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University of the Witwatersrand

School of Human and Community Development

Discipline of Psychology

MASTERS RESEARCH DISSERTATION

A DANGEROUS GAME: MALE ADOLESCENTS' PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS SEXUAL CONSENT

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Community Based-Counselling Masters

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Dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Masters in Community Based-Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand.

DECLARATION

Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Community-Based Counselling Psychology in the Discipline of Psychology,
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The author hereby declares that this whole thesis / dissertation, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is her own original work.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored adolescent township boys' attitudes and perceptions towards sexual relationships. There has been substantial evidence in recent literature that violence against women is a problem worldwide and a growing concern, especially in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw, 2002; Statistics South Africa, 2005*;* Stats SA Archive, 2002). In addition, it appears that South African girls are more likely to be sexually assaulted by one, or more of their male classmates (Haffejee, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mirsky, 2003; Posel, 2005). Moreover, adolescents' attitudes regarding violence against girls have been found to help perpetuate such violence (Lewis, 2000; Varga, 2003; Vogelman, 1990). On the basis of the socialisation theory, it was postulated that the way in which a boy is socialised in his home, school, peer group and society at large, impacts on his attitudes and perceptions of rape and hence the incidence of sexual violence in South Africa (Vogelman, 1990). This study therefore aimed to understand and investigate male adolescents' perceptions and attitudes towards gender stereotypes, sexual consent and rape supportive beliefs or myths, in particular, focusing on what the construct of 'rape' is perceived to be. The subjective world of adolescent township boys was explored within the qualitative paradigm.

In investigating the research aims, 11 adolescent boys, aged between 16 and 19 attending one high school in Alexandra participated in the study. The research was conducted in the form of both semi-structured individual interviews and focus groups of 3-5 participants. Various psychological, social and emotional themes relating to the theory of socialisation were explored. The participants' responses were recorded and then analysed utilising content analysis. From the analysis one can infer that society has got a major role to play in attitudes towards sexual assault and how it is dealt with. It was found that the majority of the participants in this study have adopted some rape supportive beliefs and ideas, and have been heavily encouraged to display, and hence do display some sex-role stereotypes and hegemonic masculinity. This study therefore supports the notion that socialisation factors play an important role in the development of stereotypical notions of sex role behaviour in adolescent males, which may further contribute to the incidence of rape.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION:

'There is a civil war in this country and it is a war against woman's bodies'

- Mpo Thekiso, 2001

Before the 1990's the issue of sexual violence in South Africa had languished on the margins of public debate and political engagement (Posel, 2005). Since then, many women's groups have tried to publicize and politicize the worsening social problem of sexual violence in many spheres and settings, but South African society was not ready to deal with the phenomenon of rape and sexual violence and hence they failed to arouse sustained attention and intervention. As a result, the problem of sexual violence continued to escalate and today we are faced with an overwhelming crisis of brutal and endemic sexual violence (Posel, 2005).

There has been substantial evidence in recent literature that violence against women is a problem worldwide and a growing concern, especially in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes, Levin, Mbananga & Bradshaw, 2002; Statistics South Africa, 2005; Stats SA Archive, 2002). Findings show that younger women are significantly more likely to report rape than older women and of those women, many report to have been raped before the age of 15-18 years (Jewkes et al., 2002). Additionally, according to police statistics, in Johannesburg a quarter of all rapes are committed against girls of school age or younger (Richter, 2003).

There has been some speculation into who is committing such crimes. According to the Human Rights Watch (2001) one in four young men questioned reported having had sex with a woman without her consent by the time he had reached eighteen. Further, the Human Rights Watch (2001) states that South African girls are more likely to be sexually assaulted by one, or more of their male classmates. In addition to this, it has been found that male adolescents' attitudes regarding violence against girls help perpetuate such violence.

1.2 RESEARCH AIMS:

- This study aimed to investigate male adolescents' perceptions and attitudes towards sexual relationships.
- Furthermore, one aimed to understand and investigate male adolescents' perceptions and attitudes towards gender stereotypes, sexual consent and rape supportive beliefs or myths, in particular, focusing on what the construct of 'rape' is perceived to be.

1.3 RESEARCH RATIONALE:

The rape of girls, especially in schools, is a substantial public health problem in South Africa (Human Rights Watch, 2001; Jewkes et al., 2002). According to the Human Rights Watch (2001) South African girls face the threat of multiple forms of violence at school including rape, sexual abuse, and sexualized touching or emotional abuse in the form of threats of violence. As mentioned above, it is reported that these forms of gender violence are largely committed by other male students under the age of 18 (Human Rights Watch, 2001; South African Commission of Human Rights, 2006).

According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) forced sexual initiation is reported by almost a third of adolescent girls in schools. The rationale of this study is to understand why progressively more male adolescents are turning towards violent sexual behaviour. Gaining insight towards their attitudes and perceptions will help us to develop better intervention programs aimed at combating sexual violence in schools. Abuse of school girls has been associated with long term mental and physical health consequences, including educational setbacks, psychological troubles and human immunodeficiency virus (HIV/AIDS) transmission (Human Rights Watch, 2001), all of which contribute to the social and economic concerns currently faced in South Africa.

The importance of effective prevention programs is paramount in reducing the impact of the above concerns in the South African context. As mentioned above, HIV/AIDS

transmission is one of the overwhelming problems South Africa is currently facing. Literature has suggested that rape supportive attitudes are linked to greater risks for HIV infection for both men and women (Kalichman, Simbayi, Kaufman, Carin, Jooste & Mathithi, 2005). Finding out whether school age males have rape supportive beliefs and attitudes will therefore have value in contributing to the understanding of a possible predictor of HIV transmission in school age girls. This information will help to contribute to programmes to be implemented in schools to dispel those rape supportive myths.

Very few research studies have been conducted on male adolescents' perceptions and attitudes towards rape, sexual relationships and sexual consent in South Africa. The significance of this type of research cannot be overstated as it has immense potential for the understanding of one of the central concerns South Africans are facing today- the sexual assault of school aged girls. Jewkes et al. (2002) suggested that effective action to address rape, especially in schools is needed. Once an understanding has been achieved, appropriate action plans and preventative measures in schools can be suggested. This research consequently has both practical and theoretical value.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF THE REPORT

Chapter 2 reviews the literature pertaining to male adolescent's perceptions and attitudes towards gender stereotypes, sexual consent and rape supportive beliefs or myths. Theoretical literature pertaining to the socialisation theory is referred to in order to provide a theoretical overview of how socialisation factors can impact on an individual's (specifically male adolescents) perceptions and attitudes towards rape. Key concepts that will be utilised in the study are defined in this chapter.

Chapter 3 details the research methodology of the study, outlining the research aims, research design and procedure, as well as the method of analysis and ethical considerations.

Chapter 4 comprises the thematic content analysis and discussion of the interview data. Finally, Chapter 5 discusses the limitations of the study and implications for future research.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 RAPE AND SEXUAL ASSAULT STATISTICS

2.1.1 RAPE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT

Rape is a universal phenomenon and has been identified as a significant problem for women around the world. In the past 20 years, rape prevalence research estimates have validated the fact that sexual violence against women is pervasive in our society. Furthermore, the epidemiology of rape against women in South Africa has especially become an issue of considerable importance to the government, health workers and community at large (Hagiman-White, 2001; Mgoqi, 2006).

Available research reports on rape indicate that rape is a widespread phenomenon (Eshuur, 2002; 2002; Mgoqi, 2006). According to Resnick, Acierno, Kilpatrik and Holmes (2005), the United States is one of the countries with the highest incidence of violent crimes globally. It is estimated that one in every five Americans will suffer from a serious sexual assault during their lifetime (Koss, 1993). Specifically, Resnick et al. (2005) reported that approximately 683 000 adult women are raped each year, and this only reflects the number of reported cases. While there is little mention of South Africa in these studies, as with countries such as the USA, the incidence of rape against women in South Africa has become an issue of comparable importance.

South Africa is reported to have one of the worst rape statistics in the world, and that is just for the reported cases (Eshuur, 2002; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Compared to the United States, South African women are at greater risk of being raped, with one in two women likely to be raped during their lifetime (Statistics South Africa, 2005). Although police reports and community-based surveys have been gathered to provide insights into the prevalence levels of rape in our society, it is likely that only a small percentage of the rapes which occur are reported to the police. As well as being unwilling to approach the police, many women are embarrassed to admit rape (Armstrong, 1994). Scholars and health care providers have often challenged the figures relating to the prevalence of rape within the society. Other reports suggest that the actual figures of rape prevalence are

much higher, especially as many rapes go unreported (Mgoqi, 2006). Regardless of this, however, South Africa is reported to have the worst rape statistics in the world and that is just for the few reported cases (Eschuur, 2002; Matthew & Abrahams, 2001).

According to the Fourth United Nations Survey of Crime Trends and the operation of the Criminal Systems report (1990, Cited & Lewis, 1993), South Africa had the second largest number (20, 321) of reported rapes in 1990, compared to 3,391 in the United Kingdom, 2,928 in Venezuela and 486 in Denmark. By 1992, the number was reported to be 24,700 annually (Vogelman & Lewis, 1993). As evidence of the prevalence of rape in South Africa, in 1995, the Human's Rights Watch report on domestic violence and rape dubbed South Africa the 'rape capital of the world'. Since then rape was reported to have increased by 4.9 % from 1994 - 2002 (Matthew and Abrahams, 2001). In the national Crime Statistics report for the period 1994- 2002, rape was ranked fourth out of twenty as the most serious crimes in South Africa. Further, in the South African Police Service (SAPS) report, for 2004/2005 it was estimated that a total of 52, 733 (118.3 per 100,000) cases of rape was reported and for 2006/2007 a total of 52, 617 (110 per 100,000) (South African Government Information, 2008; Statistics South Africa, 2005). These above statistics give evidence that over the past 20 years, the incidence of rape in South Africa has reached epidemic proportions.

South Africa's history is one of political violence, coercion and abuse. Since the transition into democracy, where previously political violence dominated, criminal violence is now widespread and South Africa claims one of the highest crime rates in the world (Cordiner, 2004). It is clear from the preceding paragraphs that rape against women is a virtually universal phenomenon, which is widespread and common in most societies and has many forms. Whilst definitions and measures of rape vary widely across cultural contexts, and despite the series of the methodological challenges in measuring rape, the findings presented in the preceding paragraphs provide evidence of the widespread nature of rape in our societies. More importantly, the findings confirm that rape continues to be prevalent in South Africa and is neither rare nor a random phenomenon. Therefore, rape is a subject that cannot be ignored. Given this background,

there is a greater need to understand the magnitude of rape within our society and more importantly, to understand the perceptions and attitudes towards sexual assault and rape among South African male youth.

2.1.2 WHERE IS RAPE HAPPENING AND TO WHOM?

The findings across provinces and regions of South Africa provide specific prevalence rates for the regions at various periods. These appear to vary across the provinces over the different periods. In addition, rape and sexual assault of women are on the increase in black townships (Soweto, Alexandra, Sohanguve and Kagiso) (Statistics South Africa, 2005). Armstrong (1994) additionally reported that one in four women has been raped in the Soweto Township. Moreover, it was previously stated by the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR) (2001) that in cities, the incidence of rape across all ages per capita was highest in Nelson Mandela municipality (Port Elizabeth in the Eastern Cape)(1 in 559 people) and Johannesburg (1 in 607 people) (Cited in Mgoqi, 2006). In addition, research studies show that girls are particularly vulnerable to rape in the school environment (Haffejee, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mirsky, 2003; Posel, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998). This shall be elaborated upon later in this chapter.

Simpson (1993) speculates as to why there is an increase in rapes in black townships as opposed to other communities. He states that previously, more than in any other sector of society, black township youth have historically been excluded from the key sources of power and authority in the society and have in the past been politically voiceless and marginalized from any source of wealth creation and economic power. He continues to state that this is pertinent particularly for young post-apartheid males, who are left frustrated, emasculated and generally disempowered. Simpson (1993) states that because of their feelings of powerlessness and emasculation it is no surprise that these males present as primary perpetrators, as well as victims of violence. Sideris (2005) agrees in stating that for some men, particularly young men that have been disillusioned with their unimportant status, sexuality has become the main focus of manhood and these men often assert their dominance in sexually violent ways.

2.1.3 WHO IS INVOLVED?

Age has been associated with the risk of being raped or sexually assaulted. In particular belonging to a younger age group is perceived to increase the risk of rape (Kilpatrick & Acierno, 2003). In a study of the patterns of sexual behaviour among secondary school students in Swaziland, Buseh (2004) reported that sexual activity is common among 15-19 year olds. In the same study it was reported that 9.8 % of 941 students had initiated sexual intercourse before the age of 13 years. Further, males were more likely to have initiated sexual intercourse before the age of 13 and males were more likely to be sexually active than their female counterparts. It was additionally reported that about 13% of girls reported that their first time was coerced (Buseh, 2004).

Kilpatrick and Acierno (2003) found that 62% of forcible rapes reported to the National Woman's Survey occurred prior to age 18. Similarly Tjaden and Thoennes (2002) found that 54% of women who reported rape on the National Violence Against Women's Survey were victimised before the age of 18. This suggests that rape is a crime that is primarily committed against youth. In this regard, a Lovelife survey (2000, cited in Mgoqi, 2006) revealed that 39% of young women in South Africa between the ages of 12 and 17 stated that they have been forced to have sex. In the same study, 33% said that they were afraid of saying 'no' to sex while 55% agreed with the statement "*there are times that I don't want to have sex but I do because my boyfriend insists on having sex*" (Lovelife, 2000 cited in Mgoqi, 2006).

According to the South African Police Service (SAPS) (2005) South African females aged between 12 and 17 years are the greatest risk category. In the recent survey among Cape Town high school students, King, Flisher, Noubary, Reece, Marais and Lombard (2004) found that the rape prevalence among adolescent high school students in Cape Town was 5.8 % and that attempted rape was 8.4%. These studies confirm that children and youth are at greater risk of sexual assault.

It has long been recognised that a sizeable number of rapes do not involve strangers but rather persons who are acquainted with each other. Research studies on rape reveal that women are more likely to be assaulted by men that they know than by strangers (Ackard & Neumark-Sztainer, 2002; Mgoqi, 2006). For instance, Neville, Heppner, Oh, Spanierman and Clark's (2004) findings on rape survivors revealed that out of the total of 97 participants, a significant number of female survivors of rape were either raped by an acquaintance (n=28), a friend (n= 21) or boyfriend (n=17), thus suggesting that victims of rape were victimised by those closer to them than by strangers. Stranger rape accounted for the smallest number (n=9).

Similarly, Layman, Gidycz and Lynn (1996) earlier found that 80% of the women that acknowledged rape reported that they were raped by a date or romantic acquaintance. In Kenya, a regional survey amongst youth revealed that 22% of girls reported that coerced sex had been attempted on them in romantic partnerships (Erulkar, Karueru, Kaggawa, Nzioki & Nyagh, 1998). Similar rates of sexual coercion of young females has been found in other African settings (Ajuwon et al., 2001; Harrison, Xaba, Kunene & Ntuli, 2001). Consistent with these findings, Dunkle, Jewkes, Brown, McIntyre, Gray and Harlow's (2003) study on pregnant women in Soweto, reported that that over two thirds of women studied reported emotional violence, 20 % indicated sexual abuse and half experienced physical abuse by their intimate partners. Further evidence of the pervasiveness of intimate-partner rape comes from Abrahams, Jewkes, and Laubsher (1999). In a random sample of 1394 male workers in municipalities in Cape Town, 15% of men reported having raped or attempted to rape a wife or girlfriend on one or more occasions during the ten years prior to the study.

It appears that there has been evidence that the sexual assault and rape of young township girls are increasingly being committed by their male classmates. In Mgalla, Schapink and Boerma's (1998) study on the sexual exploitation of school girls in Tanzania, three-quarters of the girls in the study reported to have been harassed by school boys that wanted to have sex with them. It was additionally reported that the rapists of young girls are often their male classmates (Armstrong, 1994; Human Rights Watch, 2001). This is

further evidenced by Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss and Levin (2006) who conducted a study on rape perpetration by young South African men. It was found that amongst the 1730 male volunteers in the study 16.3% had raped a non-partner, or participated in a form of gang rape; 8.4% had been sexually violent towards an intimate partner; and 79.1% had done neither. In addition, the mean age of first rape was 17 years. Finally, as mentioned above the Human Rights Watch (2001) one in four young men questioned reported having had sex with a woman without her consent by the time he had reached 18. However, literature about the context of African young peoples' partnerships suggests that many men and women view sexual coercion as a socially acceptable part of sexual relationships, as well as a symbol of love and commitment (Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1998).

2.2 DEFINITION OF KEY CONCEPTS

2.2.1 RAPE AND INDECENT OR SEXUAL ASSAULT

Rape

It is important to identify the legal definition of rape in South Africa. It is a definition that objectively defines rape (without taking individual subjective experiences, perceptions and beliefs into account) but aids us by providing society with a platform from which the legal implications of rape can be understood. According to the Sexual Offences (and Related Matters) Amendment Bill B50 (2003 cited in Combrinck, 2006):

Any person (A), who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (B), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape.

Without consent means against the women's will (Combrinck, 2006; Lewis, 2000). The definition therefore no longer makes any reference to the sex of the perpetrator or the victim, nor does it prioritise certain forms of sexual penetration above others. 'Sexual penetration' is described as any act that causes penetration (to any extent) of the genital organs of one person into the genital organs, anus or mouth of another person, or of any

other body part or object into the genital organs or anus or another person (Combrinck, 2006). Furthermore according to the Sexual Offences Amendment Bill B50 (2003) a person is unable to consent to sex if they are asleep, unconscious, in an altered state of consciousness, under the influence of any medicine, drug, alcohol or other substance to the extent that the person's consciousness or judgement is adversely affected, is a mentally impaired person; or are below the age of 12 years (Combrinck, 2006). Thus, the defining characteristic of rape is lack of choice or consent to engage in sexual intercourse by the woman (Mgoqi, 2006).

The legal definitions of rape have often been criticized for being inadequate (Lewis, 2000). Despite the above legal terminology, there are many different cultural and theoretical definitions of rape. The continuous use of the term 'rape' in public dialogue conveys the emotional impact of the offence even as it contradicts our ambivalence in defining and attributing responsibility for it (Dunlap, 1997). These attempts to define rape have resulted in a transformation in our understanding of the notion of rape and have enabled researchers to examine the universality of rape across different nations and cultures, including South Africa (Mgoqi, 2006). This study explored how school age township males define the 'construct' of rape.

Sexual Assault

According to the Sexual Offences Amendment Bill B50 (2003) sexual assault is used to describe violence or unwanted physical contact of a sexual nature that does not meet the South African legal definition of rape, including but not limited to oral and anal penetration, sexual penetration with objects, and attempted rape (Combrinck, 2006).

2.2.2 SEXUAL CONSENT

Lack of sexual consent is central to the legal definition of rape. Several researchers have attempted to provide a definition of sexual consent. Kaeser (1992) defined *sexual consent* as simply meaning '*knowing, intelligent, and voluntary agreement to engage in a given*

activity' (p. 35). However, men's understanding of what constitutes sexual consent and their sense of entitlement to women's bodies seems to vary across South Africa. According to Khumalo and Peacock (2006), in workshops across the country, men have argued that sexual consent is established when a woman gives her cell phone number, accepts a drink, dances closely, or comes back to their house. These definitions of consent then provide men with a convenient justification for not respecting women's right to say no to sex. In addition, often the woman's history, her prior sexual relations with the offender and whether she engaged in foreplay are to be regarded as significant factors in considering her consent to sexual intercourse. It is argued that these factors should not be significant in determining a woman's consent to sexual relations. This research explored school age males understanding of sexual consent and rape.

2.2.3 RAPE MYTHS

Burt (1991), Parrot and Bechhofer (1991), as well as Vogelman (1990) define rape myths as false views of what rape is and why it happens. The term 'myth' suggests the constructed nature of these premises and their lack of relation to reality (Mogapi, 2000). These myths consist of stereotypes and false beliefs about rape, rape victims as well as perpetrators. According to Labuschagne, (1986) although myths of rape misrepresent reality, they have been internalised by some members of society who later use them when making attributions about any rape situation. Research has shown that rape myth acceptance appears in the belief system of both lay people and professionals (Mogapi, 2000).

2.2.4 RAPE SUPPORTIVE BELIEFS OR ATTITUDES

According to Longsway and Fitzgerald (1994) rape supportive beliefs or attitudes are attitudes and beliefs that are generally false but widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women. This study aimed to explore whether school age township males displayed rape supportive attitudes and beliefs in rape myths.

2.3 SOCIALISATION THEORY

Understanding the construct of rape and sexual assault and its causes requires a specific psychological framework. One approach that makes a significant contribution to the understanding of rape (and sexual consent) and is primarily concerned with the external environment and social factors and processes that drive an individual, is that of socialisation. This study utilises the socialisation theory to help understand how young male adolescents have been socialised to construct their own meanings, perceptions and attitudes towards sexual relationships, and more specifically sexual consent.

Socialisation can be defined as a process through which people are acculturated to attitudes and ways of behaving that enable them to participate in society (Harway & O'Neil, 1999). The theory of socialisation is a premise that effectively explains the influence social factors have on attitudes and behaviour. Vogelman (1990) argues that children require the moral codes, social skills and sex role behaviours necessary for proper functioning in society. While this is valid, it is also true that '*socialisation is responsible for perpetuating current sex roles and sexist ideas and behaviours which encourage rape and facilitate the social control of women*' (Vogelman, 1990, p.53). In South African and many other societies, socialisation is intimately bound up with the implantation of beliefs and ideologies as natural. There is the belief that certain modes of behaviour which are demeaning to women are natural, and are not susceptible to change. This has the effect of making one accept the social control of women, rape myths and prevailing sex roles unquestioningly (Vogelman, 1990).

Socialisation theory suggests that social institutions help mould experiences, attitudes and behaviour and that these in turn contribute to the incidence of rape. The greatest significance of this theory is that it is believed that behaviour is the result of social rather than biological factors. It has however been argued that the socialisation theory is limited because it does not take internal factors into account. It is argued that the individual and his 'free will' are often ignored and the individual is seen as having no control over his attitudes, decisions and behaviour (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

There are some theorists that argue against the socialisation theory. Thornhill and Palmer (2000) are two theorists, for instance, that argue that rape is not a product of society but instead a 'direct adaptation' by which natural selection allows 'sexually disfranchised' men (who are not likely to be selected as partners by females) to reproduce their genes. Although Thornhill and Palmer (2000) refer to a large body of evidence of rape in other species, their work is still problematic and raises many unanswered questions. For instance, it has been reported that 70 percent of rapes involve women of reproductive age. But what about the other 30 percent of rapes that involve women that are not of reproductive age, for instance the rape of very young children and old women? In addition, there are some rapists that rape men. Therefore one can argue that these rapists, that are not raping women of reproductive age, cannot be raping to try to reproduce their genes, as Thornhill and Palmer (2000) would suggest. One would then have to speculate that there is another reason that men would rape, other than to try and reproduce their genes and spread their sperm (Patai, 2000).

In addition, May and Strikwerda (1994) argue that even though rape is normally committed by an individual man, it is not best understood in individualistic terms. The main reasons for this are explained by May and Strikwerda. They state that individual men are more likely to engage in rape when they are in groups. They further state that men receive strong encouragement to rape because of the way they are socialised as men, to be a man, that is to be a man that is sexually confident, experienced and in control of the opposite sex. Individual men often feel pressure to demonstrate their manliness and masculinity in order to gain respect of other men (May & Strikwerda, 1994). They continue to state that both the climate that encourages rape and the socialisation patterns which instil negative attitudes about women are difficult to understand from an individualistic perspective. Vogelman (1990) argues further to state that one needs to look at the bigger picture when trying to understand rape. He states that creating a non-oppressive society, free of rape, requires commitment to the understanding of changing social institutions such as the school, the family, the media and the peer group who often enforce rape perpetuating qualities.

2.4 GENDER-ROLE SOCIALISATION

According to Thorne (1993), gender role expectations are seen to influence a person's identity from birth and get ingrained in our personality. This influences how we see ourselves. Witt (1997) additionally states that a child's earliest exposure to gender-role expectations comes from their parents. She explains that from the time their children are babies, parents treat boys and girls differently. Girls are expected to be sweet and sensitive and boys are expected to be strong and brave. For instance, a little boy who wants to play with dolls soon realizes that it is not only his father that may find this unacceptable but also many significant others that he comes into contact with in his community (Vogelman, 1990).

There is also a basic difference in development for boys and girls. For girls their relationship with their primary care giver is one of mutuality. Boys, on the other hand, see themselves as different from their mothers and through increasing separation and autonomy from their mother they develop identification with their father. Boys are therefore socialised into isolated (separate) ways of being and model the aggressive and power seeking nature of adult males (Corey, 2005).

Vogelman, (1990) follows this school of thought when describing the family as the most significant institution in shaping the child's beliefs, attitudes and values, explaining that at a young age the child starts to adopt the attitudes and roles of its parents, especially sex role stereotypes. Whether or not they are aware of it, most parents act as representatives of their society and prevailing sex roles become embedded through childhood activities encouraged by parents. Boys are frequently taught to play with guns, play sports and engage in physical activity. Aggression, independence and physical strength are therefore fostered. On the other hand, girls are often taught to play with dolls, value cooking and cleaning tasks and to be reliant on others; nurturance, dependence and passivity are therefore fostered. Koss and Harvey (1991) hypothesized that male aggression towards women is highly likely for young men reared in families where female family members were the targets of male aggression and when attitudes that bring down women are

prevailed. Sexually assaultive behaviour in young men has been related to fathers' ideas of sexual aggression as well as father's sexual behaviours towards their wives (Walker, 2005).

'Gender is constructed or learned, from particular conditions, experiences and contingencies that a culture systematically, and differentially, pairs with human femaleness and maleness, and is a major social category used by most societies as a basis for socialisation and the assumption of social status' (Lott & Maluso, 1993, p.99). Children learn at a very early age what it means to be a boy or a girl in our society. Through countless activities, opportunities and various forms of guidance, children experience the process of gender role socialisation. Gender roles are defined as those non-physiological components of sex that are regarded culturally as appropriate to males and females (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990).

As children develop, the gender stereotypes they are exposed to in their home context are reinforced by other elements in their environment and are thus perpetuated throughout childhood and on into adolescence (Martin, Wood, & Little, 1990). South Africa is traditionally a male dominated patriarchal society. Men are expected to hold the power while women are expected to passively stand back and are frequently exploited. Recent research on masculinity in South Africa shows that men who do not drink, smoke or hang out with other men are referred to in insulting and belittling terms (Walker, 2005).

This socialisation approach to gender stereotypes suggests that gender can be a reliable predictor of social behaviour only under certain conditions, i.e. where the situation provides strong expectations of gender-related behaviour. Social and gender expectations that adolescent boys be confident and knowledgeable when it comes to sex inhibit their expression of doubts and uncertainties. Consequently they often accept incorrect sexual information without question or learn about sexuality by chance (Koss & Harvey, 1990). Research suggests that rape is more prevalent in such societies (Robertson, 1998).

'The power in tradition lies in its selection of past meanings that connect to the present as a living system of meanings and values regulating attitudes and social relations. In

this sense tradition 'plants deep roots' and because it is so closely tied to the practices of everyday life, plays an important role in elaborating gender and the variable boundaries hierarchy of sexual difference' (Sideris, 2005, p121). It is not surprising then, that men who are confused about gender categories appeal to tradition and society to deal with their confusion.

According to Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2003), masculinities are not purely naturally occurring, instead, they are constructed in social interactions and achieved through the use of the cultural resources available to particular boys and men. Literature suggests that there are different kinds of masculinities available to boys and men but generally finds that there is a 'dominant' form of masculinity that influences their understanding of how they have to act in order to be 'acceptably' male. According to Connell (1995), this dominant mode is associated with heterosexuality, toughness, power and authority, competitiveness and the subordination of gay men. This is often referred to as hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). The patterns of conduct generally associated with hegemonic masculinity include authoritarianism, aggression, heterosexuality, physical bravery, involvement in sport and competitiveness (Connell, 1995; Frosh et al., 2003).

Connell's (1995) analysis has shaped one of the most key frameworks for understanding masculinity, especially the notion of 'hegemonic masculinity', which referred to *'a configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and the subordination of woman*' (Connell, 1995, p.77). Connell's (1995) theory is built on the hierarchical understanding of gender, where men position themselves in relation to each other and in relation to hegemonic standards of gender. While his definition ensures the dominance and subordination of women, it also visibly applies to relations between men (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Hegemonic masculinity presents the dominant versions of acceptable masculinity into which boys and men are normatively socialised, and to which they are expected to conform in order to be acceptable as 'real' men and boys (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

While Connell (1995) argues that hegemonic masculinity is more an aspiration standard and most men are unlikely to attain, embody or live a hegemonic masculinity; its norms play a vital role in the regulation of the behaviour of both men and boys. It is argued by Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) that boys and men support it, are regulated by it and use it to judge other men's conduct'. Moreover, boys and men who fail to live up to this ideal form of masculinity are often ridiculed (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007). Yet, most boys and men cannot hope to fit into the masculine ideal and many men who are powerful within society do not have the characteristics of toughness and physical dominance associated with it (Frosh et al., 2003).

Imms (2000) highlights what generally happens when boys don't conform to hegemonic standards. He refers to marginalisation (the 'othering' of some boy's experiences), oppression and dominance (restricting some boy's participation and acceptance into peer groups). The concept of hegemonic masculinity therefore provides a way of explaining the fact that, although a number of masculinities exist, a particular version of masculinity has supremacy and greater legitimacy in society (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007). Indeed it is probably by these very hegemonic standards and this very process that boy's follow, which predominantly contribute to the development of the risk of rape (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

Individual boys in the process of socialisation and development, especially during adolescence, take up particular subject positions in relation to these dominant hegemonic standards, with some boys submitting to the pressure of conformity to these hegemonic standards more than others (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). In line with Connell (1995)'s notion of hegemonic masculinity, Davis and Brannon (1976, cited in Solomon (1982) highlighted the four major dimensions of the masculine role: 1) "No sissy stuff" 2) "The big wheel" 3) "The Sturdy Oak", 4) "Give 'Em Hell". These four dimensions align with the concept of hegemonic masculinity in their construction of masculinity being associated with toughness, power and authority, and competitiveness. It is useful to provide a brief explanation of these dimensions as such stereotypes still appear to be

dominant representations of masculinity in society, especially in the current African tradition.

No Sissy Stuff

This construct refers to the social difference between the sexes in terms of emotional expression. It is thought to be so pervasive that it permeates all aspects of gender role behaviour. A man is seen as using logic as opposed to emotion, be a good talker as opposed to a good listener and should display confidence instead of humility. It is argued that boys learn hard, confident and aggressive ways of relating to people as opposed to softer, more persuasive approaches attributed to woman (Solomon, 1982). This notion was confirmed in Adomako Ampofo and Boatengs' (2007) study on the exploration of the multiple meanings of manhood among adolescent boys in Guana. It was found that the boys in their study were discouraged from showing feminine emotions such as admitting to fear or pain, and were ridiculed for being effeminate if they were not aggressive. It has been argued that these 'hard' ways of relating to others can lead to boys following more aggressive and power-seeking roles, often leading to the control and subordination of women (Pattman, 2007).

The Big Wheel

Men are expected to be successful high achievers and to be looked up to, whether in sports or in business. This continuous striving for success underscores the importance of competition in men's lives. Success leads to power both in the workplace and in domestic life, where men are most labelled as head of the household (Solomon, 1982). According to Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) accomplishment and conquest are important factors in heteronormative presentation in adolescent boys, as are appearances of powerfulness and competence. Moreover, Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) suggest that in the school environment these factors may manifest as displays of contestation, success in sport, being liked by girls, displays of smoking and drinking, and displayed toughness or invulnerability. This often results in boys ranking themselves against other boys' physical strength and sexual success with girls (Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

Moreover, according to Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007), in order to live up to these ideals of masculinity, men and boys are often forced into leadership and breadwinner roles that many cannot live up to. In addition, it is often this desire or pressure to 'perform' as a man that leads boys to high risk activities, such as joining gangs or using drugs, where belonging, accomplishment and conquest are achieved through both physical and sexual violence (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007).

The Sturdy Oak

In order to demonstrate their masculinity men are expected to be tough, confident and self reliant. A man is expected to cope and stand up to stress. The sturdy oak is the expression of invulnerability and fearlessness (Solomon, 1982). In their recent exploration of adolescent masculinity in South African boys, Blackbeard and Lindegger (2007) found that imperative within the male peer group was the demonstration of toughness or invulnerability. This display was particularly important as a conversational toughness, an ability to 'handle' the critical comments of peer-group members.

Give 'Em Hell

This refers to men as being daring, aggressive, violent and risk takers as a dimension of masculinity. Boys are socialised to use violence as an acceptable means of problem resolution and are always expected to fight in order to protect an external part of one's masculinity (Solomon, 1982). This was demonstrated in Langa and Eagles' (2007) case study on the former self-defence unit members in Kathorus, who found that men that were not prepared to fight were labelled as lacking in masculinity and were called derogatory names like 'sissies' or 'mommies boys'. It has been found by Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) that beyond the physical threats that come with attempts to live up to such constructions, boys and men who cannot live up to expectations of being strong, aggressive, providers and leaders can be exceptionally stressed, particularly in their relationships. Moreover, men that cannot live up to these expectations that men should be powerful and competent in all things may respond by withdrawing into

passivity and resorting to sexual or physical violence towards weaker individuals (Adomako Ampofo and Boateng, 2007).

All these dimensions of masculinity are interrelated and any disruptions in one area may lead to disruptions in other areas. According to Solomon (1982) not following the above dimensions and scripts of masculinity can lead to the risk of being socially ostracised and losing one's chance for success and status. It appears that for some men, it remains crucial to follow the rules of masculinity.

In addition, these four dimensions of masculinity appear to be consistent with the concept of *isoka.* The term *isoka* signifies a man in Zulu culture who is respected, socially successful and popular with women (Niehaus, 2005). Among the most highly regarded features of being an *isoka* appears to be dominance, confidence, success in the home and workplace and decision making power in a relationship (Varga, 2003). Dahlbäck, Makelele, Ndubani, Yamba, Bergström and Ransjö-Arvidson (2003) carried out a study to explore the awareness and perceptions among Zambian adolescent boys' and their transition into manhood from a gender perspective. In line with Davis and Brannon's dimensions of masculinity, it was found that a 'real man' was seen as an individual who possesses power, status and position in the society. One of the participants stated that "*a man should be self reliant, respectful, trusted and loyal to others. He should be physically strong, bold and brave. He should be the head of the household"* (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p53).

Levant and Richmond (2007) also defined traditional masculinity as consisting of the male role norms of avoiding all things feminine, restricting one's emotional life, being tough and aggressive, being self reliant, achieving status, having non-relational attitudes towards sexuality, and fearing and hating homosexuals. It is thus clear that these and other authors have sought to characterize masculinity in some tangible way, either through sex role stereotypes or similar tropes.

Until relatively recently, masculinity was usually understood in the singular (Hearn, 2007). More recent research on the identities of boys has challenged assumptions that gender identities are relatively fixed, self contained set of traits which individuals possess. In fact, masculinity is no longer understood as homogeneous set of stable traits or characteristics. Rather, the individual is seen as constantly faced with a choice as to which gender to 'perform' in a given situation. Its meaning for the individual has come to be understood as a function of generation, culture, society and class (Frosh et al., 2003).

2.5 SCHOOL AS AN INSTITUTION OF ADOLESCENT DOMINATION

After the family the next most significant institution in a young child's life is the school. The school is often perceived as an institution which only provides children with academic education. Often its role goes far beyond this as it also teaches values, attitudes and behaviour. Boys and girls are again taught their respective roles and behaviours (Hawkins & Weis, 1985). Another crucial role of school is the importance it stresses on individual ambition and competition. This often results in boys ranking themselves against other boy's physical strength, sporting expertise and sexual success with girls.

Young men's insecurities are intensified by their own attempts to present themselves as 'macho' in public, such as by boasting to peers about their ability to control their girlfriends (Wood & Jewkes, 2001).When young men fail to measure up to other stronger, sexually experienced boys, they feel insecure. These young men may resort to faulty methods of problem solving, for example, physical/sexual violence or aggression in order to keep up with appearances. Such behaviour is made easier by the support and encouragement they often get from their peers (Vogelman, 1990). It is argued that it is the interactions of young men that contribute to a pattern of socialisation that also plays a major role in the incidence of rape (May & Strikwerda, 1994).

According to the Human Rights Watch (2001) one of the most vital challenges to learning for many children is the threat of violence at school. Research studies show that adolescent girls are particularly vulnerable to sexual harassment and gender-based

violence in the school environment (Haffejee, 2006; Human Rights Watch, 2001; Mirsky, 2003; Posel, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1998). It has been found that South African girls face the threat of multiple forms of violence at school, including rape, sexual abuse, and sexualized touching or emotional abuse in the form of threats of violence (Andersson, Ho-Foster & Matthis, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Fineran, Bennett and Sasco (2000) conducted a comparative study of peer sexual harassment and violence in South Africa and the United States. They described the experience, perpetration, and reaction to such violence for students 16- 18 years of age. The study found that the incidence of physical violence experienced by students in South African schools was 'surprisingly high', and that South African students experienced and perpetrated significantly more physical violence than their American counterparts. This notion is further supported by Leach, Fiscian, Kadzamire, Lemani and Machankia (2003) who conducted a study on sexual harassment in three Southern African countries. Their results suggest that schools are fertile breeding grounds for potentially damaging gendered practices, which remain with pupils into adult life. Girls are trained to accept the battery and assault, while boys, by contrast, receive tacit permission to continue with the violent behaviour because their violence is not condemned or interrupted (Leach et al., 2003).

Findings from Haffejee's (2006) study on girls' experiences on gender based violence mirror the above findings. Her findings highlight a prevalence of gender-based violence and male hegemony in relationships. She states that young girls appear to be at risk of being physically and sexually victimised within the school environment. Her findings also demonstrated that, for young girls, school is not seen as a safe place and instead it appears to be a primary site for sexual harassment. Moreover, according to a study by Andersson, Ho-Foster and Matthis (2004) one in every three schoolgirls in southern Johannesburg said they experienced sexual harassment at school; of those, only 36 % said they had reported the incident to anyone. In addition, according to Wood and Jewkes (1998), for adolescent girls aged 14 –18, sexual violence was found to be a consistent feature of sexual relationships.

Far from being a problem only for schools with few resources, the Human Rights Watch (2001) states that sexual violence permeates the whole of the South African education system. The Human Rights Watch (2001) reported that sexual assault also occurs in prestigious predominantly white schools, in impoverished predominantly black township schools, in schools for the learning disabled, and even in primary schools. They continue to state that privilege often does not protect a girl against sexual violence. However, it is speculated that it is the poverty that township girls face that may render them more vulnerable to the assault.

According to the Human Rights Watch (2001) these forms of gender violence are largely committed by other students and in some instances by teachers. They reported that one of the greatest threats to a South African girl's safety at school is likely to be seated next to her in class. Moreover, South African girls interviewed by Human Rights Watch (2001) reported regular sexual harassment in schools by peers, as well as psychological coercion by teachers to engage in ‘dating relationships’. However, it has been found that South African girls are far more likely to be sexually assaulted by one or more of their male classmates than by a teacher (Human Rights Watch, 2001).

Findings from the Human Rights Watch (2001) reveal that girls have been attacked in school toilet facilities, in empty classrooms and hallways, in hostel rooms and dormitories, and in other "no go" areas on school grounds. It appeared that the girls interviewed by the Human Rights Watch (2001) described being vulnerable to be attacked virtually in any place on the school grounds and at any time. However, it was reported that sexual assaults were mostly attempted during class breaks and recess activity times.

The girls interviewed by the Human Rights Watch (2001) described sexual conduct from boys as persistent and reported that certain forms of sexual assault even occurred in classrooms during class, in full view of their teachers. For instance, girls protested that their male classmates would try to kiss them, fondle their breasts, raise their skirts, and try to touch them under their skirts in the classroom. Girls further reported that such behaviour was unwanted, undesirable, and highly distracting to the learning environment.

In addition, the girls perceived the problem of sexual harassment and sexual violence to be getting worse, with boys becoming bolder. Girls told Human Rights Watch (2001) that boys perceived by others to be "popular" were the worst kind of offenders. One girl stated that sexual advances made by popular boys sometimes trouble her because these boys appear to think that all girls would want to engage in sexual relationships with them and then will be persistent and not believe the girl when she rejects him. It can therefore be seen that the sexual harassment and assault that these girls report appears to create a hostile environment for girls that is anathema to learning.

2.6 WHO AM I?

'*Adolescence itself is a contradiction; a time of opportunity and risk. It is a period when self image is built upon feelings of omnipotence and invulnerability on one hand and dependency and uniformity on the other, i.e. the desire to fit into a group but not without a large portion of ambivalence'* (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p.55).

Adolescence is a time for powerful changes and is often characterized by stress, confusion and conflict. According to Vogelman (1990) the turbulence of adolescence is primarily due to an elevated level of self consciousness, and a longing to make an impression on people. In addition, heightened sexuality, different physical make-up, a changing relationship with peers and parents, and increased social expectations also contribute to the often confusing and turbulent journey into adolescence. Adolescent boys, in particular experience significant physical and emotional changes accompanied by curiosity and challenges during their development into manhood.

It is these factors and the fact that adolescence is a time for role experimentation that makes adolescent years fundamental in the formation of identity. Erikson (1968) characterized adolescence as a time of identity versus identity (role) confusion. He states that this is a time when individuals are preoccupied with social expectations and their attempts to develop an identity. This encourages the adolescent to find a group of friends that can supply support and affirmation. Acceptance to any group requires conformity to

the standards and norms of that group. Thus, the individual often feels pressurized to modify their behaviour as to better suit the group. This might mean that a male wanting to become part of a wider group of friends may have to become more aggressive and show more sexual assertiveness in order to participate in group activities such as fighting and womanizing (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981).

According to Dahlbäck et al. (2003) adolescent boys are often victims of conflicting messages given from home, school, peers, and the churches, which do not facilitate their choice of how to think or act in an appropriate way. Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study exploring the awareness and perceptions among Zambian adolescent boys' and their transition into manhood found that a common way of acquiring self image and manliness was to imitate the appearance, behaviour, attitudes, language, taste of music, manner of walking and body image of role models or even celebrities.

A role model is a person who a child/adolescent would want to identify him or herself with. It is a person that one would look up to, admire and try to imitate and acquire his/her characteristics in the socialisation process in order to sharpen their own identity. However, one major finding in Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study was that there was a lack of good male role models. In fact, very few adult men and none of the boys' fathers were mentioned as good role models in this study. The majority of the boys in the study did agree to value the role model of the conventional and stereotyped gender role of a 'real man'. A 'real man' was considered heterosexual, a man who had many girlfriends and a man who should be able to have numerous sexual partners whom he was able to satisfy sexually. Most of the boys grew up believing wholly that their identity as men and individuals is defined by their sexual prowess. In addition, the majority of the boys in the study expressed worries about not being able to respond to these traditional male roles.

In the absence of good role models young boys often turn to the peer group for identity building (Dahlbäck et al., 2003). As mentioned above, peer pressure and the need to conform to each other strongly affect male adolescence behaviour and it is often seen as difficult to deviate from group norms (Dahlbäck et al., 2003; Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981).

According to Dahlbäck et al., (2003) sexual activities and experimentation play a major role in identity building to become a man. They continue to state that whenever boys meet, it is common for them to narrate experiences that they have had with girls and describe in detail how they have had sex with different girls. For instance, a shared opinion from their study was: "*you need to have a girlfriend to show off. Other boys have girlfriends and you have to do the same, if not to be a fool… to fit into the group. You have to 'play with girls' imitating the pleasure other people talk about*" (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p.56).

Young boys often face immense and overwhelming peer pressure to conform to the standards and norms of their peer groups. Boys are often expected to control, succeed with and have power over girls. These expectations include acquiring many premarital sexual experiences (Varga, 2003). In addition, '*the importance of sexual conquest is highlighted by the widespread belief that sexual intercourse with a woman marks the graduation from adolescence to manhood. Attaining the treasured trophy of a woman's body gives the adolescent a new found sense of confidence and superiority*' (Vogelman, 1986, p.142). A man's first conquest forms the basis of his notions of sexual behaviour. Cold mechanical sex, pornography and rape are the most common forms of a rapist's initial sexual experience (Vogelman, 1990).

It has been found that the most commonly used means of coping with the inability to conquer a woman or sexual rejection is either simply not accepting a woman's refusal or interpreting the woman's unwillingness as compliance (Vogelman, 1990). It is therefore not surprising, considering the vast challenges adolescent boys are faced with and the overwhelming pressure they feel to be accepted and respected by the peer group, that many adolescent boys end up coercing young girls to have sex with them.

2.7 *'UKUHLONIPHA': TO* GAIN RESPECT: PEER GROUP SOCIALISATION,

The establishment of friendships and the traumas of adolescence highlight the important role of the peer group in shaping sex role behaviour. Male intuitive is a major theme in dating relationships. According to Niehaus (2005) young men's sexual encounters are usually with girlfriends (*called their 'mothlabo' or 'cheri'*), whom they court with numerous proposals, offerings, displays of affection and persistent begging. It is predominantly the male that asks the female out, plans their activities and are responsible for financial loads. According to Vogelman (1990) initiation is brought about both by sex role training and by men's desire to have sex with a woman. It is during this process of courting that young men build and test reputations amongst their peers. They are often pressurized into showing their masculinity in the traditional ways of being dominant and 'manly' in their relationship (sexual and other) with girls (Niehaus, 2005).

Many young men are insecure and unable to assert their masculinity by other means. The peer group therefore has the power to pressurize individuals to conform to stereotypical sex role behaviour. A young man's initial sexual encounter often takes place within a dating relationship. It is argued that while this way of relating can and often does provide joy, it can have harmful effects in relating to the opposite sex as it frequently reinforces sex-role stereotypes and provides many boys with their first personal experience of sexual aggression (Vogelman, 1990). Consequently, it has been found that peer-group socialisation has been a powerful predictor of sexually aggressive behaviour in young men (Vogelman, 1990).

Relationships appear to be driven by pressure from peers for young boys to engage in early and unprotected sex and even by expectations of sexual coercion and violence by male peers (Harrison, Xaba & Kunene, 2001; Jewkes, Vundule, Maforah, & Jordaan, 2001). Gang rape takes this one step further and is essentially a kind of male bonding and a sign of friendship, in which young men who compete for women in everyday life collaborate and share the same woman as a sexual object, therefore giving young males the chance to show their masculinity and build a reputation amongst peers (Niehaus,

2005). According to Russel (1993) gang rape is often referred to as a 'test match' in South Africa. The fact that the more common usage of the phrase 'test match' in South Africa refers to an international sports event where teams compete, is telling. This suggests that the idea or reality of gang rape is to be fun, not serious, sexist, competitive and immoral.

Varga (2003) explored the links between South African adolescents' gender ideals and the social consequences of sexual relations. She found that participant's behaviour was governed by the concept of respect or dignity (*ukuhlonipha* in Zulu, meaning to respect or to behave properly). The term *ukuhlonipha* suggests regard to those in respectable positions such a teachers, respected community members, older siblings and certain peers. 'The term also carries the personal connotation of self respect, dignity and respectability among peers and community. The belief is that *'certain 'respectable' behaviour is intertwined with social success and those not abiding by this code of conduct face social rejection and is destined to fail in their pursuits'* (Varga, 2003 p. 163). Therefore in order to be accepted into a peer group and attain social success a young boy needs to gain the respect or *'ukuhlonipha'* of their peer group. It was found that traits embowered with respectability vary between peer groups but at its worst include demonstrating material wealth by driving expensive cars, using cell phones, wearing flashy clothes and jewellery, having multiple and good looking girlfriends, drinking and abusing drugs and even engaging in petty crime.

It has been found that in South Africa a woman's sexual fidelity is highly valued, and having multiple sex partners compromises her respectability (Niehaus, 2005; Varga, 2003, Vogelman, 1990). In Varga's (2003) study, participants were asked their opinion of a girl with more than one sexual partner. It was found that an overwhelming majority (93%) described her as 'bad', 'promiscuous', 'misbehaving' or an *isifebe* (loose woman or whore). It was however found that in sharp contrast to girls, boys have much greater social latitudes in terms of acceptable sexual behaviour and are encouraged (or even expected) by peers to engage in practices considered inappropriate for girls. This includes having multiple partners and engaging in frequent unprotected sex. Moreover, compared

with what is expected of girls, far more emphasis is placed on sexual conduct as a means for boys to attain respectability of their peers (Mogapi, 2000; Niehaus, 2005; Varga, 2003).

For instance, according to Mogapi (2000), in an African culture, a girl is taught to play hard to get when a man is interested in her even if she likes him. The male is therefore expected to continue pursuing her until she yields. A woman who would easily accept a man's proposal of love without making him toil for her love is considered cheap. Winning the love of a girl who is hard to get is often considered a trophy amongst South African males and is considered a feat and a measure of respect or *ukuhlonipha,* amongst the peer group (Mogapi, 2000). For instance, a group of rapists interviewed in a South African prison considered a successful sexual assault a trophy for them as men (Vogelman, 1990).

The importance of sexuality in defining Zulu masculinity is embodied in the concept *isoka*, a term that signifies a man who is socially successful and popular with women (Niehaus, 2005). It has been found that *isoka* status is an integral component of male respectability amongst peers or *ukuhlonipha* conduct, a position achieved largely through appropriate sexual demeanour. Among the most highly regarded features of being an *isoka* appears to be dominance and decision making power in a relationship. Consequently, growing literature on Africa suggests that dynamics in adolescents' relationships are characterised by unequal decision-making between partners, poor dyadic communications about sexual matters, lack of preparation for intercourse, fear of rejection if behavioural ideals are not met, and gender- based differences in motivation to become sexually involved (Harrison et al., 2001 Varga, 2003).

When participants in Varga's (2003) study were asked about sexual decision making, the majority identified the male partner as having the sole right to decide when to initiate sex in a relationship. In addition, in discussing issues of gender socialisation, one female participant explained that '*the belief (in male dominance) is created in society. You know that you do not question a man's word* (p.165)'. It has additionally been found that in

many cases, men use their decision making power to justify sexual coercion of their partners (Varga, 2001). Commenting on a hypothetical situation about a girl who resists her boyfriend's sexual advances, a 17 year old urban male stated that '*If he is a real man, he must not allow the girl to stop him. He must win and get what he wants'* (cited in Varga, 2003 p.165).

Other themes linked with the *isoka* status and masculine respectability and attractiveness include being highly active sexually and having multiple partners. Men are also believed to have a natural or biological need for sex that makes it acceptable for them to expect sexual compliance in a relationship and to have multiple partners. In addition, sexual conquests and repeated sexually transmitted infections (STI's) are vital elements of a strong masculine image; the latter was proof of a boy's multi-partnering success (Varga, 2003). As demonstrated above, the peer group appears to have a strong influence in the attitudes, values and behaviour of adolescent males. The peer group's ability to pressurise individuals to conform in order to become an *isoka* and gain respect and *ukuhlonipha*, makes it an effective instrument in reinforcing stereotypical sex role behaviour.

2.8 MEDIA AS AN INFLUENCE OF MALE DOMINANCE AND FEMALE SUBMISSION

Parents are considered to be the most suitable primary source of education and guidance for children. However, studies have found that most adolescent boys cannot talk to their parents about sexual and reproductive matters (Dahlbäck et al., 2003; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004). Participants in Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study acknowledged that parents are not able to talk to their children about such matters; they stated that some do not want to, while others do not have the appropriate knowledge to discuss or advise the younger generation. In addition it has been found that some parents do not care about what their children are watching on television. For instance, one participant stated that "*parents don't care what their children are watching, whether its pornographic films or crime. Moreover, the parents say it is a modern world…*" (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p58).

In the absence of parental or adult guidance, TV, radio, video and magazines to a certain extent play an important role in adolescent education on identity building. According to Gruber and Trau (2003) television and media in general has become more sexualized and easier to access over the last few decades. This more sexualized television and media content has gained attention at a time where adolescent pregnancy, rape and sexually transmitted infections remain unacceptably high. Consequently, it seems natural to question whether the values and behaviours presented in the public entertainment media are having an unhealthy impact on adolescents who consume them in large quantities (Dahlbäck et al., 2003; Gruber & Trau, 2003).

Media, especially television plays an important part in the socialisation of adolescents by providing knowledge and exposure to a world view not available to them in their immediate social environment (Gruber & Trau, 2003). The media, more or less provides adolescents with the idea of how to act sexually, or about how young people enjoy themselves. The media also gives male adolescents ideas of how to treat a girl, how to kiss, make love etc, behaviours that one can simply not read about (Dahlbäck et al., 2003). As an information outlet, this controversial viewpoint implies that television may present role models for aspiration and emulation that negatively affect adolescent attitudes, behaviours, values and perceptions about sex and any related sexual experiences (Gruber & Trau, 2003).

According to Gruber and Trau (2003) when applied to sexual television content, adolescents are assumed to observe sexual values and practices that appear to be rewarded by greater social popularity with the opposite sex. Consequently adolescent viewers would be encouraged to embrace these values and try to emulate the behaviours to gain social acceptance with peers. It has been found that televised sexual content may induce adolescents to follow stereotypical sexual scripts emphasizing male dominance, female submission, and the primacy of sexual attractiveness (Dahlbäck et al., 2003; Gruber & Trau, 2003).

2.9 RAPE SUPPORTIVE BELIEFS/ATTITUDES AND MYTHS- TRUTH OR REALITY?

Andele, age 14, was told by older members of his community that if he does not have sex in the next few weeks his penis would calcify. Plagued by this fear, Andele hid in a dark corner and raped the next woman that came by* (Cited in Vogelman, 1990).

This is a classic example of the serious ramifications of the lack of sexual education and misinformation can have on the public. Socialisation theory maintains that attitudes and beliefs can be part of the ideology that excuses or supports rape. Sexist attitudes and cultural values, in conjunction with a general acceptance of violence, contribute to rape (Sapp, Farrell, Johnson & Hitchcock, 1999). Rape supportive attitudes are socially (and in SA traditionally) acquired beliefs and function as releasers and can increase the likelihood of sexually aggressive actions. Society is often the cause of rape promoting myths (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Misinformation can result in the internalizations of myths. These myths are false ideas about what rape is and include beliefs such as: men rape because they cannot control their sexual lust and women encourage and enjoy being raped. These myths serve to label women as in some way responsible for the rape and to view men's actions as excusable, thereby giving salient to their actions (Robertson, 1998; Lewis, 2000).

Burt (1991) states that rape myths promote a false, stereotyped and prejudicial picture version of the context of rape, the rape victim and the rapist. These myths give men tacit permission to rape and help themselves rationalize and evade responsibility for their sexually violent behaviour (Cowan & Campbell, 1995). Research has shown that rape myth acceptance appears in the belief system of both lay persons and professionals in South Africa (Mogapi, 2000). According to Mogapi (2000) there appears to be two categories of rape myths. The first category includes those rape myths which are utilized when the survivor's behaviour reflected conformity to expected female role in a heterosexual relationship. Females in society are constructed as submissive and expected to relate in a passive and submissive manner towards men. The second category includes

rape myths which are used when the survivor's behaviour did not conform to expected female socialised norms. Woman whose behaviour contradicts expected feminine roles are perceived as deviant and often deserving to be raped. These behaviours are considered 'risky' behaviours, such as inviting a man into her house or even walking alone at night (Vogelman, 1990).

Since rape myths are such an integral part of the aetiology of rape, the most prominent rape myths will be outlined here, particularly those that may affect perceptions and attitudes towards rape and sexual consent.

2.9.1 VICTIM PRECIPITATION

"During the dance she kept rubbing her breasts against me and giving me her thigh. Afterwards we parked and she said that I couldn't even kiss her. I gave her such a bad time I don't think she will ever pull that off again" (Schultz, 1975, p.69).

Victim precipitation has been described by Burt (1991) as a rape myth that fits into the second category of rape myths described above. Victim precipitation refers to '*an assumption made by the male that the female consented to or implied that she consented to sexual relations with him, although sexual consent was withdrawn prior to the act*' (Vogelman, 1990, p.67). This notion can be extended to the point where it can be said that woman choosing to enter certain vulnerable situations must assume a level of risk (Vogelman, 1990).

Victim precipitated rape is a major theme within psychic literature. It has been argued that the rape victim in many instances leads the evildoer actively into temptation. The predator is prevailed to advance against the prey. It has been argued that there are born criminals, and there are born victims who are self destructive and self harming. The idea is that attention should be focused to the victim- offender relationship, the victim's personality and the moral character of the victim (Burgees, 1985).

The law plays a major part in the maintenance of knowledge about rape, which previously assigned responsibility for rape more onto the survivor rather than the perpetrator (Vogelman, 1990). Since earlier historical times the legal system appears to have endorsed the notion that rape is a woman's responsibility. For instance, early Hebrew law stated that if no person heard the raped woman scream, she had a case for rape only if the rape occurred outside the city wall (where no one could have heard her scream). Similarly, if a woman was married she had no case for rape. The definition of rape was therefore not dependant on what the man did but on what the woman did to stop the assault and how she demonstrated this (Mogapi, 2000).

This notion is translated to present times where for instance, in rape cases, signs of struggle are looked at when presenting evidence and if there is no evidence that the woman fought to get away, she is most likely to lose the case (Combrinck, 2006). In addition to this, the woman's character and prior relationship to the rapist are offered as evidence in many rape trials and many victims have reported feeling like they have been on trial (Lewis, 2000; Mgoqi, 2006).

It is often argued that female provocation occurs when females are hitchhiking, are sexually promiscuous or wear revealing clothes (May & Strikwerda**,** 1994). Perception of the fault of rape is also affected by the belief that 'nice girls don't get raped'. For instance, taking a lift with a stranger or inviting a man into your house is considered 'bad girl behaviour' and is therefore seen as 'precipitative' of rape (Vogelman, 1990). In Vogelman's (1986) study the following was quoted by an interviewed rapist: *"Woman look for it… look at how they dress."* Another participant then stated: *"Now and then you get girls that want it. They go after it. They are walking around at night… and then when the boys come they want to chicken out… then the guys take them into the school yard"* (Vogelman, 1986, p 106). These above examples give an indication of the belief systems of some men and show how the rapist feels that the rape was the fault or even precipitated by the victim.

According to May and Strikwerda (1994) the female may wear provocative clothing to boost her ego thinking that she is sending out a message saying '*admire me*'. Whereas the male sees this as the female saying '*take me'* and such dress signals are seen by the male as a deliberate 'come on'. It is often argued that men's sexual appetites are seen as so powerful that they may be uncontrollably aroused by woman's dress, the way they look or even the way that they move. Women are thought to be aware of this and it is thought to be their responsibility to impose appropriate limits so as to curb the male's powerful sex drives (Vogelman, 1990).

These assumptions which underscore allegations of victim precipitation rape are a clear example of how vocabularies of motive can be constructed without empirical data. They are used to discredit the powerless i.e. the victim. When this vocabulary of motive is used, attention is shifted to the behaviour and motives of the victim rather than the offender. These motives act to justify the behaviour of the offender (Burgees, 1985). It appears that acceptance of the myth of victim perpetuation may provoke perpetration of the crime of rape and sexual assault.

2.9.2 WOMEN GET SEXUALLY AROUSED BY RAPE

Misinformation can result in the internalizations about myths of female and male sexual responses. One of these myths is the notion that the woman gets sexually aroused from rape and physical force (Mogapi, 2000). According to Mogapi (2000) this is a view held by many young boys and rapists. According to Vogelman (1990) in reality, the woman's experience is very different. Women often report to feeling physically sick, depressed, humiliated and hurt after rape or sexual assault. One would expect that if women felt that rape was sexually pleasing, their sexual activities during and after rape would not be so negatively affected. Ignorance can play a contributing role in rape in this instance. Studies have suggested that men who rape engage in cognitive re-structuring that allows them to interpret the woman's response as seduction behaviour. They may perceive the victim's struggles as consistent with their beliefs about what women want sexually (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

2.9.3 WOMAN SAY 'NO' WHEN THEY MEAN 'YES'

This myth is based on the assumption that woman always 'play hard to get'. According to Mgoqi (2006) girls are taught from a young age that when a man approaches them they should play hard to get so they gain respect from a man. Thus, even if a woman is sexually interested she has to pretend she is not. Varga's (2003) study on the link between South African adolescents' gender ideals and social consequences to sexual relations revealed that a girl's respectability is gained by her being sexually available to her partner, allowing him sexual decision making authority, and exhibiting coyness and resistance to his sexual advances.

For instance, an urban boy in this study described the dynamic in the following manner: "*When woman say 'no' they mean 'yes'. A woman can never clearly come out and say 'lets do it'. You need to read her facial expression…. If she keeps saying 'no' and closes her eyes, she wants it"* (Cited in Varga, 2003 p. 163). The association between female self- respect and sexual coyness therefore often encourages socially acceptable violent sexual encounters. In the case of rape, individuals tend to use this myth to claim that the woman actually wanted the sex and that they were playing hard to get. This myth also creates confusion for women as to whether they did give ambiguous cues to the rapist (Mogapi, 2000).

2.9.4 RAPISTS ARE CRAZY SADISTIC PSYCHOPATHS

This myth plants the picture of a rapist as a man that is very different to what one would construct a 'normal' man to be. This deceptively suggests that a woman should be able to tell a rapist from a 'normal' man. This myth is perpetuated by the media and society which appears to predominantly report cases where the rapist was a sadistic stranger (Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Mogapi, 2000). Very little is said about cases where women were raped by men they knew and trusted. Society therefore holds the illusion that rape constitutes only those cases where the rapist is a stranger and a psychopath (Cowan & Campbell, 1995). The data on date rape suggests that young men in our society engage in

much more rape than anyone previously anticipated. It is a serious mistake in psychological categorization to think that all of these rapes are committed by sadists (May & Strikwerda, 1994). In addition, research on convicted rapists indicates that fewer than 5 % of the men were psychotic or mentally ill at the time of rape (Vogelman, 1990).

A woman who holds this picture of a rapist in her mind is likely to trust a man who does not seem to fit this picture, to the extent that she would suspect nothing when he initiates behaviour as a precursor to rape e.g. inviting him to her house. The construction of a rapist as a psychopath, someone who is not known to the victim, encourages women to live with the illusion that their date, who looks nothing like a rapist, will not rape them. When this man does in fact rape her, a woman tends to think that there is something that she must have done to cause this normal man to sexually assault her (Mogapi, 2000).

2.9.5 SPERM CAN BUILD UP AND MAKE YOU SICK

"*You need to have girlfriends. If you abstain from sex for a long time, sperms can accumulate and you can get sick"* (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p.53).

This is a common myth among adolescent boys in South Africa, particularly those living in the rural areas, or the townships. In addition to believing that abstaining from sex can cause sperm to build up and make one sick, another common myth is that if one is not sexually active then sperm may build up in the body and cause boys to get acne on their faces (Varga, 2003). It is these myths that frightens many young boys and pressurizes and prompts them to have sex, when either they or their partners may not be ready (Varga, 2003).

2.9.6 SLEEPING WITH A VIRGIN CURES HIV

Africa is home to 70 % of the adults and 80 % of the children living with HIV/AIDS in the world (Adams, 2006). Rape in South Africa has accompanied HIV/AIDS in this escalation and in 2000, there were more than 52,000 cases reported and about 40 percent of the rapes involved victims under 18 (Stats SA Archive, 2002). Since then the problem

seems to have further escalated and child and adolescent rape has increased to 48% over the last two years (Adams, 2006; Richter, 2003).

Richter (2003) attempts to explain this increase in terms of virgin cleansing myths which have arisen in the context of the country's rampant HIV/AIDS epidemic. The myth refers to the idea that a person can be cured or protected from AIDS by exposure through intercourse to the bodily fluids of a virgin. Richter (2003) explains that this myth is widely held in rural areas and informal settlements in South Africa. According to this account, the high HIV situation creates conditions of hopelessness, which lead to fake cures. The understanding is that young girls are raped because perpetrators think that this is the only sure way of finding a virgin (Richter, 2003).

Reporting of this myth has been seen as biased and has hence become the site of some heated controversy with political leaders, researchers and community activists (Posel, 2005). Jewkes, Martin and Loveday (2002) have challenged the virgin myth explanation by citing hospital data which show no indication of an increase in child rape. They argue that there is a great deal of confusion about numbers of rape derived from police statistics and service records because of discrepancies in clinical and legal descriptions and definitions of rape. Jewkes et al. (2002) believe other factors are to blame for these violent acts, however, this myth; unique to Africa seems to give some evidence for the increase in adolescent and child (virginal) rape committed in South Africa.

2.9.7 ACCEPTANCE OF RAPE MYTHS

Empirical work on attitudes about rape suggests that acceptance of rape myths appear to vary with gender, with men more likely to support these attitudes (Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Mgoqi, 2006). For instance, some research findings have found that heterosexual men are likely to endorse more rape myths than women (Aromaeki, Haebich & Lindman, 2002; Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Davies & McCartney, 2003). Aromaeki et al. (2002) studied male attitudes, perceptions and behaviours related to imagined sexual aggression among men aged 16- 61, including incarcerated rapists. The results suggested that

younger men and rapists expressed significantly more hostility towards women and acceptance of rape myths. In addition, young men have been found to express greater acceptance of rape myths and show less empathy after a non-guilty verdict against the perpetrators.

Hinick and Thomas (1999) conducted a study to examine the state of rape myth acceptance among college students. It was found that college students reported disagreements with rape myth statements. Nevertheless, there were variations in the degree of disagreement. The men and women who had not attended a rape awareness workshop expressed weaker disagreement with rape myths than men and women who had attended a rape awareness workshop.

The rape myth beliefs have been most applied to acquaintance rape rather than stranger rape (Mgoqi, 2006). Bridges (1991) found that a large variety of sex role expectations and rape supportive beliefs are incorporated into perceptions of first date rape as opposed to stranger rape. This suggests that rape myths are more endorsed with date or acquaintance sexual aggression. Truman, Tokar and Fischer (1996) also examined the links between masculine gender roles and date rape. These results indicated that men who certified more traditional gender roles also tended to hold more rape supportive attitudes and beliefs.

Since rape myths are so rampant in our society, and particularly in South Africa, it is likely that many of our youth have been exposed to such scripts. It is likely that this would affect how they internalise and conceptualise rape, sexual consent and sexual relations with the opposite sex.

2.10 THE 'LOVE PROPOSAL'- 'I GAVE YOU FLOWERS NOW YOU GIVE ME SEX!'

Another variable that influences sexual aggression is the dating rituals that young adolescents are encouraged to follow. Though the dating relationship does produce an

avenue to experience joy it can have harmful effects on relationships because it can reinforce sex-role stereotypes (Vogelman, 1990). Coercion is a well-documented part of many dating relationships in South Africa, especially among young people (Wood, Maforah & Jewkes, 1998). Less frequently documented, though probably more persistent, is the fact that sexual relationships are also often restrained by the exchange of gifts or favours for sex. However, gift giving of any kind within a relationship, or to establish a relationship, can also be associated with sexual leverage, an exchange which somehow entitles one partner physical and sexual rights to the others body. Simple gifts between a boy and girl of the same age may also influence the pace and progress of that relationship. The everyday nature of gift-giving and the fact that gift-giving can be undertaken for reasons other than sexual ones, like altruism or generosity, has hidden its importance. Little is known about gifts and the role that they might play in young peoples' lives (Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004).

Male initiative is still dominant in dating relationships. The male often asks the woman out, provides transportation and pays for the female. The male's role as the initiator emphasizes assertiveness and the desire to have sex. When the woman expects the man to take responsibility for her welfare, she becomes particularly vulnerable to potential sexual aggression (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Often underpinning the power dynamics in relationships is gift giving (Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004). According to Wood and Jewkes (2001) young men tend to reflect a particular idea of exchange or 'contract'. This involves ideas of female duty. In exchange for gifts (presents, money, being visited frequently and taken out) many young men believe that they would be able to have sexual relations whenever they want it. Sexual refusal on the part of girls that contradicted this 'contract' has been seen as a catalyst for sexual assault. Most young males believed that if girls did not want to have sexual relations then they should not have accepted the 'love proposal' at the outset.

In impoverished settings, such as the townships in South Africa, even small gifts may hold economic value too attractive to decline. Gifts attached to fierce social pressure to have a boyfriend or girlfriend and to be sexually active, may prove alarming. If a girl

receives a gift from her partner, does this mean she has accepted the relationship as a sexual one?

Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) explored the economic context of gift giving or receiving in South African youth and its relationship to patterns of sexual behaviour; including the misbalancing of sexual power. In their study, all 70 respondents (aged between 14 and 22) indicated that gifts were an important part of courtship. In addition, South African males in the study insisted that taking girls out on a date was expensive and the right of something in return (something sexual) was taken as a 'given'.

It appears that gifts are selected and accepted implicitly and sometimes explicitly as a symbol of imminent sex. Evidence from this study suggests that gifts play an important role in shaping the sexual terms of a relationship and may have harmful effects on the ability of girls to express their preferences in the type of sexual activity and its timing when engaging in sex. Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) state that most people are aware of the symbolic meaning of gifts, possibly because gifts are so frequently used as a means of achieving sexual goals. They additionally state that this symbolic meaning is also widely accepted and rarely questioned.

In addition to this 'contract,' there is often an assumption made by the male that the female consented or implied that she is consenting to sexual relations with him although sexual consent was withdrawn prior to the act (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). Often it is seen that after a certain stage of sexual intimacy a negotiation is reached and the female forfeits her right to change her mind or have second thoughts. It is thought at this stage males become a sexual automation incapable of self-control or reasoning (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

Sexual scripts for relationships that contain tension between men and women often create the opportunity for miscommunication. It has been observed that many people feel uncomfortable in discussing their sexual intentions (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Instead people try to infer from indirect and non-verbal cues and frequently make errors. A man

might interpret a woman's friendly behaviour for something more sexual and may not take a woman's refusal to sexual relations seriously (Vogelman, 1990). For instance, although it is normal to let your date into the house, it may be interpreted as consent. This has been supported by Koss and Harvey, (1991) who found that many date rapists report that they did not realize that what they did was wrong. In addition, Koss (1988) found that 75% of men who had raped their dates believed that the woman's non-consent to the sexual act was 'not all that clear'. When the women were asked the same question it was found that they believed that their non-consent was 'extremely clear'. In a society where almost everything a woman does is interpreted as consent, women find it difficult to disprove the concept of consent. This is particularly difficult if the rapist is the victim's date (Mogapi, 2000).

2.11 SEXUAL GRATIFICATION OR POWER?

"*Our sex desire…it starts ringing in your mind that you need to have sex, it goes from your mind to your heart, then to the brain and lastly to yourself- that is the flesh desire"* (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p. 57).

A widely accepted societal view of rape is that it is a sexual act perpetrated for sexual gratification by men who lose the sense of self-control (Koss & Harvey, 1991). As some rapists have put it, men rape for lust and lack of sex. Rape for gratification is a product of sexual conditioning in our society. Rape is often portrayed as a sex crime perpetuated by men against women. The woman is seen as an object that guards a prize that the man attempts to win from her. This type of rapist often threatens, overpowers and blackmails women but does not physically brutalize them (Vogelman, 1990). Yet, even in these cases, sex is entangled with so many factors that separating it as the sole cause would be a big mistake.

It is widely accepted that male sexual desire is seen as volatile and difficult to control. Thus, it is often expected that within a dating relationship the woman must be responsible for the boundaries in sexual encounters (Mogapi, 2000). '*She is the one responsible for*

making sure that the man does not become aroused to such a level that he won't be able to control his 'volatile' sexual desires. In actuality, a woman is blamed for anything that would give the man the excuse to lose control' (Mogapi, 2000, p53).

It has been shown, however, that rapists use sex to fulfil non-sexual needs such as the need for power, to dominate and prove their masculinity (Koss & Harvey, 1991). For some adolescents in South Africa who are faced with the problem of sexual deprivation, as well as pressure to keep up with male dominant appearances, the need to force sex becomes even more appealing (Wood & Jewkes, 2001).

Those that have tried to measure sex or power motives found that power and anger motives were stronger than sex motives. The fact that the vast majority of rapists have been involved in a consenting relationships at the time of rape questions the validity of the theory that men rape for lust and lack of sex. Although, data does state that date rapists have higher sexual expectations than their non-sexually aggressive peers. Thus, even though they are sexually active they remain frustrated. This frustration may then be used as a tactic to achieve sexual fulfilment (Koss & Harvey, 1991).

According to Vogelman (1990), in a patriarchal society, life in the bedroom is closely related with the assertion of power, the most vital component of rape. He argues that the outside world does not suddenly disappear when the man removes his clothes and that gender role stereotypes and sexist attitudes and behaviours are taken into the love making situation, making this 'moment of apparent equality' into a moment which callously exposes the inequality between men and women, and economic and social power become crucial elements of lovemaking.

Existing studies generally endorse the view that rape is an act of power rather than sexual gratification. Rape is embedded in a society that teaches women to be submissive (Niehaus, 2005). This ideology argues that rape *'serves as a control mechanism, schooling women to confine their actions and attitudes to within the parameters of acceptable gender role behaviour'* (Vogelman 1990, p. 23). The socialisation perspective

of rape clearly indicates that society has got a major role to play in sexual assault, as women who choose to behave differently from feminine norms are perceived as being deviant by society and deserving to be raped (Mogapi, 2000).

According to Dahlbäck et al., (2003) troubling threats to the traditional gender roles emerge when women start to earn money and become economically independent. In their study some men expressed worries that women who earn their own money will start to see men as useless. For instance, One of the participants in the study stated "*she may chase me out of the house or become rude and start talking about 'equal rights'… some women become cruel, stupid, gossiping and talking bad about the husband in bed or talking about the man as 'he is just a pair of trousers'… then a man has a right to discipline his wife"* (Dahlbäck et al., 2003, p. 53). In addition, in a study by Vogelman (1990) rapists pointed out that they would rape women they felt that they could not control or women who lived as if they did not need men in their lives.

According to Whaley (2001) there is some male backlash caused by women's' desire to be more independent of men and this transition of women is resulting in tremendous misunderstanding and hostility between the sexes. She explains that rape can be seen as the way that some men express their hostility to women and more threatened male egos may mean increased rape. She continues to state that the more women who break out of the traditional female role and assert themselves in new ways, the more threatened male ego becomes and the more emasculated and powerless men start to feel.

In the short term, an increase in women's status relative to men is expected to increase the perceived threat to men's collective interests. The protection of 'masculinity' may be one aspect of men's collective interests. When threatened, force and threat of force may be used to help maintain hegemonic masculinity. Research suggests that some men achieve masculinity (or do masculinity) by sexually assaulting women (Whaley, 2001). In addition, sexual control also finds expression in violent behaviour. There is a tendency in our society to conflate aggression, violence and sexuality (Vogelman, 1986).

This discussion is even more pertinent in the South African context where we are faced with a 'culture of violence' that has left many men with a sense of powerlessness and perceived emasculation (Robertson, 1998). The effects of poverty, unemployment and the HIV/AIDS epidemic have eroded men's capacity to provide and protect and women have intruded on men's power to regulate family affairs. Responses to these challenges are diverse. For some men, particularly young men disillusioned with their unimportant status, sexuality has become the main focus of manhood and many assert their dominance in violent ways (Sideris, 2005). Violence allows for the restoration of a man's power and is the easiest and most recognisable assertion of everything defined as masculine (Vogelman, 1990).

As long as rape is perceived as a sexual crime rather than a crime of aggression or power this confusion around the victim being responsible for the rape will continue. Mogapi (2000) describes rape is a societal problem which can only be solved when society stops seeing it as an act of a man that cannot control his sexual passions. Rape acts together with social mechanisms, to control woman and to put them into a subordinate position. Rape therefore in many respects is a crime of power, not passion; it is about men's attempt to maintain their position of power over women (Mogapi, 2000).

2.12 CONCLUSION

The socialisation perspective on sexual assault clearly indicates that society has got a major role to play in attitudes towards sexual assault and how it is dealt with. The above mentioned social institutions of the family, the school, the peer group, media and society at large are all involved in moulding the experiences, attitudes and behaviour of adolescent boys. It can be seen that sex-role stereotypes and rape supportive beliefs and attitudes are established at home, reinforced at school and perpetuated in the society at large.

An examination of these social institutions reveals some of the different behaviours and values that adolescent males are encouraged to adopt. In addition, the role of these

institutions in reinforcing certain behaviour and attitudes reveals that many adolescents' perceptions, attitudes and behaviour is the result of social and not biological factors. Vogelman (1990) explains that to be masculine or feminine is as much a function of occupation, dress, culture, gesture, social network and personality as it is of possessing a particular set of genitals. This study suggests that socialisation factors play an important role in the development of stereotypical notions of sex role behaviour in adolescent males that could ultimately foster rape and the sexual victimization of young South African girls.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

If one was to take a natural-scientific approach, one would be limited to conduct research that is restricted to what can be observed and measured objectively, thus ruling out what exists independently of the feelings and opinions of individuals. According to Mouton (2001), such an approach lacks depth and an insider opinion which may lead to 'surface level' analysis. This is not what this study aimed to do, thus a qualitative method of gathering data was utilized. Mouton (2001) states that one of the major distinguishing characteristics of qualitative research, is that the researcher attempts to understand people in terms of their own definitions of their world, the focus being on the insider perspectives as opposed to the outsider perspective. Thus utilizing a qualitative method of data gathering has provided an in-depth account, insight and a richer content and understanding into the life and worlds of the individuals that participated in this study.

While qualitative research is frequently criticised for being subjective and uncontrolled (Mouton, 2001), it is important to note that themes explored in the study were influenced by literature rather than the researcher, where potential additional topics may be introduced by participants. Additionally, Mouton (2001) states qualitative research is seen to have a lack of criteria by which to judge the trustworthiness and relevance of the results. Thus, the researcher acknowledged that, given the nature and size of the study, the findings and truth of results would best rely on further research for validation. However, despite these shortcomings of qualitative research, as mentioned above, it also has a variety of positive aspects. While the participants in this study don't present us with the answers, they do frame the problem in a more complex and detailed way and additionally lend insight into the understanding of male adolescents and their attitudes and perceptions of rape.

In utilising a qualitative approach, this research attempted to understand the male adolescents experience and how they construct themselves, from a subjective, detailed and holistic perspective of the individuals involved. As highlighted by Mouton (2001), the complexities, richness and diversity of their lives can only be captured by describing what

they perceived to be happening in their everyday lives as adolescents which are seldom seen or heard, incorporating the context in which they operate, as well as their frame of reference.

Besides this, one would also have to describe this study as exploratory, applied research, where the purpose of this study was to work on human and societal problems (Patton, 2002). In other words, the researcher entered into a situation with the aim of exploring the participants' perceptions, experiences, feelings and emotions, and from this established whether any common pattern or key issues arose.

3.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND PROCEDURE

3.2.1 RESEARCH QUESTIONS/HYPOTHESES:

Based on the aims of the proposed study, specific research questions were posed:

- What do adolescent boys perceive rape and sexual assault to be?
- Do these specific adolescent boys have rape supportive beliefs and attitudes?
- What are their gender attitudes and their perceptions and attitudes surrounding sexual consent?

3.2.2 PARTICIPANTS:

Recent statistics show that the incidences of rape reported are highest in the Gauteng area, more specifically in black township areas such as Alexandra and Soweto Township (Statistics South Africa, 2005). Consequently, the data was collected from a specific group of people defined as adolescent males between the ages of 16 and 19. It is reported that 90% of boys in South Africa are reported to be sexually active by the time they are 15-16 (Buseh, 2004; Speak Out, 2000, Varga, 2001). Eleven participants were chosen to take part in the study. All the participants were black adolescent males attending a high school in Alexandra and were in grade 11 and 12.

The use of routine sampling is impractical in this study as male adolescents' perceptions across South Africa may vary according to race and socio-economic status and neither a random nor a representative sample can be drawn. Instead, the non probability, purposive sampling method was utilized, where the researcher selected an intentional population of black adolescent males. This method is utilised by '*researchers who rely on experience, ingenuity, and/or previous research findings to deliberately obtain units of analysis in such a manner that the sample they obtain may be regarded as being representative of the relative population'* (Welman & Kruger, 2002, p. 63).

According to Welman and Kruger (2002) the probability that any element or unit of analysis will be included in a non-probability sample cannot be specified (i.e. not every individual in the population has an equal chance of being included in the study– as the subject/participant is selected from a particular population in order for the data to be generalized to that particular population). This sample has been selected because it is 'information rich' and offers useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest (sexual assault of girls in schools). Sampling is aimed at insight of this phenomenon, not empirical generalization from sample to population (Patton, 2002). By doing this, the researcher accumulated the data from one societal group, South African adolescent males attending a high school in Alexandra.

According to Rosenthal and Rosnow (1991), there are characteristics that are advocated as being more prominent in a volunteer sample than in the general population, such as the tendency to be more sociable and to have a higher need to acquire social approval. These sample characteristics are not, however, considered problematic due to qualitative research not being concerned with making general claims about the phenomenon under investigation. Rather it aimed to explore the perceptions and experiences of these particular adolescents in an in-depth manner in order to better understand their perceptions and attitudes towards sexual consent and rape. A sample size of 11 is believed to be sufficient for such detailed investigation.

3.2.3 PROCEDURE:

To gain access to the volunteers, the principal of the school was contacted and informed of the nature of the study. Once approval and permission was obtained from the principal, (Appendix C and F), random black males between the ages of 16-19 (grades 11 to 12) were approached, and then invited to take part in the study; this was done with the assistance of key teachers in the school. The boys were then provided with an information sheet explaining the nature and purpose of the study and what was required of them as participants, i.e. to complete an individual or group interview which will be tape-recorded (see Appendix B).

From here, these adolescents were able to approach the researcher on a voluntary basis according to their own free will to participate. Those individuals willing to participate in the study were given two consent forms to fill out. These comprised of a consent form for participation as well as one allowing the recording of the interview. For those who were under the age of 18, they were given a consent form in which they had to receive informed consent from their legal guardians to participate in the study (see Appendix A and E). The interviews were conducted face-to-face by the researcher. One is aware that inquiring about an individual's life is an invasion of their privacy, and each individual participant was notified that confidentiality was guaranteed at all times and that if any question posed to be too personal, they were free to withdraw from the study or not answer the question concerned. As this is a qualitative study and attention is being directed towards the experience and perceptions of these specific adolescents, therefore attention was not placed on the quantity of participants. Furthermore, the purpose of this study is not to generalize the findings to the entire population from which the subjects were drawn, but to decipher the relevance of this study to another population believed to be similar.

3.2.4 DATA COLLECTION METHODS:

Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor and Tindall (1994) suggested that the investigation of complex phenomena best be served by an interview process which provides access to

subjective meaning. An interview is defined by Berg (1995), as a "conversation with a purpose" (p. 29). The 'purpose' referring to the gathering of data. Rubin and Rubin, (1995) describe their model of qualitative interviewing as emphasizing the relativism of culture, the active participation of the interviewer, and the importance of giving the interviewee a voice. According to Welman and Kruger (2002), these interviews are usually employed in explorative research to identify important variables in a particular area; to formulate penetrating questions on them; and to generate hypotheses for further investigation. The data of this study therefore comprises of written texts of recorded interviews. Thus, the most advantageous research tool that was utilised in this study was that of semi-structured and in-depth group and individual interviews.

Three focus groups were conducted, with the first two focus groups containing three participants and the last one containing five participants. After the participants were selected for the study the researcher randomly divided the boys into three groups. These groups were utilised in order to obtain perceptions or attitudes at a deeper level (i.e. group consensus or disagreement on relevant issues, e.g. sexual consent). According to Rubin and Rubin (1995), in addition to clarifying arguments and revealing diversity in views, focus groups can also serve to assist the participants to re-evaluate a position or statement.

The design of the study was for six follow up individual interviews to take place after the focus groups. Individual interviews were then conducted with the first six random participants to have taken part in a group interview. The aim of the individual interview was to further explore themes that were noted from the previous focus group interviews. These interviews were conducted a week after the previous group interview allowing the participant time to think about the previous interview and allow for re-evaluating a previous position or statement. This second interview explored repetitions, contradictions and gaps in the material from the first group interview. This allowed for a more focused investigation of specific points relating to the research questions and offered the respondent the opportunity to reflect and comment on the interview itself. This enabled the researcher to follow up with the participants and explore these themes in greater depth.

Conducting both focus groups and individual interviews was additionally helpful in allowing the researcher to observe the differences in the participants and their answers in the focus group interview versus the individual interview. This additionally allowed the researcher to observe the impact of peer pressure and group pressure on the answers that were given in the group interview.

The exploratory nature of the study dictated that an interview schedule be drawn up by the researcher, rather than making use of a standardised questionnaire (the questions in the interview schedule can be found in Appendix G). However, questions emerged from the researcher's investigation into relevant literature. The interview schedule consisted of a number of open-ended questions. The structure of the questions was uniform across the interviews, due to having an interview schedule that followed in a logical progression. Questions were phrased broadly in an attempt to prevent leading the participant into answering in a manner that the researcher wishes or to subject them to any preconceived notions.

The interviews were conducted in English, at the school within a quiet and confidential classroom. The researcher took a facilitative role, picking up on issues that the interviewees raised and encouraging them to develop and reflect upon their accounts. The focus of the interview was already predetermined as the researcher followed the above mentioned interview schedule. However, this interview schedule was only utilized as a guideline and the semi-structure approach allowed the interviewee to speak freely and in this allowed for new and unexpected information to be revealed. Therefore, according to Banister et al. (1994), the semi-structured approach permits a flexible exploration of the subject matter within the discussion and thus allows for a more systemic and comprehensive interviewing of the topic.

Furthermore, this data was gathered by recording the interviews on an audiotape recorder with permission from the participants (see ethical section with regard to permission to tape record and ethical issues surrounding confidentiality and anonymity). At the close of each interview the interviewer made detailed notes concerning the interactional aspects and

observations during the interview (Banister et al., 1994). Once this information had been gathered, it was transcribed verbatim by the researcher, and the resulting data was analysed. Transcriptions were limited to the verbatim report of utterances as far as possible, including dimensions such as strong emphasis, significant pauses, interruptions and overlaps in speech exchange. This method, according to Banister et al. (1994) is a recommendation for a typical psychological interview transcription. Both the interviewer's and interviewee's speech were recorded in written text. The respondents were required to complete the interview, all of which involved relatively long and descriptive answers. The interviews took place from 35 minutes up to 90 minutes at maximum, but this also depended on the amount of information the individual chose and was willing to expose.

3.3 DATA ANALYSIS:

The data was analysed according to the approach of Rubin and Rubin (1995), who state that data analysis begins while the interview is still underway. This analysis tells you how to redesign your questions to focus in on the central themes as you continue interviewing. After the interviewing was complete, a more detailed and fine-grained analysis of what you have been told was begun. From the data gathered one looked for the general and similar patterns or differences that existed between these participants within this particular group of adolescents.

This gathered data was analysed by using thematic content analysis which took an interpretive stance. Thematic content analysis has become a commonly accepted qualitative technique within the social sciences and has been utilised in numerous psychological studies (Henwood & Pidgeon, 1996; Holsti, 1969; Krippendorff, 1980). Furthermore, thematic content analysis is a tool which aims to *'provide knowledge, insights, a representation of 'facts', and a practical guide to action'* (Krippendorff, 1980, p. 21). Thematic content analysis was therefore used as a research technique that, according to Weber (1985), utilises a set of procedures to make valid inferences from text and consequently reduces and categorises a large volume of material into more meaningful units from which interpretations and inferences can be made.

The first stage of analysis was directed by a number of commonly accepted procedural steps, which were applied to the manifest content of the text. Due to the data analysis being based on the full interview texts, the researcher began to code the content data into various themes. Coding is a process whereby '*raw data is systematically transformed and aggregated into units which permit precise descriptions of relevant content characteristics'* (Holsti, 1969, p. 95). The process of analysing the data as well as creating and applying a coding scheme involved following several fundamental steps which have been highlighted by Weber (1985) as well as Krippendorff (1980):

1) The recording units were specified i.e. whether the focus is upon words, sentences or themes. The analysis in this case was based upon the identification of thematic units, comprising a sentence, statement or group of statements about a particular topic. These thematic units were determined in terms of their logical coherence around a specific topic based in the literature.

2) The categories of analysis were defined prior to the interviews being conducted. The analytic categories of this study were initially guided by the theory covered in the literature, which provided a conceptual base for the identification of thematic categories. Thus, the researcher decided that each category will be mutually exclusive.

3) Additionally, the clarification of categories further involved in-depth reading of transcripts in order to identify aspects of the text that have not been encompassed in the literature. It is accepted by Banister et al. (1994) that analytic categories can be both theory and data derived. Considering the explorative nature of the study, Banister et al. (1994) places emphasis on the combination of deductive and inductive analysis and thus allowing for the establishment of categories remaining open to the possibility that the data might generate new insights and theory.

4) Following this, the interviews were coded in their entirety, identifying any thematic recording units that had relevance for the subject matter of the study. New generic

categories were constructed where necessary. It was the researcher's endeavour to ensure that the analysis was as inclusive and widespread as possible. Once a new category was discovered, all scripts were re-examined for evidence of similar arising themes. This process continued until no further information could be gleaned.

5) Each interview text was systematically coded according to this above mentioned framework.

6) The interpretation of the data was guided by discussion with the research supervisor.

It is important to note that the data was coded with the use of different colour markers. In other words, if a similar theme arises in the data, presenting the same information – it was coded in a certain colour. Each different theme that arises was attached to a different colour coded marker. Thus, each different colour highlighted a different theme that seemed to arise within all data that had been gathered.

3.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS:

The first essential ethical step in this research was to receive permission from the principal of the school to conduct this research within a high school in Alexandra. It was also important to gain informed consent from this principal as well as from each and every individual participant and their legal guardians (if the boys were under the age of 18) before the study could commence, thus ensuring that their participation was voluntary.

Those willing to partake were asked to contact the researcher, ensuring that their participation was in fact voluntary. In conjunction to this, the researcher was cognisant of the ethical concerns posed in working with human subjects in general, and in particular with these participants who had to confront a sensitive topic in their lives and may be traumatised. The interviewees i.e. participants had full knowledge of what the study was about and what their input entailed before the research could commence and so that they were able to make an informed decision about participating. Only at the point of interview

were participants requested to give consent. It was essential that participants were made aware that this interview may even prove to be very personal and thus guarantees of confidentiality as well as rights to refuse to participate in the process or to answer a specific question were extended to the interviewees.

Informants were given the right to remain anonymous, however within this study, the collection of the data by means of tape recording and note taking which was collected by means of a face-to-face individual and group interview could not guarantee that anonymity would be maintained. Therefore, the participants were made aware that no real names would be used and further were made to understand the workings of such devices and were given the ability to be free to reject them if they so wished. When they accepted them, the results obtained were in harmony with the informant's right to welfare, dignity and privacy. The American Psychological Association (2002) states that psychologists maintain confidentiality in creating, storing, accessing, transferring, and disposing of records under their control, whether these are written, automated, or in any other medium. Therefore in this study, the participant was made aware that once raw data had been obtained, transcribed and analysed that the material used for this purpose was ultimately destroyed (tape cassettes were erased and notes were disregarded).

It is important to note that whilst the research was being completed, the tapes and transcripts were kept in a secure place by the researcher and only the researcher and supervisor, a psychologist, had access to these recordings. On the other hand, principles of confidentiality, according to Mouton (2001) refer to the information gathered from the participants, and therefore they were made aware that the information they revealed could have identified them as the results were recorded verbatim and thus confidentiality may not be guaranteed. In order to anticipate these potential threats to confidentiality, any possible identifying details that arose within the text were altered, therefore removing any possible identifiers as well as utilising pseudonyms rather than participant's names. These issues, including possible publication of findings were discussed with each interviewee at the onset of research before any interviewing began to take place.

It is important to note, that due to the researcher dealing with a vulnerable population, various ethical principles had to be taken into account. However, this study aimed to explore perceptions and views on sexual relationships in general rather than to identify specific acts and experiences that individuals may have been involved in, and therefore the integrity of the research process was be maintained, as was confidentiality, unless the individual revealed that a violent crime with regard to rape or sexual abuse that may harm themselves or others is in the process of being committed. If this were to occur, the researcher was bound from an ethical perspective to inform the relevant authorities, and the participants were informed of this possibility before the study commenced.

Interviews were handled in an extremely sensitive manner, and thus questions were asked in a gentle and caring approach. However, the researcher ensured that questions were appropriately phrased and did not utilise double-barrelled or leading questions as well ensured that complex psychological jargon was not utilised. Due to the sensitive nature of the questions, the participants were informed that they have a right not to continue with the interview or not to answer a particular question. The participants were ensured that nothing negative would occur if they chose not to participate or withdrew from the study. The participants were also informed that a summary of the results of the study would be submitted to the school and verbal feedback would be given to them once the interviews were analyzed.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the results, in accordance with the research aims and questions of the study. Using the qualitative technique of content analysis, several relevant themes and sub-themes have been identified within the data and are presented here. This chapter is divided into sections based on pre-determined categories of analysis. The identified themes are based on information conveyed by the participants. The transcripts have been analysed in their entirety, however, only certain quotes have been presented in the analysis. Direct quotes from the transcribed data have been presented in order to substantiate and represent the themes and general findings that emerged from the analysis of the data. These quotes have been selected because they were felt to be representative of the themes introduced.

Finally, a discussion of the results has also been provided, linking the results to relevant literature and theory within the field of study. For ethical reasons, pseudonyms will be used to protect the identity of the participants and the respondents will be referred to by number only. For example, when quoting, abbreviations will be used, participant 1 will be referred to as P1.

Prior to commencing, it is necessary to provide the reader with a background of the participants, as well as impressions gained by the researcher during the interview. This will provide a contextualisation of the analysis to follow.

Eleven participants took part in the study. The age range of the sample was between 16 and 19 with the average age of 17. Four of the participants were in grade 11 and the other seven were completing their grade 12 year of high school. The participants were divided into three focus groups. The participants in the first two focus groups participated firstly in a focus group and then a week later participated in a second individual interview.

4.1.1 THE RESEARCHER'S EXPERIENCE

It is important to draw attention to the active presence of the researcher- a white female psychologist going into a male black adolescent community. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995) response bias occurs when the respondents answer may be affected by his or her reaction to the interviewer's sex, race, social class, appearance or age. It can be speculated that being a white female researcher may have brought about some bias in the types of responses that the participants gave. The researcher was initially apprehensive as to how the adolescents in the study were going to respond to her, an individual that perhaps could have been perceived on the surface to be very different from the community that she was entering.

In line with the aspiration to create a collaborative context for the boys to talk about themselves, the researcher adopted an informal style with the emphasis on trying to understand the boys' lives and being empathetic to them, in that she tried to create a non-judgemental and affirming atmosphere. This style was utilised to encourage the boys to talk about themselves. It appears that this informal style perhaps did encourage participation from the boys, as the researcher was pleasantly surprised at the rapport that quickly developed between herself and the majority of the boys, of whom were experienced as 'open' and very willing to engage her.

After each interview, the researcher recorded her impressions of the process of the interview, for instance, whether the interview was difficult or easy, whether or not she was fond of the boy and how engaged the participant was in the interview process. This will be discussed under the 'participants' section below. This approach arises from Frosh et al.'s (2003) idea that a response is the product of the specific combination of the boy and the researcher in each case, intersected by the emotional response of what is talked about.

For instance, in some cases the researcher reported developing feelings of attachment to some of the boys that she interviewed, especially those that seemed direct and open and were eager to confide in her. Other times the researcher reported to feel contradictory feelings towards some of the boys that were open to her about their feelings of promiscuity, especially those who appeared to believe strongly in rape myths or showed strong rape supportive attitudes. However, for the researcher, this openness was more often seen as an endearing quality, and the researcher felt respectful of the openness that these boys displayed, despite the content displayed by their openness. Moreover, the researcher made an observation that some of the participants tried to portray themselves in a positive light and came across as 'good' and superior to the other boys who were characterised as sexist, and easily led.

A few of the boys were perceived as uneasy and unsure in the manner with which they related to the researcher. This was experienced particularly with two boys who had been very quiet within the group interviews. However, over time, perhaps with the result of becoming more familiar with the researcher, these participants became more open in their communication, especially in the follow up interview, which was of an individual nature. However, perhaps it was both the unfamiliarity with the researcher as well as peer influences that prevented these participants from comfortably interacting within the group setting.

When discussing the experience of being interviewed, some boys commented that the process of being interviewed was good for them as it allowed them to express themselves and their thoughts, a process they seldom felt privy to. Others commented that it felt good to have someone interested in their thoughts and opinions. It appeared that the boys enjoyed having an adult centring on their opinions, rather than testing them, problematising them and putting them on the spot. The boys definitely changed in the course of the interviews as they became more familiar with the researcher. This was apparent in the preference expressed by a number of boys for a follow up interview.

4.1.2 THE PARTICIPANTS

Focus group 1

Three participants took part in this focus group. All three participants were in Grade 12 and knew each other quite well. Participant 1 was friendly and very talkative throughout the interview process. He was immediately interested in forming a connection and communicating with the researcher and was very willing to engage in the process and share his thoughts and ideas. He did however appear to be more relaxed and comfortable in the individual interview as opposed to the focus group, which was conducted a week before the individual interview. His interaction with the researcher appeared to be more open when it was on a one to one basis. Participant 1 felt more comfortable without his friends in the room, as he was concerned about their judgement on some of his answers. Participant 1 was also perhaps more open in the individual interview because sufficient rapport had been already been established with the researcher as it was their second meeting. In addition, his answers in the individual interview were felt to be more in depth and less socially desirable, as he was able to answer some of the more controversial questions in an open manner. Participant 1 was involved with more than one girlfriend at the time of the interview. His future goals involved finding a girl to marry so that he could start a family and become successful in his career.

Participant 2 came across as extremely confident. He was very articulate and was felt to be open in both the individual interview and the focus group. His answers were consistent across the interviews, where he did not appear to be overly concerned about judgements and the opinions of others. Participant 2 describes himself as a person who knows what he wants out of life, which involves becoming a civil engineer and having '*a beautiful house, beautiful car and a beautiful chick'*. He additionally describes himself as a person who always speaks up for himself and frequently gets into fights and says '*you piss me off and I will piss you off too.'* Participant 2 did not have a steady girlfriend at the time of study but was dating multiple girls.

Participant 3 appeared to be very shy and reserved, both in the individual interview and in the focus group. He appeared to be very anxious and did not contribute as much as participant 1 and 2 in the interview. Participant 3 tried to portray himself in a positive light. One can speculate that perhaps he was afraid of the judgement of either the researcher or his friends. Participant 3's future goals were to have a career in Information Technology and get married and have a family. He did not have a steady girlfriend at the time of the study but was going on dates with multiple girls.

Focus group 2

Three participants took part in this focus group. They were all in grade 12 and knew each other but were not part of the same group of friends. Participant 4 was friendly but initially appeared to be quite shy and reserved in the focus group. However, as time went by he became more comfortable in engaging with the others in the group and with the researcher in the individual interview. He was however very concerned about being judged and seen in a bad light and some of his answers appeared to be slightly socially desirable. Participant 4 hopes to become a Civil Engineer after school and at the time of the interview did not have a girlfriend.

Participant 5 came across as very friendly, engaging and comfortable in both the group and the individual interview. He was more open in the second (individual) interview than the group interview where he appeared to follow the group consensus rather than give his own personal feelings and ideas. He gave out the impression of being a group follower and it appeared to be important for him to be accepted and liked within the group. Participant 5 described having more than one girlfriend and his future goals involved following a career in Sound Engineering, Micro Biology or Medicine.

Participant 6 appeared to be the most mature and confident out of the group. He was also the oldest participant in the study at 19 years old. He appeared to be quite independent in his answers and was not afraid to go against group consensus and give his own opinions about more controversial topics. He was also the only participant that had been involved

in a long term relationship and had the same girlfriend for the last five years. Participant 6 hoped to pursue a career as a Music Producer or study Media studies at Boston College.

Focus group 3

Five participants took part in this group. They did not appear to know each other very well and consisted of both grade 11's and a grade 12 participant. None of these participants took part in an individual interview and therefore only took part in the focus group. This focus group was felt to be the most superficial of the 3 groups. It was felt that the participants used the group as a platform to compete against one another for position and power. They were competing about who was sexually active and who had multiple partners. The need to compete, to assert their masculinity in a way that shows them in a certain light (as a sexually confident and competent man who has multiple girlfriends) was evident in the interview.

Participant 7 came across as engaging but overly confident. At the start of the interview he assigned himself to be the leader of the group, often spoke over the other boys and initially tried to control and direct the group process. Participant 7 was also the oldest member of the group and the only member in the group that was in grade 12. His future goals included starting a Kindergarden and getting married. He also spoke about having multiple girlfriends saying '*I have more than one girlfriend, going further and further up'*.

Participant 8 was the youngest participant in the study (16 years old). He was extremely eloquent and came across as the most confident member of the group. Participant 8 was also very competitive and tried to come across as a ladies' man and very successful with girls. When asked whether he has a girlfriend he replied '*I do have quite a number of girlfriends... Eish... I don't know how many, but I do have a lot of girlfriends.'* Participant 8 says his father also has multiple wives. Participant 8 feels that he is not yet sure of his future or his future goals but is considering pursuing a career in Sound Engineering or becoming a pilot.

Participant 9 appeared to be relaxed and quietly confident in the interview. He engaged well and participated in the group but was often pushed aside by the more dominant members of the group. Participant 9 talked about having a passion for cars and spoke about pursuing a career as a motor engineer. Even though participant 9 appeared to be confident, he initially also came across as wanting to compete with the others and assert his masculinity by talking about his many girlfriends and saying '*I can say that I don't know how many girlfriends I have because I have been around a lot of girls'*.

Participant 10 also came across as calm and relaxed in the interview, however, he only participated when the researcher made room for him to talk and encouraged his participation. Participant 10 did however try to come across in a smooth, popular and laid back manner. He also referred to having been with multiple girlfriends.

Participant 11 was extremely quiet and reserved and did not contribute very much to the group. He appeared to be extremely anxious and introverted in the group. Participant 11 did not say what he wanted for his future but did admit that he does not have a girlfriend, is still a virgin and would like to find a girlfriend, but does not know how to go about finding one. This caused a lot of controversy in the group but will be further discussed at a later stage in this chapter.

In summary, it was felt that even though the 11 participants that took part in this study were significantly different and brought different elements and challenges to the interviews, on the whole it was felt that good rapport was established with the participants. Further, the information gathered was felt to be rich and in depth and provided a good indication of the perceptions and attitudes of township adolescent boys in Alexandra.

4.1.3 REFLECTIONS

Talking to a female researcher

One surprising feature of this study was how keen these boys were to talk about girls and sex with a female researcher. When interviewed in a group, some of the boys positioned the researcher as a female whom they could open up to and express grievances about girls. In addition, some boys commented on how different the researcher was from their image of a female psychologist as a detached, almost judging expert. By distancing the researcher from this image they were implying how surprisingly 'normal' she was. One participant even commented on how he was so relaxed with the researcher that he nearly even gave away some secrets about his group of friends and their group rules. Consequently he divulged these group rules later in the interview, as will be discussed later in this chapter. It appeared that this participant and most of the other boys expected the interview to go down more traditional lines, being more conservative and formal. Other boys also commented about being very surprised at being able to speak openly to a female about such sensitive subject matter, such as sex and relationships. It appears that a lot of the boys in the study appeared to have a preconceived notion of a woman as someone to whom one cannot talk to about personal and sexual matters.

In addition some of the boys commented that, had the researcher been male, they would have been concerned about how they would have been judged by a male researcher.

> ***P1:*** *If you were a guy it would be difficult for me to talk to you honestly and say much about my life.*
>
> ***P3:*** *I would worry about what a guy would think of me and my answers*
>
> ***P6:*** *If you were a boy I would not tell you any information. What happens if they think that what you have said is not man enough? It was much easier that you were a girl.*

It appears that, had the researcher been male there would have been a concern about whether they would have come across as 'man enough' in the interviews. It seems like it would have been seen as a 'test' to their masculinity and perhaps would have influenced

the boys to display more traditional hegemonic masculinity in their answers. One could therefore infer that these participants were more comfortable talking about their sexual experiences with a female and an individual that is not part of their culture or community, as opposed to an individual that is part of their community.

On the other hand, other boys felt that the conversation would perhaps have gone a little deeper and would maybe have been straighter to the point if the researcher was male.

> ***P2:*** *There are some things that I took the long road saying rather than putting it straight on the table. I wouldn't change what I said if you were male but maybe just go around it a lot for you. If you were a boy I would just shoot and tell you what was happening straight!*
>
> ***P5:*** *I might have been more open, not that I was not open but we would have gone deeper and deeper because we are all boys. But I did manage well, even though you are a girl.*

Participant 5 almost appears surprised that he was able to talk to a female, yet still felt that perhaps he would have been more open with a male researcher. Participant 2 also comments that perhaps the conversation would have been a little easier and straight to the point had the researcher been male. It therefore appears the researcher being female may have initially been slightly limiting for a few of the participants. However, it was felt that after a short while these particular participants started to relax and open up to the researcher. In addition to the sex of the researcher, the sensitive nature of some of the questions may have also been particularly prone to under-reporting. The researcher was aware that participants in this study may under-report their experiences out of fear of stigmatization, and instead give socially desirable answers, especially in the presence of a white female researcher. In order to avoid response bias, the researcher established sufficient rapport with the participants before the focus groups and individual interviews commenced. This was achieved by discussing any reservations that individuals might have about the interview process and explaining the issues surrounding confidentiality, judgement, anonymity and the option of not answering questions that they felt were too invasive or difficult to speak about. It was noted that once this had been established, the interviewees were more open and less biased in their responses to the interview process.

Talking man to man in the interviews

In the group interviews it was possible to observe what the boys were like with other boys. Certain boys tended to dominate the conversation, while others became quiet. The boys at times supported each other, offering mutual recognition of their experiences, yet at other times contradicted and argued against each other. In the third focus group especially, individuals tended to dispute amongst one another on certain viewpoints. In these cases, the researcher intervened much less with the conversation of the boys often developing a momentum of its own. The researcher however, regulated the conversation by introducing topics, picking up on points and asking for clarification.

After being interviewed in groups, many of the boys expressed that they enjoyed the group interview, finding it fun to be 'free' with their mates, having expected it to be serious. The group interviews were perhaps experienced as more 'fun' and 'free' because there was much laughter and lightness around them, as opposed to the individual interviews which tended to be a little more serious. The laughter in the group interviews was not presented as constraining but as facilitating talk.

The construction of the interview as an all- boy's affair became even more apparent when the researcher asked them if the presence of other girls would have made a difference. Most of the boys felt that there would have been a difference. In the group interviews the boys were much more interested in asserting themselves against girls, despite the researcher being a female.

In this, as in many of other single-sex group interviews, girls were constructed as opponents who blamed boys for taking advantage of them, and whom were also the guilty gender for 'putting' themselves in situations where boys would be forced to take advantage of them. In addition, girls were blamed for being untrustworthy and only interested in the superficial qualities of boys, for instance how much money they had, how they looked or what type of car they drove. This was part of the collective gender performance in which the boys engaged. Their horror at the prospect of boys and girls

being interviewed together derives from and reflects the gender-polarised positions and identities they were establishing in the single sex group interviews.

Talking to a white researcher

Another surprising feature of the study was that the boys additionally did not appear to find it difficult to talk to a white researcher. This was demonstrated by all the boys in the study, who felt that it was not difficult to talk to a white researcher about such matters. Some boys commented that it was 'easy' to talk to a white person. This might have been because they did not want to seem 'offensive' to the white researcher. However, the researcher suspects that it was not the race of the researcher that the boys necessarily found appealing, but perhaps the notion that the researcher was not a member of their community. One can speculate that perhaps because this was a new experience for these boys, they may have been keener to elaborate on points they might assume a black person would take for granted. Finally, one can suspect that the boys might also have felt more protected with a white researcher, in that there was less chance that their responses would be repeated back to their community, therefore generating less judgement from someone outside of their community.

4.2 SOCIALISATION

4.2.1 SEX ROLE SOCIALISATION

4.2.1.1 Being brave and strong

One of the main themes derived from the interviews was the sex role expectations that the participants faced in their homes and communities. All the participants mentioned their experiences and understanding of what it means to be a male in their communities. From these discussions it became clear that, for these participants, there are certain gender-role expectations and behaviours that come with being male. One of the strongest expectations, felt by all the participants, was that, as a boy, you are expected to be brave, strong and in control. This is reflected in the following statements:

All: *You have got to be brave and strong as a man.*

P3: *You must be brave in challenges- boys look up to other boys in the community that are like that- brave and strong (physically strong).*

P5: *You have to be strong emotionally and be able to tackle anything that you come across.*

It therefore appears that a 'real man' is expected not only to be physically strong, but is also expected to be emotionally strong and in control, at all times. Participant 3 explains that in order to gain the respect of other boys in the community, a boy needs to show that he is 'brave' and tough and can stand up for himself in challenges. Boys are therefore encouraged to suppress their raw weak emotion and vulnerability and instead react in more controlled and confident ways. These boys are therefore being trained to interact with others in more aggressive, harder ways as opposed to softer 'real' ways.

These results coincide with Blackbeard and Lindeggers' (2007) results on the exploration of adolescent masculinity in South African boys, where they found that imperative within the male peer group was the demonstration of toughness or invulnerability. It appears that this display of confidence was particularly important within the peer group, as a boy was expected to be able to stand up for himself and was also expected to be able to 'handle' critical comments and other challenges within the peer-group. One can speculate that it is this expected 'toughness' and 'control' that these boys are being encouraged to demonstrate, that persuades boys to be less emotionally vulnerable and real, and leads them to feel the need to be tough and in control. Perhaps, it is this encouragement that can lead to boys to follow more aggressive and power-seeking roles, especially in relationships, often leading to the control and subordination of women (Pattman, 2007).

*4.2.1.2 **'A real man must be a fighter'***

In addition to being perceived as being physically and emotionally strong and brave, aggression and fighting was seen as an important way of demonstrating ones masculinity and showing that you are powerful in the community.

P2: *If I fight and stick up for myself then I am seen as powerful in the community*

Participant 2 demonstrates the power and respect he generates from fighting in his community. In contrast, it was found that those boys that do not fight and stick up for themselves are often regarded as weak and powerless. It appears that boys who are not prepared to fight are labelled as lacking in masculinity. In Langa and Eagles' (2008) case study on the former self-defence units members in the military, boys that did not want to fight were called derogatory names like 'sissies' or 'mommies boys'. In their study it seemed that young boys may have felt pressure to become part of the military structures in order not to be seen as 'non- men'. Similarly, boys in this study appear to feel pressure to fight in order not to be feminised and labelled as a 'sissy'.

Furthermore, according to Gibson and Lindegaard (2007), in townships, boys that refused to use violence were more easily perceived as feminised. Moreover, township boys who stayed at home found it more difficult to convince others that they were simply 'soft' but not feminine. It was found that boys and young men had to balance being perceived as 'moffies' (*a derogatory word for a gay weak man*) and 'gangsters' *(criminals)* who fight too much. Again, one can speculate that this aggression and fighting which boys are encouraged to demonstrate can lead to the increase of males' aggression towards females and perhaps even the incidence of rape of women.

*4.2.1.3 **'Real men don't cry'***

Sensitivity was perceived by all the participants as a highly negative emotion. A sensitive male was seen as weak, vulnerable and 'not man enough'. As a general rule, the boys agreed that if you feel emotional or vulnerable you are expected to be brave, put your feelings aside and show that you are in control of your emotions. Further, when the participants were asked whether or not boys should show emotion, they all felt that men should not show emotion, especially in public. According to all the participants, a man is expected to hide negative emotions, like sadness or anxiety that would result in tears. It was felt that '*real men don't cry*'. For instance:

> ***P6:*** *You have got to be brave and strong as a man. The way my culture sees it... I come from a very cultural family, a man does not cry. Even if you have lots of problems, if you cry you are showing that you are not man enough. What I am trying to say is that being a man you can't cry for your problems, you have to be brave. If you are sensitive then you will be stressed. Most men, they will not want to be your friend anymore and that will be hard. The women will think you are weak and they will want a strong man instead.*

Participant 6 talks about how he has been socialised by his family and culture to believe that a man who expresses emotion is 'not man enough' and would be seen as someone who is not respected and worthy of friendship or status. According to Pollack (1998), there are some rather intense emotional costs that a boy may face if they fail to follow the expected 'boy code' (that is to be brave, tough, independent and to hide their emotions). Pollack (1998) states that rather than being allowed to explore various emotional states and feelings, boys are often forced to shut them out in order to become self reliant and tough. Pollack continues to explain that '*when boys start to break under the strain, and they display more 'feminine' feelings or behaviours, they are not greeted with empathy but with ridicule, with taunts and threats that shame them for their failure to act and feel in stereotypically 'masculine' ways'* (Pollack, 1998, p. 24). For instance, a boy that cries is often labelled as a 'sissy boy' and is ridiculed for not being masculine enough in front of his peers (Pollack, 1998). These are emotional costs that a man has to bear when expressing his emotions.

As the above quote demonstrates, expressing emotion could come at a big cost to Participant 6 as he appears to fear being rejected and ostracised for expressing his emotions. Not only would he not gain the respect of his peers but he would fear that a woman would not want a man that is not emotionally strong. It therefore appears that pressure to be emotionally strong does not only come from other boys, but is perpetuated by women as well.

Another cost of expressing emotions comes in the form of being ridiculed, bullied, laughed at and even being labelled as gay and feminine. This is demonstrated by the following quotes:

> ***P4:*** *When others see me cry they will tease me and laugh. At school or whatever...I don't cry....I can't allow myself to cry in front of my friends or community. They will laugh and they will say that maybe you are something like a gay, just like girls, the way they behave. You have to be strong, you don't cry in front of your friends.*

> ***P5:*** *If you are shy or sensitive others will take advantage of you... If he cries... (laughs)... that is the most problem... crying... they will laugh... everyone will laugh.... they will say 'hey that guy is crying' and you will be seen as not man enough.*

The costs of expressing emotions can be seen by both participant 4 and 5 who demonstrate that if one were to cry or express emotions in public they would be ridiculed, ostracised and laughed at. Participant 4 talks about his fear of being labelled as gay if he cries in public. To participant 4 being labelled as gay was seen as the ultimate insult.

Furthermore, participant 5 explains that laughing is a way that other boys delegitimize crying. It is a way for other boys to control standards and meanings of masculinity and how a real boy is expected to behave. In line with hegemonic standards, is quite clear from these statements that crying publically and expressing emotion is not accepted amongst the boys in the study. This notion was confirmed in Adomako Ampofo and Boatengs' (2007) study on the exploration of the multiple meanings of manhood among adolescent boys in Ghana. They found that the boys in their study were discouraged from showing 'feminine emotions' such as admitting to fear or pain, and were ridiculed for being effeminate if they were not aggressive, or demonstrated emotions in public. In addition Pattman (2007) argues that these 'hard' ways of relating to others can lead to boys following more aggressive and power-seeking roles.

In fact, it was found that deviating from these norms of being emotionally contained, could even be dangerous, as one could even be ostracised and even beaten by peers and community members. For instance:

> ***P1:*** *If you are sensitive in a community like Alexandra, most of the time it is dangerous. If you are not strong you will end up on the street.*

> ***P2:*** *If you are sensitive as a man then you are going to be in trouble. That is the problem, if you are sensitive and a guy, those other guys in Alexandra will knock you on the playground.*

It appears the need to govern others to follow strict hegemonic standards of masculinity and emotional toughness can be so strong amongst township adolescents that in some cases individuals even threaten each other with forms of physical violence.

4.2.1.4 Sports and 'manly' interests

There were certain interests and activities that some of the boys felt, in order to prove their masculinity, were important to be involved in. For example, it appeared to be important to have a passion for sports, particularly soccer, especially if you wanted to be accepted by the peer group. An interest in cars was also regarded highly.

> ***P6:*** *My peers, we like to watch soccer and talk about such things. We like to watch our team against the Orlando Pirates. We, as men, to show we are man enough, we bond over soccer and cars... if you like soccer and cars then it is easier to be a part of the group.*

> ***P5:*** *In my community, they want me to love cars. I don't love the cars, but they do want me to.*

It appears that being involved in more 'manly' activities such as an involvement in soccer allows one easier access and acceptance into the peer group. In addition, it appears that boys are pressured into getting involved with and enjoying the same interests and activities as other boys, mainly soccer and cars, even if they have no interest in the subject.

Studies suggest that, in rural and township schools, soccer is the game most associated with masculine acceptability, with masculinity embodied as skill, agility, and speed (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Researchers of masculinities assert that sports provide men the opportunity for exercising many of the aspects of hegemonic masculinity, such as competitiveness, discipline, physical strength and courage (Frosh et al., 2003; Ratele, Fouten, Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala, & Buikema, 2007). According to Connell (1995) sport has always played a central role in the enactment of hegemonic

masculinity, especially during adolescence. Connell (1995) states that different versions of masculinity are fought over in the playing, spectating and consumption of sport, with black masculinity in South Africa stereotypically being identified with soccer. According to Morrell (2001), in South Africa, even when sport was racially segregated, men were obsessed by it with the predominant winter sports of soccer (generally a 'black' sport) woven into hegemonic masculinities.

In a study by Lindegger and Maxwell (2007), interviews with adolescent boys revealed that for most young boys, the soccer field was a very important site of gender socialisation, whether they are players or spectators and that faithful and stout support for a team was considered very important. In addition, in Pattmans' (2007) study on boys and young men in Southern Africa's perceptions of HIV/AIDS, it was found that, like fighting, soccer was an important medium through which the boys in Durban positioned themselves in hierarchies with other boys. They found that soccer provides a means for many young men gaining access into peer groups. These findings show the importance of sport, especially soccer, as a site for the construction and maintenance of gender beliefs and practices.

4.2.1.5 Having multiple girlfriends

In addition to enjoying more 'masculine' activities like soccer and cars, being involved with multiple girls and sexual relationships appears to play a major role in proving ones masculinity, and hence gaining acceptance into ones community. It appeared that for the majority of the boys in the study, in order to be accepted by their peer group and the community in general, they were required to demonstrate interest, confidence and success with girlfriends. This is demonstrated in the following statements:

> ***P2:*** *I would be seen as powerful if I sleep with many girls.*
>
> ***P10:*** *I can say that I get more power... respect if I chase after the ladies.*
>
> ***P5:*** *You must always have lots of girls, lots and lots of girls. They will respect you if you have lots of girlfriends.*

Participant 2 mentions that there is a certain power that comes with sleeping with multiple girls. Moreover, participant's 5 and 10 add that with this power comes the respect that a boy gains from his peers, which results in a higher status and prestige within the peer group. Participant 9 even went as far as to say that '*the more sex you have, that is the more you become a man'*, indicating that sexual success with girls is linked to ideas of masculinity and being 'a real man'. It appears that for many of the boys in this study, having many girlfriends meant that *'he is lucky, respected and powerful'*. The construction of hegemonic masculinity within this peer group conveys the perception that a man with many girlfriends is blessed, and that others should aspire to be like him.

In addition, some of the boys felt that having only one girlfriend would not be enough and one would be encouraged, if not expected to have more girlfriends.

> ***P5:*** *In my community my peers want me to love girls. They say that having one girlfriend is not enough. I should have 2 or 3.*
>
> ***P8:*** *A real man must have more than 10 women.*

The discussions on multiple partners in the focus groups evoked smiles, laughter, humour and much chatter among the participants. These boys adhere to the belief that their identity as men is defined through sexual ability and accomplishment. For the majority of the youth in this study, achieving success as a young 'isoka' bodes well for a young man's success as a real '*umnumzane'* (real man/ head of the household) in later years. In line with Sathiparsads' (2007) study on the perspectives of rural male Zulu youth, it is thought that a young man in South Africa that cannot 'handle' several women at once is not a 'real' man. Participant 8 even justifies having multiple partners by stating that '*you have two arms and two legs so why should you only have one girlfriend?'* Here is an example where participant 8 is trying to demonstrate, in front of the other group members that he endorses the view of a man having multiple girlfriends and is demonstrating that he believes he is more than capable of having more than one girlfriend at a time. He appears to be trying to demonstrate his masculinity in the hope of gaining the respect of the group members.

4.2.1.6 Homosexuality

Some of the participants also felt that they would not be accepted by their community or peer group and would be considered or called 'gay' or 'homosexual' if they did not have a girlfriend.

> ***P5:*** *In living in the township there is a culture that says if you are a boy then you must have a girlfriend and if you don't have a girlfriend then you are gay... and if you don't sleep with girls then you are gay. They have implanted these thoughts on my mind and it is hard to get rid of them.*
>
> ***P1:*** *A man must always have somebody. You should always sleep with many chicks, then they will say that you are a real man... not a gay.*
>
> ***P4:*** *As boys if you are not having sex then others will think you are some type of gay or something and take you for a fool and tell you that you are stupid or not 'man enough'...*

Here one can see that by not having a girlfriend, an individual's masculinity is questioned and linked to being 'gay' or as participant 1 and 4 put it *'not being man enough.'* In other words, the boys in this study believe that a true man cannot be gay or show feminine qualities. Men's *'straightness'* is often demonstrated in their sexual success with girls, especially since most societies attribute the 'love' for females as a sure sign of masculinity (Ratele et al., 2007). Other recent studies of boys and young men in South Africa have also found how invested many boys seem to be in distancing themselves from other boys they construct as 'gay' or boys who are perceived as effeminate or weak and not very heterosexual, features linked to individuals that are not seen as 'proper' boys (Pattman, 2007).

Frosh et al. (2003) provides evidence of ways in which boys police their identities by constructing certain boys as transgressing gender boundaries and rendering themselves effeminate or gay. The boys labelled as gay were seen as possessing the same characteristics that were denigrated in girls. It appears homophobia is expressed towards non macho boys, in terms of their similarity to girls. According to the boys in Ratele et al.'s (2007) study , in order to be a true man a boy has to 'watch the way he acts', which primarily involves, as mentioned above, resisting feminised practices.

*4.2.1.7 **‘Being a virgin is for girls, not for boys’***

As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, in the third focus group participant 11 mentioned that he was *still* a virgin. This highly contentious topic brought about a great deal of debate, with the boys split between feeling shocked at the situation, and almost feeling bad for the participant; at the same time it appeared that they found it comical that a male was still a virgin at the age of 17. The prolonged silence that followed his confession was evidence of the awkwardness that the boys felt in that situation. Some of the boys tried to contain the situation by stating that they think that participant 11 still has a lot to look forward to and that being a virgin only happens once. However, being a virgin is not something that is celebrated amongst the boys in the study. Participant 8 responded as follows:

> ***P8:*** *Come on... being precious about being a virgin is for girls not for boys... I have had sex with girls that other guys don’t even dream of having sex with. It is good getting the girl that everyone at school wants. It just shows that you got it and that is why you will be man enough.*

Participant 7 then agreed that this is part of the respect that participant 8 gets for being with lots of girls. Participant 9 then also agreed stating ‘*the thing with women is not about love, it is about being a man.’* It seems that even though the participants initially felt bad for participant 11, and almost tried to protect him, they could not help but stick to the group consensus about feeling that one was not man enough unless one is having sexual relations. It appears that this gives us some indication of how participant 11 would have been seen by his peers and community in the outside world.

According to Walker, (2005) sexual behaviour in young men has been related to father’s ideas of sexuality as well as father’s sexual behaviours towards their wives. The above results are a good reflection of how family socialisation can influence young boy’s sexuality. Participant 8 comes from a family where his grandfather is a Zulu chief and has more than 10 wives and his father also has a few wives. He has been socialised to believe that in order to demonstrate one’s masculinity, one needs to be successful, confident and popular with girls. This can be seen by his attitude to dating and sexual relationships.

*4.2.1.8 **'Being the breadwinner'***

Finally, it appears that some of the participants felt that being a 'real man' means that the man should be the one to provide financially for the family and be responsible for '*putting food on the table'* (P6). Moreover, some of the boys felt that it was alright for women to work, yet, the general consensus was that the man needed to be the primary breadwinner and earn more money than the woman. It appeared that there was a worry that if the woman would earn more money than the man, then either the woman would control the man or there would be a worry that the man would become redundant. This is reflected in the statement below:

> ***P1:*** *I think in Alexandra it is okay for the woman to work, she must at least earn little money... but it must be less than the man.*

Here, participant 1 is displaying a more progressive dialogue on masculinity by stating that he feels that it is alright for a woman to work, showing that he is moving away from the traditional notion that men must be the ones to work and woman must stay at home and look after the children. Yet he still shows some conformity to hegemonic standards by stating that he must be the major breadwinner in the family by earning more money than his wife. Participant 1 continues to state that: *'It doesn't matter so much to me but... my mom, she is very strict and my father also... I think that they will have a problem with that... because they will think that 'how come the woman earns that much?... she will control you'. My dad thinks: 'how come a woman can earn more than a man?' He will think she will go and find another man- she doesn't need him. The community people will talk that too.'*

Here it appears that participant 1's beliefs have been clouded by those of his family and community who feel that it is very important that the man is the breadwinner of the household. It appears that there is a belief that unless the man is the breadwinner, the woman will gain too much control in the household, and this is seen as detrimental to the man's reputation and respect amongst his community. According to the results of Adomako Ampofo and Boatengs' (2007) research on the exploration adolescent boys in

Ghana, there are certain roles that women are required to perform in the home, such as cooking for her family and looking after the children. The boys in the study understood that the man's responsibility in marriage is to assume responsibility for his household in terms of providing money and other resources to support the woman he has married. Inherent in his construction of maleness, or of being a husband, is the notion that the wife will be at home and the husband goes out to work.

These findings with regard to the ideal characteristics of masculinity are consistent with Cleaver's (2002) suggestion that, even in developing countries, the expectation of males as providers remains a defining element of masculinity. Men are primarily understood to be providers for their partners and for their families, especially materially, but this extends to providing rules and making the decisions in the family and successful manhood is achieved when the man can provide for his family's material needs (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Ratele et al., 2007). It is also clear from participant 1's above statement that there is a belief here that the man should be the head of the household and perhaps even be the one to make the decisions. There is further evidence of this idea (that the man should be the head of the household) which shall be further elaborated upon later in this chapter.

In addition to feeling that the woman will gain too much control in the household, it appears that there is a further fear that the woman will no longer '*need'* her man and will leave him for a more '*viable'* man that will financially provide for her. It seems that there is a feeling that a man's worth and value is judged by whether or not he is able to provide financially for his wife and family. According to Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) it is this pressure to live up to leadership and breadwinner roles that many men cannot live up to. They state that this pressure to 'perform' as a man leads boys to high risk activities, such as joining gangs and taking drugs. Moreover, men who cannot live up to expectations of being providers can be excessively stressed, especially in their relationships and may respond by retreating into passivity or resorting to violence (physical or sexual) towards weaker individuals, like women.

*4.2.1.9 **Conclusion***

According to the boys in this study, displays of contestation, success in sport, being liked by girls, and displayed toughness or invulnerability are all linked to what the boys feel incorporates a 'real man'. From the above statements, it appears that the adolescents in this study have been socialised to believe that in order to be accepted into the community and peer group, one needs to abide by the above sex-role expectations. The sex role stereotypes and masculine role that has been adopted and clearly displayed by the majority of the participants appears to fit very closely with hegemonic masculinity, as well as with Davis and Brannon's (1976 in Solomon, 1982) four major dimensions of the masculine role that were outlined in the literature review. In conjunction to the first and third dimension, *'no sissy stuff'* and *'the sturdy oak',* the boys in this study also believe that a man is supposed to be seen as using logic as opposed to emotion. Moreover, the participants also felt an expectation to be tough, confident and self reliant, in addition to coping and standing up to stress. It seems that these boys have been encouraged to display harder, more confident and aggressive ways of relating to people as opposed to softer, more persuasive approaches, often attributed to woman (Solomon, 1982). In addition, it has been argued that it is these harder, more aggressive approaches to relating to the world often encourage rape perpetuating qualities (Vogelman, 1990).

Furthermore, it appears that the boys have also been socialised to believe that men should be the head of the household and should financially provide for the woman, this too fits directly with Davis and Brannon's (1976 cited in Solomon, 1982) second dimension called '*the big wheel', a* very traditional view of masculinity. Finally, some of the boys in the study believed that fighting is an acceptable means of problