connell, 2000). There seems to be an element of conditioning around internalization of gendered behaviours: conformity to a role which is sex-congruent

encourages social approval and reward, whereas deviation from such norms may be paired with discouragement. This idea led Burn (1996) to deduce that individuals whose gendered behaviour resulted in their being reprimanded at early life stages were more likely to develop more stringent sex-role traits in later life, more in line with social expectations and therefore bringing them greater social acceptance.

The development and use of psychometrics in the 1960s had a significant influence on the concept of gender (Burr, 1998). One of the main developments was that researchers began to categorize traits along the gender polarities of masculinity and femininity, and sought to measure them as such (Burr, 1998). Initially it was considered that individuals who possessed gendered traits that were closely related to their biological sex were psychologically healthier than those possessing traits of the opposite sex (e.g. Terman & Miles, 1936). However it was the work of Bem (1974) that displaced this notion through her introduction of the concept of androgyny (the possession of high levels of both masculine and feminine traits) and its potential benefits. The entertainment of the idea of androgyny offered a breakthrough in the conceptualization of gender at this point in time historically. It was through Bem's (1974) work that the concept of androgyny developed and came to represent the ideal sex-type of psychological health and adjustment. The work of Bem around sex-roles and androgyny has been used extensively in this study and will be elaborated upon below, both in the definitions section as well as later in the literature review when linked to attitudinal dimensions such as rape myth acceptance and gender equity.

Looking at the critiques of Bem's (1974) work, her theory has been criticised for being reductionist in its characterizations and listing of masculine and feminine traits. It is argued that the formulation of such gendered characteristics is based on stereotypical behaviours or attributes of men and women and does not capture the complexity of gender. Bem's work has also been criticized for not adequately explaining why it is that some individuals follow sex-typed traditional behaviours while others do not and also whether identifications are largely consistent or change over time and setting (Segal, 1990). Bem's categories can describe how people may identify as gendered but not how they acquired this identity, nor how context specific such identifications might be. Researchers have also criticized the

modern day usage of the scale suggesting that the 'traits' measured, which were developed half a century ago, are outdated (Levant, 1996). However, other researchers have rejected this last mentioned critique on the basis that the traits used to measure masculinity and femininity are still valid today and argue therefore that the construct and face validity of the scale is intact (Stets & Burke, 2000; Spence, 1991; Hiller & Philliber, 1985). Critics of Bem's work also state that with the change in social climate since the scale's creation in the 1970s, Bem's more recent work has contradicted some of the essential elements of the sex-role approach, i.e., the assumption that gender identity is relatively stable and fixed. Bem's more recent work, in keeping with other contemporary developments, recognizes that gendered sex-roles are in a constant state of flux and are not necessarily stable, due to the influence of social changes (Levant, 1996).

Nevertheless, despite these critiques and ongoing debates, Bem's development of the concept of androgyny as well as the actual Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) scale enables researchers to engage with masculinity and femininity in a manner which is tangible and facilitates measurement. As such, the present research was located in the sex role paradigm, drawing centrally on Bem's (1974) theory of sex role identity as being constellated around self-defining characteristics that are culturally recognized to be associated with either masculinity or femininity (or specific combinations of the two).

2.2 Definition and Discussion of Key Terms and Variables

Sex-role and sex-role identity

Sex role can be defined as the behaviour learned by an individual as being appropriate to their sex (Sinnott & Rabin, 2012). Cultural norms and socialisation are significant in determining an individual's beliefs and behaviours (Sinnott & Rabin, 2012). Bem (1974, as cited in Quackenbush, 1989, p.321) stated that:

> the process by which a society transmutes male and female into masculine and feminine is known as the process of sex-typing, and refers to the internalisation of society's sex-typed standards of desirable behaviour for men and women … and in

essence, the child learns to perceive his or her social world in accordance with the 'gender schema' of society.

Different inventories designed to assess gender attributes hold different definitions of sex-role identity. The two most commonly used scales to measure sex-role identity are the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) developed by Spence and Helmreich (1978, as cited in Stets & Burke, 2000) and the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) developed by Bem (1974, as cited in Stets & Burke, 2000). Both these scales measure sex-role identity in terms of masculine and feminine traits on separate, independent dimensions (Stets & Burke, 2000). However, there are differences between the two scales as Spence and Helmreich's definition of sex-role identity differs from that proposed by Bem (Stets & Burke, 2000). Bem conceptualizes sex-role identity as emanating from a single underlying property of gender schematization (Stets & Burke, 2000). Gender schematization is the internalized tendency to classify information along gendered lines of masculine or feminine and to associate these with biological sex rather than by considering other dimensions independently (Stets & Burke, 2000). Such a gendered schema set is the culmination of consideration of a range of individual factors and external influences (Stets & Burke, 2000). On the other hand, the PAQ conceptualizes gender identity as multi-factorial rather than emanating from the single factor of gender schematization (Stets & Burke, 2000). Other factors that are understood to influence a particular individual's gender identity include culturally defined personality traits, physical attributes, particular abilities, and occupational preferences which individually and independently may influence one's gender identity (Stets & Burke, 2000).

This research subscribed to Bem's (1974) definition of sex-role identity, drawing upon the idea that an individual's internalized filter regarding masculinity and femininity has emanated from the inter-play of the socially and culturally influenced cognitive gender schemas that they have been exposed to. Gender schemas are cognitive structures through which information about masculinity and femininity is organised and then used in future associations and perceptions (Quackenbush, 1989). It is through gender schemas that an individual will compare whether their gendered behaviour is congruent with social norms (Bem, 1981). This comparison can only happen through processes of socialization which lead individuals to identify with certain behaviour and traits that are consensually deemed

appropriate for their gender (Sinnott & Rabin, 2012). It is argued that one's self-concept becomes largely defined by such gender-schemas (Bem, 1981) as one incorporates gendered attributes into one's identity in the course of life development through exposure to representations of masculinity and femininity from various quarters, as described previously.

Bem (1974) proposed that a person's sex-role identity can be categorised into masculine, feminine, undifferentiated or androgynous (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). The category into which an individual falls is said to reflect their degree of identity with the culture's socially desirable traits of masculinity and femininity (Hoffman & Borders, 2001) as the individual's categorisation is determined by their degree of self-identification with a collection of stereotypical masculine and feminine traits (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Bem describes these sex-role categories as reflecting "the degree to which respondents use cultural definitions as idealized standards of femininity and masculinity for evaluating their own personality and behaviour" (Buros, 1975, p. 178 as cited in Hiller & Philliber, 1985).

Furthermore, Bem considers masculinity and femininity to be uniquely separate behavioural facets of an individual's identity that do not lie on opposite ends of the same spectrum but represent separate axes (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Since these modalities are separate entities, they can exist simultaneously in varying degrees in a single person (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). This is what creates individual differences in people's gender attitudes, attributes and behaviours (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

Individuals can be cross sex-typed which means that a man can be sex-typed feminine and a woman sex-typed masculine (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). The term androgynous has been used to characterise individuals who exhibit a self-reported high degree of both masculine and feminine traits (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). This differs from undifferentiated individuals who (according to their own self-descriptions) possess a low degree of both masculine and feminine traits (Hiller & Philliber, 1985).

The masculine sex-type is typically centrally associated with assertiveness (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). Masculine sex-typed individuals will identify with many masculine traits and few

feminine traits (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). The feminine sex-type is typically centrally associated with sensitivity (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). Feminine sex-typed individuals will identify with many feminine traits and few masculine traits (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). Whether an individual is sex-typed or non-sex-typed, they can possess both feminine and masculine traits simultaneously. In an individual or population, based on self-report descriptions of gender-associated characteristics, a sex-type pattern can then be defined related to what degree of feminine and masculine traits have been reported as 'true' of the self by any individual or collective of individuals.

Furthermore, there are both positive and negative traits associated with femininity and masculinity. These traits are often socially-constructed; both in their level of social desirability as well as their positive or negative association with one gender rather than the other. To illustrate this observation the following are examples of negatively and positively toned traits in each category: positive masculine traits include "acts as a leader" and "ambitious", while negative masculine traits include "forceful" and "aggressive"; positive feminine traits include "compassionate" and "affectionate", while negative feminine traits include "gullible" and "childlike".

Sex-role identity may be described as the manner in which an individual perceives and describes themselves psychologically in terms of their identification with these positive and negative traits of masculinity and femininity. When sex-role identity is measured, an individual's degree of internalization of these kinds of gendered stereotypes can be gauged. Thus, it can be assumed that men who score high on the masculinity identity dimension tend to subscribe to a large number of stereotypic masculine traits and to disidentify with more stereotypical feminine traits. On the other hand, androgynous type men will tend to identify with relatively high numbers of both stereotypically masculine and feminine traits.

Rape Myths

Rape myths are defined by Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995, p. 134) as "attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women". Rape myths can be seen as stereotypes that

justify the act of rape, absolve the perpetrator and make rape seem frivolous (Burt, 1980; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012). For perpetrators, rape myths function as a mechanism that can be employed to separate and distance their act from other 'real' rapes (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995). Subscription to rape myths by members of society negates and trivializes the experience of many women, including women in South Africa (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Furthermore, there are different types of rape myth categories. Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1999) proposed seven types of rape myths based on the type of justifications that may be commonly used to absolve men of responsibility for rape, to implicate women in their own victimization, and to trivialize the act of rape. These include: (1) "she asked for it"; (2) "it wasn't really rape"; (3) "he didn't mean to"; (4) "she wanted it"; (5) "she lied"; (6) "rape is a trivial event"; and (7) "rape is a deviant event" (p. 37). These rape myth categories are widely accepted and represent the categories upon which the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) Scale was developed (Payne, Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1999), as will be elaborated further in later sections of this research report.

Gender Equity

Gender equity refers to a person's attitudes with regard to the assignment of rights and roles to individuals based on their gender or sex. This includes rights within both the public sphere and the private sphere and has implications for relational engagements between men and women. As will be discussed further, many countries seek to achieve gender equity in the constitutional rights assigned to men and women and gender discrimination has come to be negatively viewed in most parts of the developed world. Gender equity involves relationships between the genders in terms of power relations, respect and intimacy (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The Gender Equitable Men Scale (GEM) measures gender equity and explores gender equity in terms of: interpersonal relationship violence; roles, responsibility and power in intimate sexual relationships as well as reproductive health and disease prevention; and, gendered responsibility for domestic chores and daily life (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The level of gender equity support can be assessed by examining an individual's beliefs and attitudes in the abovementioned areas. A gender-equitable man

is considered by the developers of what is known as the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) scale to be "a man who:

1. Seeks relationships with women based on equality, respect, and intimacy rather than on sexual conquest.
2. Seeks to be involved in household chores and child-care, meaning that they support taking both financial and care-giving responsibility for their children and household
3. Assumes some responsibility for sexually transmitted infection prevention and reproductive health in their relationships
4. Is opposed to violence against women under all circumstances, even those that are commonly used to justify violence (e.g., sexual infidelity)
5. Is opposed to homophobia and violence against homosexuals" (Horizons, 2012, p.1).

The Gender-Equitable Men (GEM) Scale measures to what degree a male fits this definition. The degree to which an individual holds rigid attitudes around stereotyped gender roles will determine their level of gender-equitable attitudes (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008).

2.3 Gender Equity and the Climate of Gender Relations in South Africa

The political transition following the 1994 elections brought with it a wave of female emancipation (Walker, 2005). The constitution legally enforced social and economic gender equality, however many men's attitudes were not transformed alongside these constitutional changes and this lack of comfort with gender equity and women's increasing emancipation continues into the present. It is important to understand why this discrepancy continues to exist. One way of understanding the lack of men's attitudinal transformation in relation to treatment of women and women's rights is by evaluating men's identities with regards to gendered power relations.

2.3.1 Constitutional changes and Male Attitudes

The constitution created a platform for a significant change in power relations between men and women. The emergence of a strong female presence in post-apartheid South Africa was

strengthened by the creation of the Commission for Gender Equality in 1996. A constitutional change in favour of women meant that men no longer ruled in their seat of power by default and so patriarchal relations and hegemonic masculinity were threatened (Walker, 2005). Although the subordination of women was legally prohibited, it nevertheless continues in practice (Walker, 2005).

In today's climate of shifting gender relations and regimes, many men feel women have "usurped" (Walker, 2005, p.6) their position and now represent a threat to their maleness. It is argued that many men in South Africa have been left feeling powerless and angry as a result of their new gender-related social positioning. These emotions (anger and powerlessness) in combination can be directed at women through violent means, such as assault and rape (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012). It is argued that rape represents one of the aggressive means to re-establish control, power and authority over women. The difficulty that many men face is in letting go of their expectation for absolute male dominance that previously was unquestioned. Some men may feel that to give away their power and to share political and economic space with women is unwarranted and self-sacrificing (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012).

Walker (2005) argues that there is a degree of ongoing tension between men's positioning in traditional gender orders and in modern-day gender regimes, especially in rural areas, which still represent a significant part of contemporary South African society. This ongoing tension may contribute to explaining why a discrepancy exists between what is constitutionally prescribed and what is practically carried out with regards to gender equity.

2.3.2 A Patriarchal Society

Patriarchy is an ideology that cuts across both Western and African cultures in South Africa. Albie Sachs, a renowned former judge of the South African Constitutional Court, describes the impact of patriarchy in South Africa in a powerful way:

> It is a sad fact that one of the few profoundly non-racial institutions in South Africa is patriarchy ... indeed, it is so firmly rooted that it is given a cultural halo and identified with customs and personalities of different communities. Thus to challenge patriarchy, to dispute the idea that it is men who should be dominant figures in the family and society, is to be seen not as fighting against the male privilege, but as attempting to destroy African tradition, or to subvert Afrikaner ideals or undermine civilised and deemed British values ... Patriarchy brutalises men and neutralizes women across the colour line (Sachs, 1990, p1).

Sadly, despite the quote dating back more than two decades, the relevance of this description of the strength of patriarchy in South Africa has remained much the same. The strong presence of patriarchy hinders the movement of more men towards supporting gender equity. Even the mindset of the ruling political party (the African National Congress) is still strongly patriarchal (Pillay, 2010). The current Minister of Basic Education, Minister Angie Motshekga, has openly criticized the judicial system for its leniency on male criminals, describing the system as 'designed by men, for men' (Pillay, 2010). Furthermore, she criticizes the current President, Jacob Zuma, as being "self-evidently sexist and patriarchal" and suggests that this form of sexism trickles down throughout the political party (Pillay, 2010).

These observations highlight the lack of political will which renders gender committees and equality Bills ineffectual and accounts for the minimal transformation of men's attitudes about gender equity (Pillay, 2010). A hegemonic and rather stereotypic masculinity dominates the culture of the ruling party and sets the tone for many South African men who role model such attitudes of gender inequity (Pillay, 2010). There is a vague understanding of what gender equity actually translates into in daily activities between men and women but it is argued that the ongoing subordination of women extends from the state to the level of the home where many men feel that they are self-defeating if they hold gender equitable attitudes (Albertyn, 2003). Thus, while there are of course exceptions to this, there is a considerable body of social science and legally-based literature that would suggest that the majority of South African men are not comfortable to give up patriarchal power and

continue to hold sexist attitudes despite living in a country with a constitution that upholds gender equity.

2.4 Rates of Sexual Violence and Rape in South Africa

Studies have shown that one of the most commonly violated of all human rights in South Africa is a women's right to give or deny consent to sexual intercourse (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Prevalence estimates of rape and other forms of sexual violence vary widely, in part due to the under-reporting of this crime, leading to inconsistent results within a broad range. It has been observed that prevalence rates concerning having experienced sexual abuse from a partner in one's lifetime varies widely from between 6% to 59%, based on studies conducted on South African women (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012).

Furthermore, looking at young males in late adolescence and early adulthood, South African male students represent a high-risk group for enactment of sexual violence at universities and represent the second highest prevalence group for perpetrating multiple rape or 'gang rape' in the Gauteng province (18%)– with unemployed individuals representing the group most likely to commit gang rape (54%) (Jewkes et al., 2012). The statistic that 18% of perpetrators of gang rape were students at the time is concerning begging for consideration of interventions at a university level (Jewkes et al., 2012).

Moreover, in reporting on the South African Police Service Crime Statistics (SAPS, 2012) it is noted that sexual offences, including rape, are feared by 27% of South African households. This level of fear may be informed by the high prevalence of rape in the country. In the time period of between April 2012 and March 2013, there were 48 375 cases of rape of women and girls reported to the SAPS (SAPS, 2012). When considering this prevalence figure, it is vital to consider the under-reporting of rape cases in South Africa: according to a Human Rights Watch Report (1995) only one rape is reported to the police for every 35 perpetrated.

Despite campaigns to reduce rates of sexual violence and rape in South Africa, in terms of reported statistics, rape cases only decreased by 1.7% between 2011 and 2012 (SAPS, 2012). Even this small improvement needs to be viewed with caution as it may reflect trends

around rape reporting rather than a decrease in actual rape cases (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). In two population-based studies from South Africa, it was found that 28% of men in the one study and 37% of men in the second study reported that they have perpetrated rape (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2012). These statistics seem extremely high, with about one in every three men admitting to perpetration of sexual violence of this kind.

Furthermore, it has been observed that the presence of illegal substances plays a prominent role in rape perpetration. In a South African three-Metro's Arrestee Study it was found that 44% of men arrested for rape and attempted rape tested positive for marijuana or mandrax (Parry, Louw & Pluddemann, 2000, as cited in Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Thus high levels of sexual violence in South Africa may be closely associated with high levels of substance mis-use. However, the high prevalence of rape in South Africa cannot only be attributed to being paired with and influenced by substance misuse; rather rape in South Africa needs to be contextualized within broader and long-standing socio-economic and political processes in order to be understood. The following section describes some of the main elements which may contribute to the high rate of sexual violence and rape in South Africa.

2.5 Origins of Rape in South Africa

South Africa's history of militarization, oppression and apartheid has made violence against women distinctive as compared to other countries (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Amongst other factors that may be understood to contribute to high rates of sexual violence in the country, three of the main factors that need to be considered are: 1) gender power inequalities; 2) a culture of violence; and 3) the influence of poverty (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

1) Gender power inequalities

Hegemonic masculinity is a socially constructed concept describing 'ideal' portrayals of masculinity and male behaviour in any particular society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Some of the traits commonly associated with hegemonic masculinity are power, ambition, self-reliance and being heterosexual (McCormack, 2011). In hegemonic forms of masculinity, to have control over women is commonly viewed as part of the condition of being seen as a

real man, especially within a man's social circle of same-gender peers (McCormack, 2011). Boonzaier (2005) showed that when some men in South Africa feel their gender identities have been thwarted – be it through material, social or economic challenges - they hold onto their ideal self-image of having agency through the perpetration of violence against women. This is how some men sense themselves as powerful and potent in fantasy, despite of environmental limitations which may challenge this perception (Boonzaier, 2005). Furthermore, the culture of sexual entitlement in men is an important one and will often determine a man's position within social circles and his self-perception as sufficiently masculine (McCormack, 2011). Demonstrating sexual prowess, including through coercion, is a common method to ensure male dominance and control of women and often elicits social respect from other men (Walker, 2005).

Gender power inequalities form the fabric of many cultures in South Africa. Rape is one of the manifestations of such gender power inequalities and often serves to convey male dominance over women (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). As mentioned previously, the notion of female empowerment is constitutionally enshrined. For many men, this empowerment of women represents their own disempowerment as men and thus it has been argued that some men may resort to rape to (re)assert their position of power (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Men who rape as a means of re-instating their gender power often feel vindicated in their actions because of their perceived entitlement to power and their perceived 'correctness' of gender inequality and male dominance over women (Boonzaier, 2005).

Furthermore, sexual entitlement extends into wedlock in both customary and state unions. In customary marriages, lobola (translated as bride price) is paid to the bride's family representing that the man has paid for the woman's hand in marriage. Paying lobola is part of a tradition that is used to this day throughout many African countries. This practice also forms part of customary marriage in South Africa. In a study conducted by Jewkes, Penn-Kekana, Levin, Ratsaka and Schrieber (1999), 79% of women, especially those from the rural areas of Eastern Cape, Mpumalanga and Northern Province, stated that once their partner had paid lobola for them, he owned them. Moreover, 74% of the women felt that once lobola was paid, their husband was allowed to demand sex at any time and could not be refused (Jewkes et. al, 1999). This shows the practice of women's subservience and

obligation and reflects male entitlement and dominance in patriarchally structured societies. Even in other non-customary marriages, similar beliefs are commonly held by married women: 60% of women surveyed in two of the provinces in South Africa believe that once married, a wife is not allowed to refuse her husband sex (Jewkes et. al, 1999).

However, it is important to note that the power dynamics in abusive relationships are not unidirectional as both men and women may experience themselves as both the victim and perpetrator at different times (Boonzaier, 2005). Although an exploration of more post-structural feminist theories and observations about gender relations is beyond the scope of this research, it warrants mentioning that the operationalization of power in abusive relationships is not static and needs to be conceptualized in its complexity, without resorting solely to understanding women according to traditional scripts of passivity to patriarchal dominance (Boonzaier, 2005).

2) Culture of Violence

South Africa has a strong culture of violence which began during the decades of Apartheid and colonialism (Walker, 2005). The conflict that existed between different race and class groups in South Africa produced considerable violence and bloodshed (Morrell, 1998). This trend of expression of conflict continues, with violence used as a way of expressing discontent, alienation and a means of asserting rights, even in post-Apartheid society. In a 'culture of violence', using sexual assault to gain power fits into the larger trend of what it takes to win a power struggle or gain access to what one feels entitled to (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This struggle exists between men and women following decades of gender inequality reinforced by a strong culture of hegemonic and strongly patriarchal masculinity (Walker, 2005).

Moreover, it appears that some implicit acceptance of this contextual culture of violence protects perpetrators of rape through the handing down of lenient sentences and/or undermining of the voices of rape victims by not encouraging criminal prosecution (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). The culture is one where the default response of much of society to a

rape victim is that the women must have somehow been at fault or is being dishonest about the circumstances of the sexual event for personal gain (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Young men are often not taught or do not accept that women have the right to withhold consent to sexual relations (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). As discussed above, the sexual entitlement that many men feel tends to justify the perpetration of rape in their mind and in the minds of their peers. There is little evidence that a perpetrator will experience any degree of social stigma for not respecting the sexual integrity of women, especially in rural areas (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

3) The Influence of Poverty

The role of poverty in South Africa appears to be a crucial one in contributing to gender violence. In poor townships and rural areas, resources are lacking and many women are economically dependent on their partners (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This type of dependent relationship means that sexual bargaining is a way for women to avoid abandonment and the loss of economic support from their partner (Ratele, 2001). The sexual act may become a woman's primary bargaining tool and means that men have the upper-hand in relational gender dynamics (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005). Here women learn to tolerate sexual exploitation as they are constrained by their economically dependent state (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005).

In young partnerships, transactional sex is very common since material possessions and economic wealth is socially valued (Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007). Displays of clothes and cars determine one's social standing in the community (Ratele, 2001). Young women will often accept gifts (food, shelter, money etc.) from several men and will not necessarily be sexual with one man alone (Ratele, 2001). In such situations, if the woman is raped, she will often not report the rape both because of her economic dependence on the man and the fact that the police and community will often blame her for behaving in a way that elicited the rape (Vetten & Haffejee, 2005).

Moreover, in areas where resources are scarce and opportunities are rare, competition between men for women is common. In such situations, rape is widespread (Shefer et al., 2007). Here dominating a woman is one of the few ways a man can bolster his self-esteem and create a sense of personal achievement, given that economic and work success is lacking (Walker, 2005). Conquering a woman sexually, despite the lack of consent, represents some achievement of masculine status. Such an 'achievement' will often elevate a man's social standing because of his show of control over women (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

Despite the higher prevalence of rape in poverty-stricken areas, rape can occur in many types of environments. One such environment where rape has been found to occur is in universities or tertiary educational settings, especially within male-only residences. The following section describes the main elements which may contribute to on-campus and residence-based sexual violence and rape.

2.6 Sexual Violence at Universities

Sexual violence at universities continues to represent a severe problem both in South Africa (Jewkes et al., 2012; Mogapi, 2000; Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997) and abroad (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000; Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher, & Martin, 2007). Beginning with the situation abroad, the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS) was an extensive survey conducted in 2002 across the United States (US). This survey identified 247,730 incidents of rape or sexual assault, with the highest rates reported amongst women aged 16 to 19 (at the rate of 10.4 per 1,000 women) and 20 to 24 (at the rate of 5.4 per 1,000 women) (Krebs et al. 2007). This suggests that women who are at the age at which it is most common to attend university or embark on tertiary studies are at a higher risk in the US of being a target of rape than women in other age groups (Krebs et al. 2007). However it could be argued that many of these women did not attend university or could have been sexually assaulted off campus. The National College Women Sexual Victimization (NCWSV) study provides more specific prevalence statistics. The NCWSV used a national sample of 4,446 university women and found that 2.8% of them had experienced an attempted and/or completed rape during the current academic year (Fisher, Cullen, & Turner, 2000). This same study estimated that

between 20% and 25% of university women will experience attempted and/or completed rape while completing their studies at university. This may be as a result of the strong risk factor of substance abuse being introduced and used by both men and women in this age group as it has been found that a strong relationship exists between substance use and sexual assault. In the NCWSV study, 43% of all sexual assaults involved alcohol consumption by the victim while 69% involved alcohol consumption by the perpetrator (Fisher, Daigle, Cullen, & Turner, 2003).

There has been limited research into the rate of sexual violence on South African university campuses. However, in a study conducted by Mayekiso and Bhana (1997), 827 students from the University of Transkei were asked about their experiences of sexual violence on campus. Of these, 14% of male participants and 17% of female participants had experienced or observed rape and date rape on campus (Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997). These figures are fairly high and yet still need to be viewed as likely to be an under-representation of the true figure. Looking at the larger category of sexual harassment, 46% of females and 31% of males had experienced or observed touching and fondling that was unsolicited, while 51% of males and 44% of females had either experienced or observed sexually directed remarks about clothing, body and sexual activities (Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997). The differences in figures between male and female students, women students reporting observation of both more rape and harassment, is interesting in that it may represent more exposure to such actions or that men and women used different kinds of cut-offs in evaluating what was abusive, the male students being more lenient in their judgments. The latter would be in keeping with some of the literature discussed previously. Although this is a single study, it does reveal and suggest that indeed, in South African universities, sexual violence and harassment is commonly experienced.

Furthermore, in another study conducted by Mogapi (2000), a sample of 118 second year female psychology students filled out questionnaires about their own experiences of sexual assault. These participants were aged 18 to 25 and were students at the same Johannesburg based university as provides the context for this current research study. Of these 118 respondents, 50 (42%) reported that they had experienced sexual assault and 28 of those 50

(24% of respondents) reported they had been raped (Mogapi, 2000). Although it was not evident whether such experiences had taken place on campus or elsewhere it is feasible to conclude that some of these assaults took place on campus as was evidenced in some of the descriptive remarks from respondents. This shows the high levels of sexual assault and rape that appear to be experienced by young female students in South Africa (Mogapi, 2000), some of which is perpetrated by their fellow male students.

Rape Myth Acceptance and Attitudes towards Gender Equity amongst male university students

Looking at the culture of male residences on university campuses, Bleecker and Murnen (2005) found that rape myth acceptance was higher amongst students living in male only residences as compared to those living in mixed sex residences. Although this study's main focus was not to compare men who live in university residences with those who do not, there have been some interesting findings in recent years regarding this kind of comparison. Bleecker and Murnen (2005) found that young men living in single sex residences were: (1) more likely to hold rigid sex role stereotypes of women, (2) were more accepting of their male resident peer group's sexual behaviour as compared to male non-residence peer group's acceptance of the same behaviour, and (3) held stronger beliefs regarding the validity of male dominance compared to non-residence men. These three factors show an association between living in a male residence and the support of higher levels of rape myth acceptance as compared to other university men (Bleecker and Murnen, 2005). These findings suggest that environmental influences, especially peer attitudes and behaviours, may have a substantial impact on whether an individual develops support for rape myths.

Boeringer (1999) also found that students living in male residences were more supportive of rape myths compared to non-residence males. In addition, in the Harvard College Alcohol Study, students who resided in a males-only residence were identified as being more likely to perpetrate sexual assault as compared to male students not living in a males-only residence (Tyler, Hoyt, & Whitbeck, 1998). Adding to this, an association between higher levels of sexual aggression and belonging to a male residence was found (Koss & Gaines, 1993; Lackie & de Man, 1997). This may be indicative of a particular residential culture

which exists in some male only residences. Sanday's work conducted in the USA (1990, 1996b, as cited in Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004) describes male residences as containing "a homophobic, hypermasculine, and aggressive fraternity culture that devalues and objectifies women, advocates impersonal and exploitative sex, provides encouragement and role models for sexual coercion, and fosters male bonding through the sexual exploitation of women" (p105). While it is difficult to know whether similar dynamics exist amongst South African student residents, aspects of this description appear to resonate with anecdotal descriptions of male residence culture here and appear to resonate with the South African findings previously discussed.

Moving beyond male residences, it seems that in males-only group settings (such as sports clubs) young men also tend to exhibit higher levels of rape myth acceptance and sexual aggression (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). This arguably has to do with the psychological influence of group-think (social norms theory) where social pressure is strongly felt by group members; being included in the group means adopting the values and behaviours of the group. Young male university students living in a residence or involved in a team may be more likely to be sexually coercive or violent if they feel that their peers condone such behaviour in principle or in practice (Bohner et. al, 2005). Often the dominant characters and outspoken men in such groups are those who unify the team or group by creating in-groups of men and out-groups of women. As part of social theory, creating in-groups (in these instances, group members of men) and out-groups (women) is what creates unification of the brotherhood (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). The degradation aimed at the out-group strengthens the in-group's identity (Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). It is observed that often men who would have acted in a gender-equitable manner, if left to their own devices, will internalize the group's persona of hostility towards women and behave in a way that does not resonate with them as individuals independent of the group's influence. This is often the pre-cursor to notorious on-campus gang-rapes (Oneslager, 2006). In trying to understand gang rape, it has been found that men act more aggressively in groups as compared to when alone (Oneslager, 2006). Such aggressive behaviour can largely be attributed to three factors: diffusion of responsibility, de-individuation, and modelling behaviour of others (Oneslager, 2006). These factors in combination have a strong influence on the perpetration of gang rape (Oneslager, 2006). Being part of a group often discourages

self-scrutiny and may explain to some extent the prevalence of rape at universities and gang rape in some instances.

In looking at perpetrators' personality characteristics, Lisak and Roth (1990, as cited in Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004) conducted extensive interviews and personality tests on male university students who identified themselves as having committed a rape. From these interviews, it emerged that three main characteristics are shared between most rape perpetrators: anger towards women; a need to have power over women; and, a lack of confidence in their own masculinity (Lisak and Roth.1990, as cited in Adams-Curtis & Forbes, 2004). This research study and related perspectives contribute to ongoing debates about the question as to whether rape myth acceptance, rape perpetration and attitudes toward gender equity are more strongly influenced by external factors, such as environmental conditions, or by internal influences such as personality traits; or a combination of both.

2.7 Belief structures and attitudes in relation to rape myth acceptance

It has been found that people's belief structures and attitudes inform whether they accept or reject rape myths (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Belief structures represent an individual's cognitive reasoning which determines their thinking processes and ultimately their decision making. Research has shown that trends have emerged in studying men's belief structures around the definition of what constitutes rape and their attribution of responsibility for rape, while attitudinal trends also exist around sexual beliefs and sex roles (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994).

Research has shown that some men will hold distorted beliefs around rape and violence against women as a means to justify, minimize or deny the nature of their behaviour. It is through this mechanism that many men can lessen the gap (and cognitive dissonance) between what they know to be socially acceptable and moral with how they assess their own sexually aggressive or sexist behaviour, thereby alleviating critical self-judgment (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Some beliefs may include rationalizing sexually coercive behaviour as a loss of control or a moment of insanity; while other beliefs allow perpetrators to externalize blame by stating that their actions were due to accumulated

frustration (blaming the victim), alcohol or jealousy (Boozaier & de la Rey, 2004). Such beliefs continue to strengthen and legitimize gender-based violence in the minds of many perpetrators and even victims (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2008).

Regarding the definition of what constitutes rape; it is an individual's belief structure that is a central determinant of whether a person correctly defines what constitutes rape (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Individuals with higher rape myth acceptance will often incorrectly define what a rape is because they are not aware of the legal definition of rape and in this definitional gap, they will resort to relying on a myth to justify a range of coercive sexual acts (Burt, 1980). For example, if a man does not recognize forced sex by a partner as rape then such behaviour would not represent 'wrongful' action in his belief system and therefore the chances of justifying intimate partner rape for such an individual would be greater.

Moreover, owing to the distorted belief system associated with rape myths, studies have shown that attribution of responsibility is often incorrectly located in rape cases (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994). This may be largely because people justify the rape as a non-coercive and therefore place the blame on the victim. In studies conducted using vignettes and film clips of rape, it was found that both students and non-students with higher rape myth acceptance were less inclined to blame the man in a rape situation and instead to rather blame the victim (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). In such cases where victim-blaming is an element of a distorted belief system, rape myth acceptance (RMA) tends to be higher in the individual (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994).

Furthermore, adversarial sexual beliefs are often studied in relation to RMA. The idea of 'adversarial sexual beliefs' was first defined by Burt (1980) as "the expectation that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative, that each party to them is manipulative, sly, cheating, opaque to the other's understanding, and not to be trusted" (p. 147). Studies conducted with students and non-students revealed that individuals who hold adversarial sexual beliefs show higher levels of RMA (Burt, 1980). Individuals who support adversarial sexual beliefs are more likely to perceive women who claim to have been raped as being manipulative and trying to benefit from some ulterior motive (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994).

This has been observed to be a fairly prevalent perception amongst South African men (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This perception rejects the validity of the rape, undermines the integrity of the woman involved and protects the man from censure and/or criminal prosecution.

Moreover, men's attitudes towards women, with regards to gendered sex roles, have an important influence on RMA (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2008). Men who hold more rigid stereotypical attitudes about a woman's role socially and in relationships have been found to have higher levels of RMA (Kahn, Mathie, & Torgler, 1994), as might be anticipated. Such men would typically hold the social beliefs that women are inferior and deserve fewer rights (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994). Within intimate relationships, such men would typically hold the gendered attitude that a woman's role is one of subservience and that her purpose is to attend to a man's needs. These attitudes link to normalization of sexual domination and entitlement and contribute to higher levels of RMA in men (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2008).

Evidence was found that men who possessed attitudes which supported gender equitable norms reported engaging in significantly lower levels of partner violence (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). This suggests that men with an attitude that promotes gender equity are also perhaps likely to be less inclined to tolerate rape myths (since they are less likely to be sexually violent). The association between endorsement of gender inequity and sexism and rape myth acceptance has been found both amongst university students (Johnson, Kluck, & Schander, 1997) and in the general populace (Burt, 1980). However, often men may express themselves in ways which conform to social ideals while hiding their true desires (Gavey, 1989). This may be revealed in inconsistencies and contradictions between research outcomes and the reality of relational dynamics and patterns in a society.

Despite the high levels of violence in South African society, relationships between the kinds of attitudinal variables discussed here have largely not been systematically explored amongst South African men. This study therefore aims to make a contribution in this regard.

2.8 Rape myth acceptance as a predictor of sexual violence

Rape proclivity can be defined as the tendency that a man will rape (Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel & Siebler, 2005). In a study conducted by Bohner et al (2005), it was found that men who have higher rape myth acceptance also have higher rape proclivity. In this study, rape proclivity was assessed through self-report where participants were asked to read five case scenarios of a date rape and asked to indicate the likelihood of acting like the perpetrator (Bohner et. al, 2005). Other researchers have also found that individuals who are high in rape myth acceptance report a higher likelihood (intent) of raping compared to individuals who are low in rape myth acceptance (Iconis, 2008; Malamuth, 1981; Malamuth & Check. 1985; Tieger, 1981). Lanier (2001) conducted an extensive longitudinal study on 851 adolescent male students from rural areas in America. Those who showed higher levels of RMA were found to be 1.9 times more likely to behave in a sexually coercive manner in the following year (Lanier, 2001). Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) also found that men's acceptance of rape myths justified their sexual domination of women.

These findings are important to this piece of research: the presumption that higher levels of rape myth acceptance are linked to young men's likelihood of sexually assaulting women seems to hold true. Therefore, by assessing young men's acceptance of rape myths, this research essentially aimed to allow for a deeper understanding of young men's potential risk of being sexually violent against women, based on the inferred relationship between myth endorsement and propensity for enacting sexual violence.

In early studies by Burt (1980) it was found that the attitude which best predicted rape myth acceptance was an individual's acceptance of interpersonal violence. Acceptance of interpersonal violence is the belief that "force and coercion are legitimate ways to gain compliance and specifically that they are legitimate in intimate and sexual relationships" (Burt, 1980, p. 218). Other strong predictors of the acceptance of rape myths according to Burt's (1980) study are stereotyping of sex roles and adversarial sexual beliefs. This means that men who judge both men and women according to rigid sex role stereotypes and expect conformity to conventional sex role behaviour are more likely to justify the acceptance of rape myths. Furthermore, men who feel that fighting for male dominance is a

natural part of attaining their entitled male superiority will be more likely to accept rape myths (Burt, 1980). In this research acceptance of violence within an interpersonal relationship as well as attitudes about gender equity and sex roles will be measured by the GEM scale, as will be elaborated later.

In a more recent study, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) re-examined Burt's findings that the three best predictors of RMA were acceptance of interpersonal violence, stereotyping of sex roles and adversarial sexual beliefs. Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) showed that all three of Burt's (1980) variables could be better explained by a single underlying variable, namely hostility towards women. Hostility towards women predicted 40% of RMA in men (Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995). Although this simplifies the essence of Burt's (1980) work, it does not contradict or disprove previous findings. Rather, correlational significance between Burt's original three variables and RMA remained significantly high even in Lonsway and Fitzgerald's (1995) re-examination of the original research.

2.9 Sex-role identity and rape myth acceptance (RMA)

Bem maintains that scores on the masculinity and femininity subcomponents of the BSRI can predict gender-related attitudes, attributes, and behaviors (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). She argues that this is because an individual's self-description of their sex-role reflects the way they perceive the world (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). An individual's self-description will also reflect their identification with those masculine and feminine traits are generally held to be culturally desirable (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). As indicated previously, according to gender schema theory introduced by Bem, an individual will cognitively encode and organise information about the world based on sex-typed schema (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). By evaluating an individual's sex-type, their gender-related schemas (through which gender related information about themselves and others is processed) can be examined (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).

It was found that an individual who is masculine or feminine sex-typed is more likely to hold sex-role stereotypes as compared to an individual who can be categorized as androgynous

(Hoffman & Borders, 2001). This is because an individual who can be categorized as 'sex-typed' has incorporated more gender specific culturally stereotypical attributes into their sex-role identity (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). By using sex-role identity evaluations to reflect an individual's cognitive gender-schema, a deeper understanding of their attitudes and behaviours can be generated (Hoffman & Borders, 2001). Such attitudes conceivably will include those related to gender equity and rape myth acceptance, since both fit into gender schemas.

Research shows that an individual's sex role can determine their psychological health based on the way they respond to other people and different situations (Stets & Burke, 2000; Burr, 1998). The sex-role research shows that men who are androgynous represent the 'ideal' sex-type as compared to masculine sex-type (Bem, 1974). This is because a person who is androgynous has a fuller range of responses in different situations as compared to traditionally sex-typed individual who may suppress a certain range of behaviours which are considered socially inappropriate for their sex (Bem, 1974). It is for this reason that androgynous individuals have been found to have better interpersonal and social skills as opposed to those who are purely masculine sex-typed (Stets & Burke, 2000). Men who are undifferentiated have been found to struggle the most with psychological adjustment and are often found to be socially withdrawn due to their distorted social perceptions (Stets & Burke, 2000). Sex-typed men fall between these two extremes and appear to hold more rigid perceptions of social situations (Bem, 1974).

However, in more recent years, support for androgyny being the key predictor of psychological health has weakened. Much debate and research has been stimulated by this uncertainty. Studies have shown that both androgyny and masculinity may be equally adaptive (May & Spangenberg, 1997) and that psychological well-being is more closely associated with the masculine component of androgyny (Long, 1989). This may be as a result of masculinity being more associated with psychological robustness and better adjustment and self-esteem than femininity (May & Spangenberg, 1997). One may ask therefore why it is that feminine traits are not the component of androgyny which improves psychological well-being. One explanation was found to be that femininity was associated with higher anxiety (Biaggio & Nielson, 1976) and poorer personal adjustment (May &

Spangenberg, 1997). However these findings were contradicted by Schiff and Koopman (1978) who found some positive associations with femininity and higher ego strength, while masculinity could be equally associated with more problems related to substance abuse and aggression (Meyer & Salmon, 1984). Regardless of the debate between which element of androgyny can be credited for contributing most clearly to psychological health, it is widely found that undifferentiated individuals have the poorest mental health and lowest self-esteem due to their low levels of gender identification, be this with masculinity or femininity (Markstrom, Sabino, Turner & Berman, 1997).

Looking more specifically at sex-role identity (using the BSRI) and RMA, Quackenbush (1989) found that men who are masculine sex-typed (very high in masculine traits and very low in feminine traits) consistently were found to be more supportive of rape myths than androgynous men. Masculine sex-typed individuals were more victim-blaming than androgynous men. This can be further explained by assessing the masculine and feminine components of sex-roles separately. It was found that scoring high on feminine traits was associated with lower acceptance of rape myths (Quackenbush, 1989). This may be attributed to the association of higher femininity scores with stronger identification with characteristics, such as the capacity for empathy, vulnerability, nurturance and intimacy. Individuals who endorse these feminine associated traits while identifying with masculine traits (i.e. having an androgynous sex-type) will be more likely to reject rape myths (Quackenbush, 1989). Perhaps this is because such individuals have less of a need to assert any form of masculine dominance and therefore may exhibit a stronger inclination to be empathic and supportive of the position of the victim. Quackenbush (1989) also states that men who lack the social skills that are encompassed under feminine attributes, such as compassion and empathy, will be more likely to rely on myths in social situations; including the interpretation of social situations that involve sexual violence. This research re-enforces the hypothesis that androgynous men are more likely to be gender equitable and less accepting of rape myths.

There appears to be a considerable body of research contributing to insights in explaining and describing sex-role identity, attitudes towards gender equity and rape myth acceptance. However the lack of South African focused research, especially in light of the high rates of

sexual violence in South Africa, leaves a gap for the investigation of the kind of questions and hypotheses posed by this research study. Young South African male students represent a high-risk group for enactment of sexual violence at universities and represent the age-group in which a high prevalence of sexual violence is perpetrated and therefore form a legitimate target for research of this kind. The study aimed to explore levels of gender equity and rape myth acceptance amongst a young male sample as well as the possible relationships between sex role identifications, broader attitudes towards gender equality and acceptance of common myths justifying and minimizing sexual violence in the form of rape. The following chapter describes the methods employed to investigate these questions in this particular research study.

Chapter Three: Methodology

The following methodology chapter will outline the quantitative method used to address the aims of the present study. It will begin with the research questions, hypotheses and details of the sample, followed by a detailed exploration of the measures used in terms of their scope, development and their reliability and validity. A step-by-step outline of the data gathering process is presented followed by an outline of the statistical analyses conducted and then a discussion of ethical considerations.

3.1 Research questions

- With regard to South African male university students:

1. What is the level of endorsement of rape myths?
2. What is the level of acceptance of gender equity?
3. What is the pattern of gender identification as measured by the Bem Sex Role Identity scale?
4. Do students who possess attitudes rejecting gender equity show greater support for rape myths?
5. Do students with masculine identifications as opposed to androgynous identifications display a) lower levels of acceptance of gender equity; and b) higher levels of rape myth acceptance?
6. Do attitudes towards gender equity play a mediating role between sex-type and rape myth acceptance?

3.2 Hypotheses

The four main hypotheses of this study are:

1) Students possessing attitudes supporting gender-equity will be less accepting of rape myths
2) Androgynous students will display more gender-equitable attitudes than masculine sex-typed students.

3) Androgynous students will be less accepting of rape myths than masculine sex-typed students.
4) Attitudes towards gender equity will play a mediating role between sex role identification type and attitudes towards rape myths.

3.3 Research approach

This research study was quantitative in nature and employed a cross-sectional design.

3.4 Sample

For this study, non-probability convenience sampling was used with male undergraduate students from the University of the Witwatersrand (Wits). The sample consisted of 253 male students aged 18 to 25 from the engineering faculty. It was hoped that the substantially higher number of men in the engineering faculty would yield a larger sample size, thus having a positive effect on the statistical measures that could be used. This proved to be the case, allowing for collection of data from a relatively large sample of respondents. There were a further 83 females who filled in the questionnaire, however their results were excluded from this particular research study as young men were the targeted sample and gender difference was not the focus of this research. Subsequent research may further explore this portion of the data.

3.5 Method of data collection

Data was collected using a questionnaire made up of four subcomponents, including a brief demographic section and three established scales. The demographic questionnaire was used to obtain biographical information relevant to this study and to describe the sample characteristics. Three scales were used in this research study. To measure sex-role identity, the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) was used. To measure rape myth acceptance, the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Short Form (IRMA-SF) Scale was used. Lastly, to measure attitudes towards gender equity the Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale was used. Each of these scales is discussed with specific focus on the structure, purpose and psychometric properties of the scales.

3.5.1 Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

In this study, sex-role identity was measured using the original Bern Sex-Role Inventory (BSRI). The original BSRI as opposed to the BSRI Short Form was employed as the original has been shown to be more strongly predictive of actual behaviour (Hoffman & Borders, 2001).The BSRI contains 60 items and is self-administered. Twenty items refer to masculine traits (e.g. self reliant), twenty items refer to feminine traits (e.g. sympathetic), and twenty items are designed to be undifferentiated fillers (e.g. happy), tapping into traits that are not associated primarily with either masculinity or femininity but are applicable to both in equal measure. Test-takers rate themselves on a scale of 1 to 7 regarding how much of a given personality characteristic they believe themselves to possess, where 1 represents 'Never like me' and 7 represents 'Always like me'. Sex role classification is based on median splits of the masculinity and femininity subcomponents. The median is calculated based on the scores of the specific sample from whom data is collected. The median is calculated based on the mid-point between the average masculinity score and average femininity score obtained from the total sample. Subjects whose masculinity score is above the median and femininity score below the median are classified as masculine sex-typed. Subjects whose femininity score is above the median and masculinity score below the median are classified as feminine sex-typed. Subjects who score above the median on both masculinity and femininity scales are classified as androgynous and those who score below the median on both scales are classified as undifferentiated.

Reliability

Reliability coefficients for the Bem Sex Role Inventory are high: it has been found that alpha coefficients for the masculinity subcomponent were 0.86 and that the femininity subcomponent ranged between 0.80 and 0.82 (Holt & Ellis, 1998). Androgyny difference scores showed alpha coefficients at 0.86 (Holt & Ellis, 1998). Test-retest data over a 4-week interval found masculinity and femininity correlations to be 0.90, androgyny correlations to be 0.93, and filler correlations to be 0.89 (Holt & Ellis, 1998).

Validity

Factor analysis has been conducted on the BSRI to assess the construct validity of the scale. It was found that the premise that masculinity and femininity are two independent traits holds true as two main factors emerged: traits that fall under masculinity (strongest trait loading being 'assertiveness') and traits that fall under femininity (strongest trait loading being 'sensitivity') (Hiller & Philliber, 1985). Traits seldom load on both factors, further demonstrating construct validity, since masculinity and femininity vary independently as their own scales (Hiller & Philliber, 1985).

Spence (1991) compared the BSRI and the Personal Attributes Questionnaire (PAQ) as measures of gender identity – these are the two main sex-role identity instruments. Like the BSRI, the PAQ also measures self-esteem, sex-role attitudes, and gender-schematic processing. Spence (1991) found that the BSRI and PAQ are both similar in content and that the masculinity and femininity subcomponents are substantially correlated. The two subcomponents measuring masculinity have a consistently high correlation ranging from 0.72 to 0.84. The two subcomponents measuring femininity have a substantial yet lower correlation ranging from 0.52 to 0.71. Overall, this indicates strong construct validity for the BSRI (Spence, 1991).

Applicability in South Africa

The BSRI has been used in many South African studies. Unfortunately, most of these pieces of research have not been published beyond dissertation or thesis form. This research nevertheless suggests that the scale has relevance as a measure in this context. The concepts associated with masculinity and femininity expressed in the BSRI are highly relevant to South Africans' perceptions of stereotypical sex-roles and gendered behaviour (Albertyn, 2003; Morrell, 1998; Walker, 2005). Therefore the construct validity of the scale appears acceptable.

3.5.2 Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale

The GEM scale was developed to measure young men's attitudes toward gender norms (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The scale was developed and psychometrically analyzed based on responses of a representative sample of 742 men, including 223 young men between the ages of fifteen and twenty-four, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008).
The GEM scale is composed of 24 items. Both English and Portuguese versions of each item were developed (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The GEM scale is focused on key issues within relationships including gender norms related to "sexual and reproductive health, sexual relations, violence, domestic work and homophobia" (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008, p.1).

In terms of scoring, of the 24 scale items, 7 are reversed scored to allow for a high item score to reflect a gender equitable attitude. Furthermore, a cumulative total score is used for the GEM scale rather than an overall item average (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Participants are scored based on their item responses: a response of "Agree" with a gender equitable item is scored a 3; a response of "Partially Agree" is scored a 2; and, a response of "Do not Agree" is scored a 1 (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Total scores are categorized into three levels: low, moderate and high level of attitudes supporting gender equity (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Total scores in the lower third score range (1-24) are categorized as showing low levels of attitudes supporting gender equity (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Total scores in the middle third score range (25-47) are categorized as indicating moderate levels of attitudes supporting gender equity and scores in the upper third score range (48-72) are categorized as showing high levels of attitudes supporting gender equity (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008).

Internal Consistency and Construct Validity

The GEM scale has high internal consistency with a Cronbach alpha of 0.81 (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The GEM scale also has high construct validity (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). To test this, the associations between the GEM scale and theoretically associated variables were assessed (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). These variables included a history of physical violence with an intimate partner, safer sex behaviours and education level achieved

(Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). Indeed these variables were significantly associated with attitudes toward gender norms (in the correct direction of significance) and provided the basis for assuming strong construct validity: a history of physical violence in relationships was associated with lower GEM scale scores representing an attitude of gender inequity ($p < .001$); young men reporting lower levels of support for gender-equitable norms reported less use of any contraceptive ($p < .05$); and the GEM scale score was higher (i.e. more gender equitable) when individuals had a higher level of education ($p < .001$) (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). In addition to supporting the construct validity of the measure, these findings also suggest that the GEM has relevance for assessing not only attitudes but also behavioural practices associated with gender equitable attitudes.

Applicability in South Africa

According to the GEM developers, the scale is "broadly applicable yet culturally sensitive, so indicators can be applied in and compared across varied settings and be sufficiently relevant for specific cultural contexts" (Horizons, 2012, p.1). The GEM has been used in countries where pronounced gender inequality is found such as Brazil, India, Ethiopia, Kenya and Nicaragua (Horizons, 2012). South Africa may be considered a country where the applicability of the GEM scale is sound due to some similarities in gender relations to the countries previously mentioned. The key issues in relationships that the GEM scale focuses on - gender norms related to "sexual and reproductive health, sexual relations, violence, domestic work and homophobia" (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008, p.1) - are relevant and applicable to the South African population.

3.5.3 Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale - Short Form

The Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale Short Form (IRMA-SF) is a 20-item self-report instrument developed to measure a respondent's stance on the complex set of cultural beliefs surrounding rape myths. These myths are said to support and perpetuate rape related sexual violence (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The IRMA-SF was developed from the original IRMA which contains 45-items. This short form version of the scale can be said to be the most reliable rape myth scale to date with the most extensively proven sound

psychometric properties (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). From the original scale, 17 items were selected which included items from each of the seven subscales including 4 from *She asked for it*, 3 from *Rape is a deviant event*, 2 each from the remaining five subscales (*It wasn't really rape; He didn't mean to; She wanted it; She lied; Rape is a trivial event*), and 3 negatively worded filler items to help control response sets – these 3 items are not incorporated in the total score (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). Two examples of the scale items are: "*If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape*" and "*Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men*." The individual responds to each item based on a 7-point Likert-type scale which ranges from 1 (totally disagree) to 7 (totally agree), showing to what degree they agree with the statement (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The IRMA-SF provides a total mean score; with higher scores indicating higher levels of rape myth acceptance.

Reliability

Cronbach's alpha (internal consistency) for the IRMA-SF total score is 0.87 (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). Furthermore, the correlation between the full 45-item IRMA scale and the 20-item IRMA-SF used in this research is 0.97 ($p<.001$). The subscale-total correlations range from 0.54 to 0.73.

Validity

The construct validity of the IRMA has also been supported in previous research. The IRMA has been found to correlate with measures of sex-role stereotyping (Sex-Role Stereotyping Scale, r=0.55; Sexism Scale, r=0.63), adversarial sexual beliefs (Adversarial Sexual Beliefs Scale, r=0.74), adversarial heterosexual beliefs (Adversarial Heterosexual Beliefs Scale, r=0.63), hostility toward women (Hostility Toward Women Scale, r=0.57), and acceptance of interpersonal violence (Acceptance of Interpersonal Violence Scale, r=0.50) (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). These correlations are all significant at the $p<0.001$ level.

Additionally, a comparison of the rape myth acceptance of police officers and rape advocacy counsellors was conducted (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). In general, police officers are a group known to endorse higher levels of rape myth acceptance while rape advocacy counsellors are known to endorse lower levels of rape myth acceptance (Payne, Lonsway, &

Fitzgerald, 1999). Results showed a significant difference in acceptance of rape myths ($p<0.001$) between the two groups in the expected direction showing strong predictive validity for the measure (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). Finally, correlations were computed between IRMA scores and scores related to the presence of empathy (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). The scores of empathy were extracted from stories in which the study's participants wrote about a rape scenario (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999). It was found that participants' empathy towards the rape victim in the story was negatively correlated with the participant's IRMA scores ($p<0.001$) - as was expected (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999), again providing some further evidence for construct validity.

Applicability in South Africa

The IRMA-SF was developed in the state of Illinois in the United States of America. Therefore, it can be expected that some rape myth items which would have been uniquely South African are not included, for example raping a virgin cures HIV/AIDS. Nevertheless, the current IRMA-SF displays strong content and face validity with every item included being relevant to the South African context (and to most contexts where the prevalence of rape and sexual violence is high). This may explain why this scale has been so widely used when assessing rape myth acceptance. Therefore, although a slight adaptation of a few scale items may have been ideal, the validity of the IRMA-SF scale remains high and the scale was considered appropriate to measure the intended construct of rape myth acceptance amongst this sample. It was also felt that using a well established measure would allow for comparisons with other international research findings.

3.6 Procedure

The first step in the procedure was obtaining ethical clearance to conduct the study (see Appendix G). Following this, permission was granted by the Head of the Engineering and Built Environment Faculty to conduct the study. The Head of the School of Mechanical Engineering put the researcher in contact with the course coordinator of the 2nd and 4th year engineering classes. A meeting was scheduled with the course coordinator who suggested using an online format for administration, indicating that engineering students complete online tutorials weekly and that the online link to the questionnaire could be placed within

their student portal which they frequently access. This suggestion was taken up and an online equivalent of the paper-and-pen version of the questionnaire was created using SurveyMonkey. An online address or "link" was created which allowed participants to access the questionnaire at their own convenience and in their own time. This link was posted on the student's online tutorial portal for ease of access and minimised any disruption of lecture time.

Arrangements were made to approach two large classes at second and fourth year levels. Prior to accessing the online site students were addressed briefly in class. A brief description of the purpose of the research study was given and students were told that the study would form part of the requirements for the completion of the Masters in Clinical Psychology programme for the researcher. The time expected for the completion of the questionnaire (20 minutes) was also communicated to participants. Documentation explaining these aspects of the study and addressing ethical considerations formed the first page of the online questionnaire. Confidentiality and anonymity of participants' responses, specifically in light of future collaboration between researcher and course coordinator around the incentive allocation, was explicitly addressed.

Furthermore, the lecturer offered to create an incentive scheme where each participant would be granted an additional 5% on their class test for participation, translating into 0.5% of their semester mark for this subject. This incentive appeared to improve the response rate with over 95% of those offered the opportunity to take part in the study choosing to complete the questionnaire.

After addressing the students, a two-week time frame was given for completion of the online questionnaire. The list of participants' student numbers was emailed to the course coordinator once all data was collected. No other information was given to the course coordinator. Female students were not excluded when collecting data and participants were not informed of the gender focus of the study.

Following the two week period allowed for participation in the study, results of the online questionnaire were downloaded via the SurveyMonkey account the researcher had created.

The data was already in a summarised excel format and so no further data capturing was required although some reverse scoring and 'cleaning' was necessary.

3.7 Data analysis

The descriptive statistics were first analysed, followed by a reliability analysis of each scale. Thereafter, parametric assumptions of the correlations and regression analyses were tested, followed by further appropriate statistical analyses.

Statistical tests

Using the SPSS system, statistical tests were applied to the data collected. Descriptive statistics were conducted in order to assess the means and standard deviations for each scale variable used, namely the BSRI, RMA and GEM scale. Demographic variables were also correlated with the RMA and GEM scale scores. This revealed whether certain demographic traits were more strongly related to either of these two scales than others.

Two one-way ANOVAs were conducted: the first used the categories of sex role identity as the independent variable and the measure of rape myth acceptance as the dependent variable. This answered the question about whether certain categories of sex role identity were associated with higher or lower RMA scores. The second one-way ANOVA again included the categories of sex role identity as the independent variable but the dependent variable was the measure of gender equity. This indicated whether certain categories of sex role identity were associated with specific levels of gender equity. Regression analyses were run between the three variables, namely between the BSRI and RMA; BSRI and GEM scale; and, RMA and GEM scale. This revealed whether there was a predictive relationship between sex-role identity, rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity.

A one-way ANCOVA was conducted to remove the effect of gender equity scores when assessing the different levels of RMA across the sex role identity categories. Here the independent variable was the categories of sex role identity; the dependent variable was RMA; and, GEM scores were the covariate. This ANCOVA calculation was designed to reveal

whether the differences in RMA across the sex role identity categories held when the effect of the GEM scale was extracted.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

Participation in the study was voluntary and therefore students had the right not to participate without fear of prejudice or any negative consequences. Students who wanted to participate were allowed to withdraw at any time. All students approached, irrespective of gender, were given an opportunity to participate in the study and to claim the 5% test bonus incentive. The fact that the incentive contribution to the final course mark was 0.5% meant that it was unlikely that any student who had strong objections to filling in the questionnaire would be over-incentivised to take part. This ensured participation fairness and, coincidently, gender equity. Female participant results were not discarded but rather stored separately by the researcher, intended for possible future research comparing gender results. Therefore, based on this and the incentive they received, their participation cannot be discounted or seen as ethically unjust. Furthermore, in terms of informed consent, the purpose and nature of the research was communicated to the class and appeared on the participation information sheet (see Appendix A). It was believed that by omitting the gender focus of the study in the informed consent communication, there was no significant undermining of the purpose of the study or deliberate deceit of participants. Furthermore, it was believed that results would reflect more honest and thoughtful participation from both male and female students if the gender focus was not foregrounded.

Participants' responses on questionnaires were anonymous as no personally identifying information was traceable back to any particular individual: the researcher had no way of linking student numbers to the individual and the course coordinator did not have access to individual results. Confidentiality was further maintained as all raw data was handled by the researcher and output data represented group trends rather than individual results. Feedback was provided via a web blog. Results of the questionnaire were made available in summary form to participants on an online internet blog which they could access at their convenience, the website address being included on the participant information sheet.

Researcher details, such as university email address, were also provided in case of further queries.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Results of Scale Reliability Analyses

Table 1: Cronbach alpha coefficient for each instrument

		Cronbach's alpha coefficient	
Variable	**Number of items**	**Raw**	**Standardized**
RMA	17	0.853	0.854
She asked for it (SA)	4	0.678	0.678
She wanted it (WI)	2	0.4	0.425
Rape is a trivial event (TE)	2	0.541	0.545
It wasn't really rape (NR)	2	0.342	0.425
Rape is a deviant event (DE)	3	0.55	0.57
She lied (LI)	2	687	0.688
He didn't mean to (MT)	2	0.552	0.554
BSRI Masculinity scale	20	0.817	0.826
BSRI Femininity scale	20	0.812	0.832
BSRI Neutral scale	20	0.526	0.586
GEM Scale	24	0.788	0.793

From the table above, it can be seen that all scales had acceptable reliability. While some of the sub-components of the Rape Myth Acceptance scale have somewhat low reliability (perhaps linked to small number of items) the overall measure has good reliability.

4.2 Demographic Information

There were 253 males who took part in the study. The following tables illustrate the nature of the male sample in terms of age, race, relationship status, home language and whether the participant lived in a males-only university residence or not. The demographic profile of the sample in respect of each of these categories follows in Tables 2 to Table 6 respectively:

Table 2: Age Distribution

Age (in years)					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	17	1	.4	.4	.4
	18	4	1.6	1.6	2.0
	19	37	14.6	14.6	16.6
	20	72	28.3	28.5	45.1
	21	55	21.7	21.7	66.8
	22	20	7.9	7.9	74.7
	23	18	7.1	7.1	81.8
	24	23	9.1	9.1	90.9
	25	12	4.7	4.7	95.7
	>25	11	4.3	4.3	100.0
	Total	253	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.4		
Total		254	100.0		

Table 3: Race Distribution

Race					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Black	142	55.9	56.3	56.3
	Indian	38	15.0	15.1	71.4
	Coloured	5	2.0	2.0	73.4
	White	64	25.2	25.4	98.8
	Oriental	2	.8	.8	99.6
	Other	1	.4	.4	100.0
	Total	252	99.2	100.0	
Missing	System	2	.8		
Total		254	100.0		

Table 4: Relationship status

Relationship Status					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Single	149	58.7	58.9	58.9
	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	26	10.2	10.3	69.2
	In a relationship (less than 6 months)	20	7.9	7.9	77.1
	In a relationship (more than 6 months)	53	20.9	20.9	98.0
	Engaged or Married	5	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	253	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.4		
Total		254	100.0		

Table 5: Home language

Home language					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	English	110	43.3	43.8	43.8
	Afrikaans	1	.4	.4	44.2
	isiZulu	20	7.9	8.0	52.2
	Northern Sotho	21	8.3	8.4	60.6
	Tshivenda	20	7.9	8.0	68.5
	Xitsonga	10	3.9	4.0	72.5
	Sesotho	14	5.5	5.6	78.1
	isiXhosa	3	1.2	1.2	79.3
	isiNdebele	5	2.0	2.0	81.3
	SisSwati	11	4.3	4.4	85.7
	Setswana	12	4.7	4.8	90.4
	Other	24	9.4	9.6	100.0
	Total	251	98.8	100.0	
Missing	System	3	1.2		
Total		254	100.0		

Table 6: Living in males-only residence at the University of the Witwatersrand

Are you currently living in a males-only residence at Wits?					
		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes	36	14.2	14.2	14.2
	No	217	85.4	85.8	100.0
	Total	253	99.6	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.4		
Total		254	100.0		

The most common "profile" of a respondent was one who was in the age group of 19 to 21 years old (representative of 50% of the sample); was either black (56%) or white (25%); was either single (59%) or engaged or married (21%); spoke English (43%) as their first home language; and did not live in a males-only residence at Wits (85%).

4.3 Descriptive Statistics of the Scales used: Bem's Sex Role Inventory (BSRI); Gender Equitable Men (GEM) Scale; and Rape Myth Acceptance (RMA) Scale

Table 7: Descriptive Statistics of the GEM and RMA scales

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
GEM Scale	253	62.6	5.786	42	72
RMA Scale	253	2.40	.902	1	5

The table above indicates that the sample mean for the GEM scale is 62.6 out of a possible maximum of 72. The GEM average scores are therefore extremely high which indicates a high degree of attitudes promoting equity between men and women. The RMA mean for the sample is 2.40 which indicates a low score as the maximum score possible is 7. Since participants responded on a scale where only the extreme points of 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree) were labelled, the score of 2.4 is indicative of higher levels of disagreement with rape myths. It is interesting to note that out of the large sample of 253 participants, not one responded above a response of 5 on any of the RMA items. For details of the descriptive results for each RMA scale item and each GEM scale item, see Table 26 and Table 27 respectively in Appendix F.

Table 8: Descriptive Statistics of RMA Sub-components

Rape Myth Theme	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
She asked for it	2.4	1.2	1.0	6.3
She wanted it	2.0	1.2	1.0	7.0
Rape is a trivial event	2.3	1.4	1.0	6.5
It wasn't really rape	1.6	1.0	1.0	7.0
Rape is a deviant event	2.2	1.1	1.0	5.7
She lied	3.2	1.4	1.0	7.0
He didn't mean to	3.1	1.7	1.0	7.0

Looking at the above table of means for each of the sub-components of the RMA, it can be seen that the themes of "She lied" (μ=3.2) and "He didn't mean to" (μ=3.1) were the most strongly endorsed rape myth themes. The specific items within each of these two themes that evidenced the highest scores were: "Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men" (μ=3.4); and "Rape happens when a man's sex drive gets out of control" (μ=3.2), respectively. However, overall the means were low which shows low levels of RMA.

Table 9: Descriptive Statistics of the BSRI scale

Sex-role Identity	Count of Sex-Type	Percentage (%) of Sex- Type	Average of Masculinity Subcomponent Score	Average of Femininity Subcomponent Score
Masculine	95	37	5.59	4.49
Androgynous	73	29	5.65	5.55
Feminine	20	8	4.61	5.39
Undifferentiated	65	26	4.39	4.30
Grand Total	**253**	**100**	**5.22**	**4.82**

The table above indicates the count of each sex-type established based on the median-split method of classification: there were 95 masculine sex-typed (37%); 73 androgynous sex-typed (29%); 20 feminine sex-typed (8%) and 65 undifferentiated sex-typed (26%) individuals within the sample. The averages of both the Masculinity and Femininity subcomponents of the BSRI for each sex-type have been included and are in line with the predicted subscale scores outlined in the Method Section previously. The number of androgynous sex-typed participants was somewhat higher than expected in an all-male sample of engineering students, however, the scale reliabilities presented above suggest that this finding reflects a valid pattern of response in this regard.

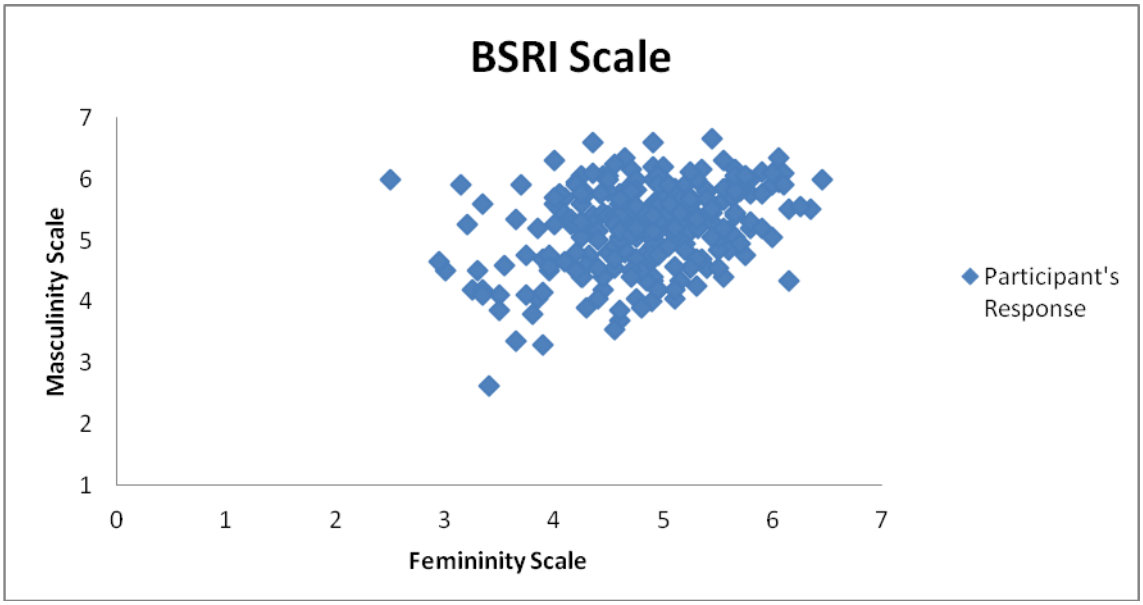

Figure 1: Scatter plot of the BSRI Scale illustrating the Masculinity and Femininity subcomponent responses

The scatter plot showed how the respondents generally scored highly on both the Masculinity and Femininity subcomponents of the BSRI and how very low scores (which represented respondents feeling that a sex-role identity description is not true of them) on both the Masculinity and Femininity subcomponents of the BSRI were rare. This explains the high frequency of androgynous sex-typed individuals. However, it is noteworthy that a considerable proportion of the sample (65 individuals or 26%) were categorized as undifferentiated, which was somewhat unusual in relation to sample patterns more generally.

4.4. The relationship between RMA and Gender Equity

4.4.1 Correlations

As no concerns with the assumptions were raised with regard to looking at the relationship between the RMA and the GEM scale, Pearson's *r* was used to correlate the relationship between these variables.

Table 10: Correlation coefficient for RMA and GEM scale

	GEM Scale
RMA Scale	-.586*

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed)

The results suggested that the RMA scale was significantly related to the GEM scale at the 1% level of significance. (r=-0.586) The strength of the relationship was strong. The negative direction suggested that higher scores on the GEM are associated with lower scores on the RMA scale as was expected, since higher GEM scores indicate more gender equitable attitudes.

4.4.2 Regression analysis with the GEM Scale being a predictor of the RMA Scale

Table 11: Regression analysis with the GEM Scale being a predictor of the RMA Scale: ANOVA Results

ANOVA[a]						
Adjusted R Square = 0.340						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	70.267	1	70.267	130.773	.000[b]
	Residual	134.867	251	.537		
	Total	205.133	252			

a. Dependent Variable: RMA Scale score

b. Predictors: (Constant), GEM Scale Score

Table 12: Regression analysis with the GEM Scale being a predictor of the RMA Scale: Coefficients

Coefficients[a]						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	8.117	.502		16.174	.000
	GEM Scale Score	-.091	.008	-.585	-11.436	.000

a. Dependent Variable: RMA Scale Score

An ANOVA for the linear regression model was generated to assess whether the GEM score i.e. the predictor variable, was able to predict RMA scores. As seen from Tables 11 and 12 above, the regression equation was found to be highly significant at the 0.1% level of significance. The R-square of .34 suggests that approximately 34% of the variability in the RMA score can be explained by the GEM score.

4.4.3 Regression analysis with the RMA Scale being a predictor of the GEM Scale

Table 13: Regression analysis with the RMA Scale being a predictor of the GEM Scale: ANOVA Results

ANOVA[a]						
Adjusted R Square = 0.340						
Model		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
1	Regression	2890.310	1	2890.310	130.773	.000[b]
	Residual	5547.514	251	22.102		
	Total	8437.824	252			

a. Dependent Variable: GEM Scale Score

b. Predictors: (Constant), RMA TOTAL MEAN

Table 14: Regression analysis with the RMA Scale being a predictor of the GEM Scale: Coefficients

Coefficients[a]						
Model		Unstandardized Coefficients		Standardized Coefficients	t	Sig.
		B	Std. Error	Beta		
1	(Constant)	71.640	.842		85.079	.000
	RMA Scale Score	-3.754	.328	-.585	-11.436	.000

a. Dependent Variable: GEM Scale Score

An ANOVA for the linear regression model was generated to infer whether the RMA scores i.e. the predictor variable, was useful in predicting GEM scores. As seen from Table 13 and 14 above, the regression equation was found to be highly significant at the 0.1% level of significance. The R-square of .34 suggests that approximately 34% of the variability in the GEM score can be explained by the RMA score. Thus it was evident that there appeared to be a mutually predictive relationship between both scale measures, with gender equitable attitudes being predictive of less RMA (as would be anticipated), but equally, higher RMA being predictive of lower tolerance of gender equity.

4.5 The relationship between Sex-role identity and a) RMA and b) Gender Equity

4.5.1 Results of the ANOVA between BSRI and a) RMA and b) Gender Equity

Table 15: Descriptive Statistics for BSRI with RMA and GEM

Descriptive Statistics						
	Sex-role	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum
RMA Scale	Masculine	95	2.4	0.83	1	5
	Feminine	20	2.3	0.90	1	4
	Androgynous	73	2.3	0.94	1	5
	Undifferentiated	65	2.5	0.97	1	5
	Total	253	2.4	0.90	1	5
GEM Scale	Masculine	95	62	5.9	42	72
	Feminine	20	65	3.9	56	70
	Androgynous	73	63	5.6	49	71
	Undifferentiated	65	62	6.1	44	71
	Total	253	63	5.8	42	72

Table 16: ANOVA results for BSRI with RMA and GEM

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
RMA Scale	Between Groups	.988	3	.329	.402	.752
	Within Groups	204.146	249	.820		
	Total	205.133	252			
GEM Scale	Between Groups	235.132	3	78.377	2.379	.070
	Within Groups	8202.692	249	32.943		
	Total	8437.824	252			

Table 15 above shows the mean scores for the different sex-types on the GEM and RMA scales. There is a very small difference between the sex-type's mean scores within each scale. The assumption of homogeneity of variance of the sample was met using Levene's statistic. Thus, using parametric statistics, the ANOVA results (Table 16) indicate that there was no significant difference in variance between the different sex-role identity groups and RMA scores (p=0.752) as well as between the different sex-role identity groups and GEM scores (p=0.07). The results of these ANOVAs indicate that the two main hypotheses - that

sex-role identity is related to: 1) RMA; and 2) attitudes towards gender equity on the GEM - are not supported.

The correlation between RMA and the BSRI's Femininity and Masculinity subcomponents (illustrated in Table 17 below) further confirms the lack of relationship between the two variables ($p>0.05$; $r=-.055$ and $r=-.029$, respectively).

Table 17: Correlation of BSRI Femininity and Masculinity subcomponents and RMA

Correlation			
		BSRI Femininity Subcomponent	BSRI Masculinity Subcomponent
RMA Scale	Pearson Correlation (r)	-.055	-.029
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.385	.643
	N	253	253

However, the relationship between the GEM score and BSRI scores does tend towards significance and the possibility of a relationship between these two variables is further supported by the correlations between the GEM and Masculinity and Femininity scores on the BSRI illustrated below (Table 18).

Table 18: Correlation of BSRI Femininity and Masculinity subcomponents and GEM

Correlation			
		BSRI Femininity Subcomponent	BSRI Masculinity Subcomponent
GEM Scale Score	Pearson Correlation (r)	-.007	.225**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.910	.000
	N	253	253

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation between the GEM and the BSRI Femininity scores was found to be not significant ($p>0.05$; $r=-.007$). However, the correlation between GEM and the BSRI Masculinity scores was found to be significant ($p<0.001$; $r=.225$). This correlation is modest, however, and does not indicate a strong relationship between the GEM score and Masculinity scores on the BSRI.

Table 19: Results of ANCOVA for Sex type and RMA (with the GEM as the covariate)

Dependent Variable: RMA

ANCOVA						
Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.	Partial Eta Squared
Corrected Model	71.115[a]	4	17.779	32.761	.000	.346
Intercept	137.489	1	137.489	253.351	.000	.505
GEM Scale Score	70.142	1	70.142	129.251	.000	.343
Sex Type	.579	3	.193	.356	.785	.004
Error	134.585	248	.543			
Total	1662.980	253				
Corrected Total	205.700	252				

a. R Squared = .346 (Adjusted R Squared = .335)

The above table shows that there was insufficient evidence to indicate that RMA is determined by an individual's sex type when removing the effects of attitudes towards gender equity. Since it was established above, in Table 13 and 14, that gender equitable attitudes are predictive of less RMA and that higher RMA is predictive of lower tolerance of gender equity, it was important to assess whether, when removing the effects of gender equitable attitudes (the covariate), a significant difference in variance would be found between sex-role identity and RMA. However, according to the ANCOVA results, an individual's sex type explains only 0.4% of their RMA score when removing the effect of the covariate. The results indicate that, even when the effect of the GEM scale was extracted, the differences in RMA across the sex role identity categories did not hold and remained insignificant.

4.6. Relationships between demographic dimensions, RMA and GEM scales

It was decided to investigate whether there appeared to be any significant relationships between demographic characteristics of the sample and gender equitable attitudes and RMA. Only those findings that were found to be significant are presented here.

4.6.1 Comparison of RMA and GEM scores between subjects living in a males-only residence and others

Table 20: Results of ANOVA comparing RMA scores for participants who reside in a males-only residence with those who do not

ANOVA					
RMA Scale Score					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	9.199	1	9.199	11.785	.001
Within Groups	195.934	251	.781		
Total	205.133	252			

The assumption of homogeneity of variance of the sample was met using Levene's statistic. Thus, using parametric statistics, the ANOVA results (Table 20) indicate that living in male-only residents at Wits is significantly related to higher levels of RMA at a 0.1% level of significance.

Table 21: Results of correlation between GEM scores for participants who reside in a males-only residence with those who do not

Correlation		
		GEM Scale Score
Are you currently living in a males-only residence at Wits?	Pearson Correlation	.073
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.250
	N	253

Table 22: Results of ANOVA comparing GEM scores for participants who reside in a males-only residence with those who do not

ANOVA					
GEM Scale Score					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	44.464	1	44.464	1.330	.250
Within Groups	8393.360	251	33.440		
Total	8437.824	252			

Results relating to the correlation between GEM scores and living in a males-only residence were not significant (p=0.073) although they tend towards significance (Table 21). Thus living in males-only residents at Wits is not significantly related to gender equitable attitudes. The assumption of homogeneity of variance of the sample was met using Levene's

statistic. Thus, using parametric statistics, the ANOVA results (Table 22) confirm that the differences found between the two groups were not significant (p>0.05) as a result of the lack of relationship found between the variables.

4.6.2 Relationship Status, RMA and GEM scale scores

The ANOVA table below illustrates how both RMA and GEM scores differed significantly based on participants' reported relationship status.

Table 23: Results of ANOVA for Relationship Status with RMA and GEM scores

ANOVA						
		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
RMA Scale Score	Between Groups	12.077	4	3.019	3.879	.004
	Within Groups	193.056	248	.778		
	Total	205.133	252			
GEM Scale Score	Between Groups	385.567	4	96.392	2.969	.020
	Within Groups	8052.258	248	32.469		
	Total	8437.824	252			

For the GEM scale, this finding was significant at p=0.02 and for the RMA Scale this finding was significant at p=0.004. The post-hoc tests explored which "relationship status" pairs were found to be significantly different. For details of the descriptive results for relationship status with the RMA and GEM scores see Table 28 in Appendix F. For details of the post-hoc "relationship status" pairs and RMA score as well as "relationship status" pairs and GEM score, see Table 29 and Table 30 respectively in Appendix F.

The significant results are as follows for the RMA scale: individuals who are in a casual relationship (non-committed) have significantly higher levels of RMA than those in a committed relationship (for more than 6 months) (p=0.012); individuals who are in a committed relationship for less than 6 months have significantly higher levels of RMA than those In a committed relationship for more than 6 months (p=0.033).

For the GEM scale it was found that single participants held significantly higher levels of gender equitable attitudes than those in relationships for less than six months (p=0.007). No other comparison pairings were significant for the GEM.

4.6.3 Race Group and RMA and GEM scale scores

A preliminary ANOVA was run for both RMA and GEM scale scores linked to self-reported racial categorisation (Table 24 and Table 25 respectively below).

Table 24: Results of ANOVA for Race with RMA scores

ANOVA					
RMA Scale Score					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	20.030	4	5.008	6.720	.000
Within Groups	183.299	246	.745		
Total	203.329	250			

Table 25: Results of ANOVA for Race with GEM scores

ANOVA					
GEM Scale Score					
	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	1283.031	4	320.758	11.123	.000
Within Groups	7065.033	245	28.837		
Total	8348.063	249			

Both ANOVA's were found to be significant at 0.1% level of significance. Further multiple comparisons of groups were run based on a Tukey HSD post-hoc test. For details of the post-hoc Race pairs and RMA score as well as Race and GEM score, see Table 31 and Table 32 respectively in Appendix F.

It was found that Black participants demonstrated significantly higher RMA scores than White participants (p<0.001) and Indian participants (p=0.019). The same trend was found for race groups in relation to their GEM scores. The scores on the GEM were significantly

lower (representing gender inequitable attitudes) for Black participants as compared to White participants ($p<0.001$) and Indian participants (($p<0.001$). It must be noted that despite there being these significant differences according to self-reported racial category, the overall means of Black participants' scores on the RMA and GEM scales were still illustrative of relatively low levels of RMA and high levels of gender equitable attitudes.

4.7. Summary of Main Results

Results of this study showed extremely high scores for the GEM scale which indicates a high degree of attitudes promoting gender equity between men and women. RMA scores were low signifying strong levels of disagreement with rape myths. Sex-type categorization revealed that many men incorporate both masculine and feminine traits into their sex-role identification, leading to high levels of androgyny in the sample.

In terms of the relationship between the three main variables, the only significant result existed between the RMA and GEM scale ($r=0.586$ when $\alpha=0.01$). Both the RMA and GEM scales were found to be predictive of each other: each variable explains approximately 34% of the variability in the other. The other two main hypotheses - that sex-role identity would be related to: 1) RMA; and 2) GEM scores - were not supported. However, there was a weak relationship between the GEM and Masculinity subcomponent of the BSRI ($r=.225$; $p<0.001$).

In terms of significant relationships between demographic dimensions, living in a males-only residence was related to higher levels of RMA but had no relationship to the GEM scale. In terms of relationship status, individuals with a higher degree of commitment within their romantic relationships tended to be more rejecting of rape myths and single individuals showed significantly higher levels of gender equitable attitudes than those in a relationship but of a non-committed kind. Looking at race, it was found that Black participants demonstrated significantly higher RMA scores than White participants ($p<0.001$) and Indian participants ($p=0.019$). The same trend was found for race groups in relation to their GEM scores.

Chapter Five: Discussion

The following chapter will present a discussion of the key findings of the present research, including reference to arguments developed in the literature review. The results of the descriptive statistics of the three measures used (BSRI; RMA and GEM Scale) will be discussed first, followed by an assessment of the correlations and the level of predictive power and relationships found between these variables. This will be followed by an examination of how certain demographic factors may influence patterns of responses on some of these measures. These arguments will then be integrated in a conclusion section, followed by consideration of the limitations of the present research as well as recommendations for future research.

5.1 The Descriptive Statistics related to Sex-role Identity, Rape Myth Acceptance and Gender Equity

5.1.1 Sex-role Identity

Since the students approached to take part in the research were those in an Engineering Faculty, the sample was expected to be likely to yield high levels of masculine sex-typed individuals, moderate levels of androgynous participants and low levels of feminine sex-typed and undifferentiated participants using the BSRI. However, the results suggested lower levels of masculinity and higher levels of androgyny and undifferentiated participants than expected. The lower than anticipated levels of masculine sex-typed (37%) and higher than anticipated levels of androgynous participants (29%) indicate a greater willingness to self-identify with feminine traits amongst this sample of young men. This trend of sex-role identity was also found to exist in a similar study conducted on young South African male students at the same university by Schneider (2005). In Schneider's (2005) study, a higher frequency of androgyny (31%) and undifferentiated individuals (34%) also existed, while being masculine sex-typed had an even lower than anticipated frequency (15%) as compared to this study. This may illustrate a trend amongst young South African men to incorporate higher levels of characteristics traditionally associated with femininity into their

identity. For example, incorporating qualities such as empathy, nurturance and capacity for intimacy may have become culturally more desirable than in the past. This may suggest that there has been a shift in gender-related attributions of traits and roles, perhaps as a consequence of wider dissemination of gender theory and the encouragement of more fluid masculine identities, such as that of the metrosexual or 'new man'.

The pattern of gender identification profiles amongst the sample appears to resonate with the work of Hoffman and Borders (2001) who claim that an individual's gender-related schema (through which gender related information about themselves and others is processed) emerges as a result of socialization and cultural desirability. It should be noted that perhaps this trend of incorporating more typically feminine traits exists in populations of higher socio-economic status and higher education levels, where emancipated views of gender-relations are more likely to be fostered and condoned. However, it is interesting to note the emergence of a less stereotypic view of masculine and feminine identification amongst this sample of young, trainee engineers at this point in time.

The higher than expected frequency of undifferentiated participants (26%) suggests that a fairly large proportion of this group of students do not have a clear sense of themselves in terms of personality characteristics associated with masculinity and femininity and therefore may lack the insight to easily categorize themselves. The literature tends to indicate that undifferentiated respondents have a lower level of self-awareness (than those in the other three categories) as they do not identify strongly with any gender identity type (Stets & Burke, 2000; Markstrom, Sabino, Turner & Berman, 1997). However, again it is interesting to note that this undifferentiated group also fall out of the traditional masculine typed identity commonly associated with engineering.

It is also perhaps important to note that the variations in scores on the masculinity and femininity sets of attributes were not wide, as illustrated in Table 9, and thus that there may not have been very strong differences in sex-role identifications across the four groups and across, for example, androgynous and undifferentiated individuals. However, the median-split method is that which is conventionally employed in categorizing respondents on the

BSRI. Even with relatively homogenous scores, the categorization should reflect what differences there are within a particular sample.

5.1.2 Rape Myth Acceptance

The participant's current level of gender-related prejudice as indicated by constructions of sexual assault was assessed via the Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance scale. The results showed that the overall level of rape myth acceptance was low. Since students responded on a scale where only the extreme points of 1 (strongly disagree) and 7 (strongly agree) were labelled, the mean score of 2.4 is indicative of higher levels of disagreement with rape myths. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that not one student responded higher than a score of 5 on any item of this scale. This was a positive indicator given the high levels of gender violence and rape in South Africa and the fact that, as discussed in the literature review, there does appear to be some relationship between rape myth attitudes and the propensity for enactment of sexual violence. The low level of rape myth acceptance may be a result of the interplay of several factors, including awareness of social desirability and self-censorship in answering the questionnaire and the fact that there have been recent active anti-rape (for example *1 million rising*) and anti-sexual harassment campaigns at the university and off campus; or the finding may represent a 'real' and relatively spontaneous reflection of the holding of attitudes rejecting of rape myths. It is difficult to pin-point specifically which of the above-mentioned factors may be responsible for the low acceptance of rape myths. The study was conducted at a time of heightened awareness of sexual harassment on the campus and of related campaigns against the sexual assault of women. This coupled with awareness that prejudicial attitudes towards rape survivors would be perceived as socially undesirable, especially in a university context, may have made many of the respondents self-conscious about their responses and have led them to attempt to promote the view of themselves which they wished to show to others. At the time of the study, the participants may have felt that accepting any type of pejorative rape-related statement would have been socially unacceptable. However, given that the questionnaires were completed online and anonymity in respect of responses was guaranteed it is also arguable that entertainment of rape myths amongst this group of young South African men is minimal. This would suggest

that at a cognitive level at least, these men are less likely to engage in victim blaming and in rationalizing acts of sexual violence.

The question remains, however, whether these men, who have lower rape myth acceptance, also have lower rape proclivity. Using the work of Bohner et al (2005), their argument would support such a conclusion. Based on Lanier's (2001) findings it would be feasible to argue that the men sampled are unlikely to behave in a sexually coercive manner within the next year. However, the link between RMA and rape proclivity requires further research as it seems presumptuous to conclude that attitudes are always predictive of behaviour. High rates of on-campus sexual violence (Mayekiso & Bhana, 1997) suggest that problematic behaviour may occur despite the holding of more progressive attitudes as regards gender based violence. Nevertheless it was noteworthy that the men in this study did not appear to hold attitudes which were strongly gender conservative with regard to rape causality and impact.

5.1.3 Gender Equity

Participant's acceptance of gender equity was very high with a mean score of 62.6 on the GEM scale. Upper third scores (48 to 72) on the GEM scale are considered as indicating high support for equitable gender norms (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008). The sample mean of 62.6 thus falls into the upper end of this high equity acceptance range of GEM scores. This indicates that participants endorse relating to women based on equality and respect and are opposed to interpersonal relationship violence. In addition, it could be said that the young men sampled hold attitudes which reject coercion as a legitimate form of attaining compliance in intimate and sexual relationships.

Furthermore, it can be said that the high level of gender equity acceptance means that these men do not tend to judge or censure others (men and women) according to rigid sex role stereotypes. This means that in interpersonal relationships they may not expect conformity to conventional sex-role behaviour. For example, such men might assume some responsibility for reproductive health in their relationships as well as taking responsibility for domestic chores along with their female partners. However, as with rape myth attitudes,

the link between the holding of egalitarian attitudes and the implementation of them in daily life requires further research and may not be straightforward. It needs to be considered that these results, like those for RMA above, may reflect an interplay between factors such as social desirability, self-censoring, and gender-equality awareness, alongside genuine acceptance of more gender equitable ways of thinking and relating. Nevertheless it was important to see evidence of the endorsement of less stereotypic gender role attitudes and to see that this group of South African men were relatively emancipated in this regard.

What appears to emerge from the pattern of scores across the three questionnaires is that these young male engineers, who are relatively androgynous in their way of being, did not generally entertain pejorative rape myths and were generally accepting of more emancipated sex role typing and behaviour. All of these findings would suggest that this, admittedly highly educated, group of South African men are reasonably gender emancipated in their attitudes, and this despite the fact that they are pursuing a training in a professional area that would be seen as stereotypically masculine. At the level of attitudes then, the findings are hopeful as regards respect for women's rights and lack of justification of sexual violence.

Having examined the descriptive profile of the sample with regard to the three measures the discussion now moves to examining the relationships between the three scales.

5.2 The Relationship between Rape Myth Acceptance and Gender Equity

The strong negative correlation between the RMA scale and GEM scale was expected and signifies the inverse relationship of the attitudes which both scales measure: where a high score on the RMA scale signifies high acceptance of rape myths, a high score on the GEM scale signifies promotion of gender equity. Thus, as would be expected, subjects holding more gender equitable attitudes were less likely to endorse rape myths. This could be understood as adding further proof of the construct validity of the GEM scale (Pulerwitz & Barker, 2008) and of the RMA scale (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999) although clearly each scale measures different aspects of gender related attitudes, including attitudes

towards sexual violence and rape. The correlation between the two was significant at the 1% level.

In previous studies it was found that the attitude which best predicted rape myth acceptance was an individual's acceptance of interpersonal violence as legitimate in relationships (Burt, 1980; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995). Other strong predictors of the acceptance of rape myths are stereotyping of sex roles and adversarial sexual beliefs (Burt, 1980; Lonsway and Fitzgerald, 1995). The GEM scale measures constructs related to both of these kinds of attitude sets which have been found to predict RMA. Therefore it follows that an individual's result on the GEM scale would be highly predictive of their level of RMA; the results of this study confirm this.

Furthermore, Lonsway and Fitzgerald (1995) also found that 40% of RMA in men can be predicted by the existence of an attitude of hostility towards women. This finding appears to be mirrored in the findings of this study; namely that RMA can be, at least partially, determined by attitudes towards gender equity which includes constructions of violence in intimate relationships and hostility and censure towards women. As indicated, the results showed that both the RMA and GEM scales are good predictors of one another. Knowing an individual's RMA can predict their attitude towards gender equity, and vice versa. This dual predictability between scale scores is a useful finding and again reinforces the strong relationship between acceptance of rape myths and conservative attitudes towards gender equity.

5.3 The Relationship between Sex-role Identity and Rape Myth Acceptance

The results showed no relationship between sex-role identity, of any comparison type across the four sub-groups, and rape myth acceptance. This was surprising given the results of previous studies conducted: Quackenbush (1989) found that men who are masculine sex-typed consistently were found to be more supportive of rape myths than androgynous men. Previous findings which suggested that men who are androgynous represent the 'ideal' sex-type in terms of progressive attitudes as compared to masculine sex-type (Quackenbush, 1989) have also not been confirmed by this study. A man's level of femininity seems not be

a predictive of attitudes reflecting an opposition to rape myths and an ability to empathise with the plight of women, in comparison to more masculine identified subjects (as was hypothesized). Thus, masculine sex-typed individuals were not found to be more victim-blaming than androgynous men. This results of this study also then contradict Quackenbush's (1989) results from which it was concluded that men who are undifferentiated struggle the most with psychological adjustment and have distorted social perceptions which might include high RMA (Quackenbush, 1989). The undifferentiated group in this study did not differ significantly from any of the other sex role identity groups in respect of their RMA scores. It was not found within any sex-role identity category that scoring highly on feminine traits was associated with lower acceptance of rape myths. Individuals who endorse feminine traits as characteristic of themselves while simultaneously identifying with masculine traits (i.e. having an androgynous sex-type) are not more likely to reject rape myths than those who are low in femininity.

Given the unexpected non-significant finding with regard to sex-role identity and RMA score levels, it is important to think about what might account for this finding. As mentioned above, the results may be indicative of a heightened social awareness around sexual violence against women in South Africa meaning that across all four sex types there was a common level of awareness of how rape myths may be problematic and prejudicial. The study participants may have been inhibited in asserting any form of masculine dominance or defensiveness which might be less socially attractive given the current climate of concern about gender-based violence against women. Therefore, irrespective of sex-role identity type, participants may have exhibited a stronger inclination to be empathic and supportive of the position of the victim. The high levels of androgynous and feminine sex-typed men within the sample may also reflect greater willingness to identify with the feminine and consequently with attitudes that are more sympathetic towards women's positioning in rape scenarios and narratives. While it is impossible to differentiate between what might be a general pull towards 'political correctness' with regard to rape attitudes within the sample and what reflects a genuine rejection of stereotypes around rape, it is important to look at the finding as regard sex type against the backdrop of low scores on the RMA across the board. This would tend to suggest that irrespective of sex type, rape myth acceptance is generally low in this tertiary educated sample.

It is also important to consider that what the findings suggest is that there may be less of a relationship between one's own self-referential personality typing in terms of gender and one's attitudinal stance towards rape than might be expected.

5.4 The Relationship between Sex-role Identity and Gender Equity

This study found no relationship between sex-role identity (BSRI scores) and gender equity (GEM scores) despite the hypothesis that there would be a significant relationship between the two. The lack of relationship between attitudes as regards gender equity and sex-role identity was unexpected as it was hypothesized that androgynous students would display more gender-equitable attitudes than masculine sex-typed students. In this sample it seems as if a liberal attitude towards power relations, respect and intimacy with women is not significantly related to the individual's sex-role identity, in contrast to the findings of Pulerwitz and Barker (2008). The finding of a non-significant relationship also contradicts the finding of Hoffman and Borders (2001) who demonstrated that an individual who is masculine sex-typed is more likely to hold sex-role stereotypes as compared to an individual who is androgynous. Hoffman and Borders (2001) found that an individual who can be categorized as 'sex-typed' (either as masculine or feminine in relation to their respective sexes) has generally incorporated culturally stereotypical attributes into their sex-role identity, including those that would be tapped into by the GEM. Pulerwitz and Barker (2008) also found that masculine (and feminine) sex-typed individuals hold more rigid stereotyped attitudes around gender roles than more androgynous individuals. However this was not found to be the case in this study. A more emancipated view of gender relations seems to exist across the sample (as evidenced by generally elevated scores on the GEM), independent of the level of masculine or feminine traits an individual possesses.

It is possible that high levels of education are what is predictive of less gender stereotyping generally across this sample. The possibility does therefore exist that if this piece of research were to be conducted amongst less well-educated men who come from a lower socio-economic status grouping in society, the findings may have been more similar to those of previous studies, given that other studies were conducted on individuals from the general

population rather than on students. In today's climate of shifting gender relations and regimes, men who are educated may display more equitable attitudes towards women, regardless of their sex-role identity. Educated men may feel less threatened by women in terms of their economic position and therefore more willing to endorse gender equity. They are also exposed to a highly educated female population who may appear deserving of respect and rights. Through various avenues of socialization there seems to be an understanding of the importance of equal opportunity for women in academia, the workplace and in relationships, as enshrined in the South African constitution. The ongoing tension of which Walker (2005) speaks in traditional gender orders may not exist to such a high degree in men whose lives are less tradition-led and follow more global ideologies. Young South African male students at a tertiary level may have become accustomed to modern-day gender regimes. It would be interesting to do a comparative study of urbanized and rural young men in relation to the GEM given that a significant proportion of contemporary South African society still live in rural areas where access to education may be compromised and 'Western ideas' of gender equality may not be valued over traditional patriarchal ones.

5.5 The Relationship between Demographic Variables, Rape Myth Acceptance and Gender Equity

Given the non-significant findings with regard to the BSRI and the fact that several demographic characteristics of the sample had been assessed in order to describe the sample, some of which were anticipated to perhaps have a bearing on the findings, it was decided to investigate whether there were any significant relationships between demographic variables that were open to investigation in this way and the RMA and GEM scales, as a secondary focus of the study. Three demographic variables were found to be significantly related to significant differences in RMA scale and GEM scale scores: relationship status; whether the participant was living in a males-only residence at the university or not; and, racial group. Each of these findings is discussed in turn.

5.5.1 Relationship Status

Looking at Relationship Status several interesting comparative differences were evident. It was found that single participants held significantly higher levels of gender equitable attitudes than those in non-committed casual relationships (significant at the 1% level). There may be something about the non-committed element of the relationship which allows such men hold an attitude of patriarchal superiority, for example, feeling more empowered than their female partner to make the decisions within the relationship. Young men in non-committed relationship may date many women simultaneously perhaps as a result of not wanting to have to sustain a relationship and seeking sexual variety. Such a man may view a woman as less valuable due to her replaceable nature. These observations involve considerable inference but it is interesting that those men who reported that they were not in relationships at all at the time of the study held significantly more emancipatory attitudes towards gender than those who reported being in non-committed relationships.

In terms of the RMA scale, it was found that both being in a committed relationship as well the length of time of the relationship (greater than 6 months) led to lower levels of RMA. This means that individuals in a committed relationship for longer than 6 months have significantly lower levels of RMA compared to individuals in a relationship for less than 6 months ($p=0.033$) or those in non-committal relationships ($p=0.012$). Thus, as was found above with the GEM scale, commitment (rather than engagement in a causal relationship) seems to create a stronger sense of concern and respect for women. This is an important finding as it suggests that strong and extended heterosexual relational contact works in favour of reducing prejudices regarding sexual violence. The relational contact may allow for greater attachment, greater empathy and greater identification with the position of being a female victim of rape. Although only tentative conclusions can be drawn on the basis of the limited data there is some suggestion from this finding that campaigns that encourage extended interactions between men and women and foster a sense of identification with or responsibility towards particular women may generalize into less cavalier or defensive male attitudes towards rape.

5.5.2 Residence living at the university

Previous studies have found that rape myth acceptance is higher amongst students living in males-only residences as compared to those living in mixed sex residences (Boeringer. 1999; Bleecker and Murnen, 2005). This finding was confirmed in this study. It must be reiterated that regardless of reported living arrangements, the sampled men overall had low levels of RMA and high GEM scores. Nevertheless, it was evident that there was a significant difference in attitudes between those students living in a males-only residence and those who were not. This was found to be the case only in relation to the RMA scale (significant at the 0.1% level), although results with the GEM scale tended towards significance at the 5% level ($p=0.07$). In keeping with the literature, students living in male-only residences held significantly less emancipatory scores on the GEM and more prejudicial scores on the RMA, than their non-resident living counterparts.

Overall, the findings of Bleecker and Murnen (2005) can be confirmed by this study: young men living in single sex residences are more likely to hold more rigid sex role stereotypes and stronger beliefs regarding the legitimacy of male dominance compared to men not living in single sex residences. These findings suggest that peer attitudes and behaviours may have a substantial impact on whether an individual develops support for rape myths and whether emancipated female behaviour is fully accepted. This is an interesting finding in that it may suggest that peer norms and influences play a stronger role in gender oppressive attitudes than personal sex role identification and opens up potential directions for comparison in future research.

5.5.3 Race Group

Although this finding needs to be interpreted with caution given the crudity of the categorisation and sensitivities around studies of race differences, it was found that black participants held significantly higher levels of rape myth acceptance (0.01% level of significance) than other race participants. Similarly, self-identified black participants were found to hold significantly lower levels of gender equity (0.01% level of significance) compared to white and Indian participants. It must be noted that despite the significant race

differences mentioned above, the overall means of Black participants' RMA and GEM scores were still low and show low levels of rape myth acceptance and high levels of gender equitable attitudes.

The significant difference is consistent in patterning across both scales mentioned and does beg for some degree of interpretation. The results may reflect some broad 'cultural' differences in terms of exposure to traditional models of patriarchal dominance or expectations of subscription to more differentiated sex role behaviours and expectations. Anthropological and sociological studies have demonstrated a strong emphasis on male power in black culture where men are hierarchically superior and more respected than women in many domains, as evidenced for example, in decision making practices and access to land (Walker, 2005; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Perhaps it is for this reason that the self-identified black men in this study were more accepting of gendered stereotypes of the roles of men and women in relationships and in society at large than their counterparts. The majority of these black men come from a patriarchal system spanning decades and there may be some difficulty in letting go of these internalized norms and the power dynamics with which they are familiar and which they have witnessed in the relationships of their respected grandparents and elders. This is not to say that patriarchal patterns of relationships do not exist in the historical trajectories of people from other race groups. The comparisons regarding rape myths also suggest that more patriarchal views, more sympathetic to male dominance and force in sexual relationships, may operate amongst some groups of students rather than others. Given that race intersects strongly with class, cultural background, and family histories of access to education and wealth in South Africa, it is crucial not to understand this finding as representative of some intrinsic difference based on (what is known to be flawed) racial categorisation. However, the finding does again suggest an area for more careful future research.

It is noteworthy that a pattern emerges suggesting that men in non-committed relationships, men in single sex residences, and men who self-categorize as black Africans, have significantly higher RMA and lower GEM scores than their counterparts, although each of these relationships is independent of the others. Together these findings may suggest some focus for gender activist campaigns. However, it should again be reiterated that across

the sample attitudes towards women's emancipation were sympathetic and less conservative than might have been anticipated, as were attitudes which countered the dismissal of rape and victim blaming.

5.6 Conclusion

This study aimed to add another dimension to the work previously conducted on assessing rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity, by assessing how these might be related to sex-role identity amongst young men. More specifically it was hypothesized that masculine identified individuals would hold more gender conservative attitudes than androgynous individuals. There has been much interest in the field of masculinity studies over recent decades but there is still relatively little research on the kinds of issues raised in this study on young South African male students. This conclusion section will integrate the findings discussed previously in light of the central aims and research questions and then continue with a final overall summary of the key findings.

In relation to the research questions concerning levels of endorsement of rape myths and levels of acceptance of gender equity, very 'liberal' attitudes were found amongst this sample of engineering students. This is a refreshing finding revealing the generally emancipated attitudes of young South African male students with regard to these issues.

With regards to the pattern of gender identifications, the proportion of men identifying with both feminine and masculine traits, i.e. androgynous sex-typed men, was high in comparison with related studies of young male groups. This trend towards incorporating more feminine traits into one's repertoire of self-identified characteristics signifies a possible shift in the way contemporary educated young men view themselves. Association with feminine traits may have become less threatening to the masculinity of men and thus feminine traits may be allowed to exist side-by-side with masculine attributes rather than their being rejected and shunned, as has been suggested in much of the existing masculinity literature on sex typing. The sex-role identity pattern within the sample seems to reflect the contemporary global appeal of men identifying more openly and strongly with feminine

traits. This signifies a possible historical shift in gender identity in young South African male students and may explain the high number of androgynous individuals found in the sample.

With regard to the question as to whether students who possess attitudes rejecting gender equity show greater support for rape myths, this was found to be true. The link between one's attitudes towards women in terms of their role and responsibilities is predictive of whether one is more likely to accept rape myths. The relationship was bi-directional and so RMA can also be used to extrapolate an individual's view on gender equity. Men with attitudes supporting gender equity in the sample showed less support for rape myths, and vice versa. This supports broad based research that suggests that tolerance of sexual violence is strongly related to attitudes towards gender roles and relations.

It appeared that being masculine sex-typed is not related to either higher levels of RMA or to lower levels of gender equitable attitudes. In fact, sex-role identity has no relationship or predictive power with respect to attitudes towards women and rape myths in this sample. The hypotheses that students with masculine identifications as opposed to androgynous identifications would display: a) lower levels of acceptance of gender equity; and b) higher levels of rape myth acceptance were not supported in this study. In fact, irrespective of whether a student identified as more feminine or masculine, their level of acceptance of gender equity and levels of rape myth acceptance appeared to be independent of this kind of self-description. Previous findings that androgynous men are more emancipated in their gender related attitudes cannot be substantiated by these results. The lack of relationship between: 1) sex-type and RMA; and 2) sex-type and gender equity; was unanticipated. Perhaps it is the case that rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity need to be researched across different samples that represent less of a particular sub-set of the South African male population, i.e., young men who are highly educated and have access to a desirable, urban based institution of higher learning. It seems that a range of factors may have influenced the responses of respondents, including high levels of awareness campaigns around sexual harassment on the campus that were conducted close to the time of the study. It is also important to entertain the idea that factors other than personal sex role identification may play a stronger role in predicting gender related attitudes, including socially and interpersonally mediated experiences as suggested by the demographic related

findings. Although this may be highly speculative, the findings suggest the question: is rape myth acceptance and gender equity acceptance more strongly influenced by external factors than by internal identifications? This may be a question to be considered in future research in this field.

Furthermore, the research question as to whether attitudes towards gender equity play a mediating role between sex role type and rape myth acceptance was also found to be non-significant, perhaps not unexpectedly given the lack of significant relationships between sex type and RMA scores. There is in fact no relationship between rape myth acceptance and sex-role identity even once gender equity scores are removed as a possible mediating factor.

Lastly, the demographic variables showed some interesting patterns. It was evident that students in committed relationships with a partner were significantly more likely to endorse gender equity and reject rape myths than their counterparts. This finding could be understood as suggesting that the more an individual believes in gender equity and rejects rape myths, the more they may be able to make and be willing and satisfied to be in a committed relationship and/or that male students in committed relationships have some basis for more strongly rejecting gender stereotypes and endorsement of sexual violence because of increased intimacy with women as discussed previously. Furthermore, evidence showed that individuals living in a males-only residence at the university were significantly more likely to hold less gender equitable attitudes and also more likely to accept rape myths than their counterparts in the sample. It was proposed that there is some kind of group culture that exists in males-only residences that may cultivate or support this set of attitudes. These attitudes may not be challenged in all-male peer environments, especially in cases where such individuals do not have a significant personal experience of having a committed relationship with a woman. Thirdly, within the sample it was found that individuals who self-identified as 'black' were more likely to hold somewhat more conservative attitudes as regards the measures than their counterparts. As indicated previously this finding needs to be interpreted with caution given problems with racial stereotyping and what kinds of social dynamics may be associated with racial categories.

Careful research would be required to unpack this finding and to explore the other findings with regards to demographic characteristics of the sample.

As an overall conclusion, it seems that the men sampled do not feel that fighting for male dominance is desirable or should be normative, either at the level of sex typed behaviours or at the level of justifying sexual violence. This may reflect more liberalized thinking in the sample related to their levels of education and higher socio-economic status as compared to men steeped in patriarchal traditions in non-urban areas, for example. Perhaps the level of threat to one's masculinity as evidenced in resistance to gender equity is determined by one's sense of agency in the world and the young men sampled are already potentially successful in their own right. Experiences of emasculation may be directed at women through violent means, such as assault and rape and represent one of the aggressive means of establishing control, power and authority over women (Walker, 2005). The sampled men most probably do not commonly experience themselves as powerless or emasculated; indeed they are studying at a tertiary institution in a degree that is male-dominated and seen as highly desirable. In sum it was evident that these young men are less likely to accept rape myths and more likely to present emancipated attitudes towards intimate relationships and gendered power relations than has been found in previous related studies. The findings pose some questions about the relationship between attitudes or cognitions and behavioural practices, since it remains true that levels of sexual violence are very high in the South African society and that campuses are spaces that are not exempt from gender violence. Again, this suggests interesting directions for ongoing research.

5.7 Limitations of the study and recommendations for future research

5.7.1 Limitations of the Study

The findings above need to be considered with respect to the limitations in the present research. Such limitations include the research design and sample used. This is followed by recommendations for further research.

5.7.2 Limitations in the design

This was a non-experimental correlational research design, which was deemed appropriate as the aim of the study was to explore the types of relationships which existed between the three variables targeted in this study within a real life sample. However, while some tentative conclusions were explored, it must be remembered that this type of design does not allow for causal relationships between variables to be conclusively determined (Niele & Liebert, 1986). The variables measured in this study are not possible to manipulate practically in a controlled manner to a predetermined level – this would be one of the requirements necessary to make causal conclusions. Therefore, future work exploring the same variables as operationalized in this study would also be unable to make directional conclusions and could only make the same correlational interpretations as has been done in this study. Future research designs may need to take account of this issue.

It is also worth considering whether the BSRI is becoming somewhat outdated as a research tool despite its continued use in psychological research. The relative homogeneity of scores on the BSRI in the sample meant that comparisons across identity types were investigating relatively moderate differences in self-attributions. It may well be that contemporary young adults are more wary of aligning themselves with stereotypes and are open to more androgynous type identifications. Nevertheless, the comparisons were meaningful within the sample and categorization followed accepted methods. There are also limited measures available to examine sex-role identity that have similar research purchase to the BSRI.

5.7.3 Limitations in the sample

This study reflects the usual limitations which exist when using a sample of university students. The sample was fairly homogenous with little diversity in terms of level of education and type of career being studied. One could generalise results of this study with caution to other young male university students, however could not extrapolate the results too broadly to other men in the general population. This factor does not invalidate the results of the research but merely needs to be considered when making generalisations based on this study.

5.7.4 Contextual influences

Moreover, the timing of the study may have contributed to a certain trend in response style, namely a tendency towards social desirability in responding. The tendency of individuals to present themselves in a more positive light may have inflated and distorted results. There is a chance that results around rape myth acceptance and attitudes of gender equity display censored responding in order to portray subjects as more ideal citizens and partners. In the months immediately preceding data collection media focus on gender-based violence against women was particularly elevated and, in addition, exposure of several sexual harassment cases on campus also gained considerable media attention. Given that the university students sampled were exposed to awareness campaigns against rape and violence against women both at the university and in the broader South African media, it is possible that these results might have differed should the study have been conducted during a different period of time. However, the indirect impact of such awareness campaigns cannot be quantitatively understood or measured. Such speculation can only be confirmed or denied by future studies. Given that the results were anonymous and confidential, it is unlikely that all 253 male students were self-conscious about their responses to the extent that they falsified or overly censored their responses - it is evident that the results are fairly consistent across the large sample. Thus it is believed that the conclusions reached are meaningful despite such possible influences on the data.

5.8 Future Research

With respect to future work, it will be important to replicate this study in men of different socio-economic statuses, such as those from rural communities, in order to further explore gender related attitudes. This may extend understandings as to how young South African male students have been able to develop and/or endorse such tolerant attitudes in terms gender equity and rape myths when they represent a high-risk group for enactment of sexual violence in their environment. Studies designed to look at the relationship between attitudes and behaviour would also be important in this respect. Furthermore, a focus on men in the age group of 30 and above would also be fruitful in terms of focusing on possible inter-generational differences amongst men. For example, it would be interesting to

compare the responses of these students with those of older male relatives from the same extended family.

Moreover, including females in future studies would broaden the focus of the research by assessing gender differences in terms of the three variables explored. This would add another dimension to exploring attitudes and beliefs of individuals about interpersonal relationships and gender-based violence.

The significant findings as regards the three demographic variables would also be interesting to explore further. For example, interview-based studies with men in committed and non-committed relationships might shed some light on what it is specifically about being in such relationships that might translate into differences in gender attitudes. Furthermore it would be useful to attempt to explore whether attitudes are more strongly determined by 'external' forces, such as peer group norms and beliefs, as opposed to more 'internal' features such as personality traits.

Although one of the key findings of the study was the non-significance of relationships between sex-role identification and attitudes towards gender equity and rape myth acceptance, this may be used to generate new hypotheses to test this relationship further.

In summary, the study produced interesting results, many of them somewhat unexpected, and suggests that at an attitudinal and gender identification level contemporary male engineering students may be more emancipated and flexible with regard to gendered ways of being and gender relationships than anticipated based on previous research findings.

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Appendix A: Participant Information Sheet

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050
Tel: (011) 717 4500
Fax: (011) 717 4559

Dear Student,

My name is Hinor Shushan, and I am conducting research for the purposes of obtaining a Masters in Clinical Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. Participation in this research will entail answering questions around your views about male-female roles and relationships. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

It will take you 10-15 minutes to fill in the questionnaire. Participation is voluntary. This questionnaire is composed of four pages: a demographic section (for statistical purposes) followed by three pages. Once you have completed a page, click on the 'Next' button at the bottom of the page. Continue doing this until you click on the 'Done' button on the last page.

Allocation of an extra course credit will be done by providing the course coordinator with participants' student numbers. No other information will be given to the course coordinator. Furthermore, the results will be in the form of group responses and not individual perceptions. The completed questionnaires will only be seen by me and so your confidentiality is ensured. You may choose to withdraw from the study at any point.

A summary of the findings will be made available online by 15th July 2013 on the following site: http://psychologyresults.blogspot.com. If you wish to have access to a summary of the findings of this research please do not hesitate to contact me at the Emthonjeni Centre 011 717 4513 or my supervisor, Gill Eagle on 011 717 4528 or at gillian.eagle@wits.ac.za.

Your participation in this study will be greatly appreciated.

Kind regards
Hinor Shushan

Appendix B: Demographic Questionnaire

Please note that the following data is for statistical purposes only.

1. Student Number (for credit allocation): _____
2. Gender:

☐ Male
☐ Female

3. Age (in years): _____

4. Race:

☐ Black
☐ Indian
☐ Coloured
☐ White
☐ Oriental
☐ Other Please specify: _____

5. Marital Status:

☐ Single
☐ In a casual relationship (non-committed)
☐ In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)
☐ In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)
☐ Engaged or married
☐ Divorced
☐ Widowed

6. Sexual Orientation:

☐ Heterosexual

☐ Homosexual

☐ Bisexual

7. Religious Affiliation:

☐ Christian

☐ Jewish

☐ Muslim

☐ Hindu

☐ Atheist or Agnostic

☐ Other

8. Home language:

☐ Afrikaans	☐ IsiZulu	☐ Northern Sotho	☐ Tshivenda
☐ English	☐ Xitsonga	☐ Sesotho	☐ IsiXhosa
☐ IsiNdebele	☐ SisSwati	☐ Setswana	☐ Other

9. Year of study in current degree:

☐ First

☐ Second

☐ Third

☐ Fourth

10. Are you currently living in a males-only residence at Wits?

☐ Yes

☐ No

Appendix C: Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale – Short Form (IRMA-SF)

Please answer the following questions related to your general view on rape.
Give your answer by selecting the response that best describes your views.

SD = Strongly Disagree **SA** = Strongly Agree
1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1	If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
2	Although most women wouldn't admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real ''turn-on''.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
3	If a woman is willing to ''make out'' with a guy, then it's no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
4	Many women secretly desire to be raped.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
5	Most rapists are not caught by the police.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
6	If a woman doesn't physically fight back, you can't really say that it was rape.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
7	Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
8	Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
9	All women should have access to self-defense classes.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
10	It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
11	If the rapist doesn't have a weapon, you really can't call it a rape.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
12	Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman's own familiar neighbourhood.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
13	Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
14	A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape.	**SD 1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**

15	It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
16	A woman who ‘‘teases’’ men deserves anything that might happen.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
17	When women are raped, it’s often because the way they said ‘‘no’’ was ambiguous.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
18	Men don’t usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
19	A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**
20	Rape happens when a man’s sex drive gets out of control.	**SD 1**		**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**SA 7**

Appendix D: The Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI)

Rate yourself on each item about how true EACH statement is of you. Please answer along the scale from "Almost Never True" to "Almost Always True"

Almost never true **Almost always true**

1 2 3 4 5 6 7

1	Self reliant		21	Reliable		41	Warm	
2	Yielding		22	Analytical		42	Solemn	
3	Helpful		23	Sympathetic		43	Willing to take a stand	
4	Defends own beliefs		24	Jealous		44	Tender	
5	Cheerful		25	Leadership ability		45	Friendly	
6	Moody		26	Sensitive to other's needs		46	Aggressive	
7	Independent		27	Truthful		47	Gullible	
8	Shy		28	Willing to take risks		48	Inefficient	
9	Conscientious		29	Understanding		49	Acts as a leader	
10	Athletic		30	Secretive		50	Childlike	
11	Affectionate		31	Makes decisions		51	Adaptable	
12	Theatrical		32	Compassionate		52	Individualistic	
13	Assertive		33	Sincere		53	Does not use harsh language	
14	Flatterable		34	Self-sufficient		54	Unsystematic	
15	Happy		35	Eager to soothe hurt feelings		55	Competitive	
16	Strong personality		36	Conceited		56	Loves children	
17	Loyal		37	Dominant		57	Tactful	
18	Unpredictable		38	Soft spoken		58	Ambitious	
19	Forceful		39	Likable		59	Gentle	
20	Feminine		40	Masculine		60	Conventional	

Appendix E: The Gender-Equitable Men Scale (GEM Scale)

Please answer the following questions. Give your answer by placing an X (cross) in the box that best describes your views

Item no.	Statement	Agree	Partially Agree	Do not Agree
1	It is the man who decides what type of sex to have			
2	A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family.			
3	Men need sex more than women do.			
4	You don't talk about sex, you just do it.			
5	Women who carry condoms on them are "easy".			
6	Changing diapers, giving the kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility			
7	It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant.			
8	A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.			
9	Men are always ready to have sex.			
10	There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.			
11	A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.			
12	If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.			
13	A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.			
14	I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom.			
15	It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won't have sex with him.			
16	I would never have a gay friend.			
17	It disgusts me when I see a man acting like a woman.			
18	A couple should decide together if they want to have children.			
19	In my opinion, a woman can suggest using condoms just like a man can.			
20	If a guy gets a woman pregnant, the child is the responsibility of both.			
21	A man should know what his partner likes during sex.			
22	It is important that a father is present in the lives of his children, even if he is no longer with the mother.			
23	A man and a woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use.			
24	It is important to have a male friend that you can talk about your problems with.			

Appendix F: Additional Tabulated Results

Table 26: Results of RMA Scale Items

The minimum of the RMA Scale is 1 while the maximum is 7.

Item Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
If a woman is raped while she is drunk, she is at least somewhat responsible for letting things get out of control.	2.407	1.7218
A woman who ‘‘teases’’ men deserves anything that might happen.	2.036	1.4863
A woman who dresses in skimpy clothes should not be surprised if a man tries to force her to have sex.	2.953	1.9755
When women are raped, it’s often because the way they said ‘‘no’’ was ambiguous.	2.151	1.5287
Although most women wouldn’t admit it, they generally find being physically forced into sex a real ‘‘turn-on’’.	2.460	1.7725
Many women secretly desire to be raped.	1.508	1.1959
If a woman is willing to ‘‘make out’’ with a guy, then it’s no big deal if he goes a little further and has sex.	2.524	1.8018
Women tend to exaggerate how much rape affects them.	2.116	1.5642
Most rapists are not caught by the police.	5.526	1.6536
All women should have access to self-defense classes.	5.450	1.6603
It is preferable that a female police officer conduct the questioning when a woman reports a rape.	5.486	1.6941
If a woman doesn’t physically fight back, you can’t really say that it was rape.	2.020	1.6470
If the rapist doesn’t have a weapon, you really can’t call it a rape.	1.240	.7699
Men from nice middle-class homes almost never rape.	2.135	1.4661
It is usually only women who dress suggestively that are raped.	2.697	1.8188
Rape is unlikely to happen in the woman’s own familiar neighbourhood.	1.836	1.2774
Rape accusations are often used as a way of getting back at men.	3.426	1.5917
A lot of women lead a man on and then they cry rape.	3.048	1.5485
Men don’t usually intend to force sex on a woman, but sometimes they get too sexually carried away.	3.032	1.9084
Rape happens when a man’s sex drive gets out of control.	3.214	2.1483

Table 27: Results of GEM Scale Items

The minimum of the GEM scale is 1 while the maximum is 3.

Item Description	Mean	Std. Deviation
It disgusts me when I see a man acting like a woman.	2.02	.780
Men are always ready to have sex.	2.18	.793
A woman's most important role is to take care of her home and cook for her family	2.27	.720
It is the man who decides what type of sex to have	2.33	.650
A man should have the final word about decisions in his home.	2.35	.764
I would never have a gay friend.	2.37	.787
Changing diapers, giving the kids a bath, and feeding the kids are the mother's responsibility	2.38	.716
If someone insults me, I will defend my reputation, with force if I have to.	2.39	.677
Women who carry condoms on them are "easy".	2.41	.724
Men need sex more than women do.	2.45	.712
It is a woman's responsibility to avoid getting pregnant	2.49	.674
It is important to have a male friend that you can talk about your problems with.	2.57	.624
You don't talk about sex, you just do it.	2.67	.552
I would be outraged if my wife asked me to use a condom	2.70	.604
A man and a woman should decide together what type of contraceptive to use.	2.85	.441
There are times when a woman deserves to be beaten.	2.85	.424
A man needs other women, even if things with his wife are fine.	2.86	.392
In my opinion, a woman can suggest using condoms just like a man can.	2.86	.458
A man should know what his partner likes during sex.	2.90	.359
A woman should tolerate violence in order to keep her family together.	2.92	.305
It is important that a father is present in the lives of his children, even if he is no longer with the mother.	2.92	.331
A couple should decide together if they want to have children.	2.95	.323
If a guy gets a woman pregnant, the child is the responsibility of both.	2.96	.224
It is okay for a man to hit his wife if she won't have sex with him.	2.97	.207

Table 28: Descriptive Results for Relationship Status with RMA and GEM scores

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	95% Confidence Interval for Mean	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
RMA	Single	149	2.39	.879	2.25	2.53
	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	26	2.77	1.040	2.35	3.19
	In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	20	2.75	.745	2.41	3.10
	In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	53	2.08	.859	1.85	2.32
	Engaged or Married	5	2.78	.837	1.74	3.82
	Total	253	2.40	.902	2.29	2.51
GEM	Single	149	63.29	5.452	62.41	64.17
	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	26	59.17	6.738	56.45	61.90
	In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	20	62.01	6.438	59.00	65.02
	In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	53	62.60	5.615	61.06	64.15
	Engaged or Married	5	63.40	4.775	57.47	69.33
	Total	253	62.62	5.786	61.91	63.34

Table 29: Post-hoc ANOVA Results for Relationship Status with the RMA Scale

Dependent Variable	(I) Relationship Status	(J) Relationship Status	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
RMA Scale	Single	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	-.378	.262	-.89	.14
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	-.363	.418	-.94	.21
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.307	.192	-.08	.69
		Engaged or Married	-.391	.867	-1.49	.71
	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	Single	.378	.262	-.14	.89
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	.014	1.000	-.71	.74
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.685*	.012*	.10	1.27
		Engaged or Married	-.013	1.000	-1.20	1.17
	In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	Single	.363	.418	-.21	.94
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	-.014	1.000	-.74	.71
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.670*	.033	.03	1.31
		Engaged or Married	-.028	1.000	-1.24	1.18
	In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	Single	-.307	.192	-.69	.08
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	-.685*	.012*	-1.27	-.10
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	-.670*	.033*	-1.31	-.03
		Engaged or Married	-.698	.442	-1.83	.44
	Engaged or Married	Single	.391	.867	-.71	1.49
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	.013	1.000	-1.17	1.20
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	.028	1.000	-1.18	1.24
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.698	.442	-.44	1.83

Table 30: Post-hoc ANOVA Results for Relationship Status with the GEM Scale

Dependent Variable	(I) Relationship Status	(J) Relationship Status	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound
GEM Scale	Single	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	4.113*	.007*	.79	7.44
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	1.277	.881	-2.45	5.01
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.684	.944	-1.82	3.19
		Engaged or Married	-.112	1.000	-7.23	7.01
	In a casual relationship (non-committed)	Single	-4.113*	.007	-7.44	-.79
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	-2.836	.452	-7.49	1.82
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	-3.429	.091	-7.18	.32
		Engaged or Married	-4.225	.551	-11.87	3.42
	In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	Single	-1.277	.881	-5.01	2.45
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	2.836	.452	-1.82	7.49
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	-.593	.995	-4.70	3.52
		Engaged or Married	-1.389	.988	-9.22	6.44
	In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	Single	-.684	.944	-3.19	1.82
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	3.429	.091	-.32	7.18
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	.593	.995	-3.52	4.70
		Engaged or Married	-.796	.998	-8.12	6.53
	Engaged or Married	Single	.112	1.000	-7.01	7.23
		In a casual relationship (non-committed)	4.225	.551	-3.42	11.87
		In a committed relationship (less than 6 months)	1.389	.988	-6.44	9.22
		In a committed relationship (more than 6 months)	.796	.998	-6.53	8.12

Table 31: Post-hoc ANOVA results for Race with RMA scores

(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Black	Indian	.487*	.019*	.05	.92
	Coloured	.532	.658	-.55	1.61
	White	.616*	.000*	.26	.97
	Oriental	.061	1.000	-1.63	1.75
Indian	Black	-.487*	.019*	-.92	-.05
	Coloured	.045	1.000	-1.08	1.17
	White	.129	.950	-.36	.61
	Oriental	-.426	.961	-2.15	1.30
Coloured	Black	-.532	.658	-1.61	.55
	Indian	-.045	1.000	-1.17	1.08
	White	.084	1.000	-1.02	1.19
	Oriental	-.471	.966	-2.46	1.51
White	Black	-.616*	.000*	-.97	-.26
	Indian	-.129	.950	-.61	.36
	Coloured	-.084	1.000	-1.19	1.02
	Oriental	-.555	.899	-2.26	1.15
Oriental	Black	-.061	1.000	-1.75	1.63
	Indian	.426	.961	-1.30	2.15
	Coloured	.471	.966	-1.51	2.46
	White	.555	.899	-1.15	2.26

* Significant at the 0.05 level

Table 32: Post-hoc ANOVA results for Race with GEM scores

(I) Race	(J) Race	Mean Difference (I-J)	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
				Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Black	Indian	-4.749*	.000*	-7.44	-2.05
	Coloured	-3.553	.593	-10.27	3.16
	White	-4.492*	.000*	-6.73	-2.26
	Oriental	1.647	.993	-8.86	12.16
Indian	Black	4.749*	.000*	2.05	7.44
	Coloured	1.197	.990	-5.82	8.22
	White	.258	.999	-2.77	3.29
	Oriental	6.397	.472	-4.31	17.10
Coloured	Black	3.553	.593	-3.16	10.27
	Indian	-1.197	.990	-8.22	5.82
	White	-.939	.996	-7.80	5.92
	Oriental	5.200	.776	-7.15	17.55
White	Black	4.492*	.000*	2.26	6.73
	Indian	-.258	.999	-3.29	2.77
	Coloured	.939	.996	-5.92	7.80
	Oriental	6.139	.504	-4.46	16.74
Oriental	Black	-1.647	.993	-12.16	8.86
	Indian	-6.397	.472	-17.10	4.31
	Coloured	-5.200	.776	-17.55	7.15
	White	-6.139	.504	-16.74	4.46

* Significant at the 0.05 level

Appendix G: Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MCLIN/13/004 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Sex –role identity, rape myth acceptance and attitudes towards gender equity amongst young South African male students
INVESTIGATORS	Shushan Hinor
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	22/03/13
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 25 April 2013

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor A. Thatcher)

cc Supervisor: Prof G. Eagle
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2015

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES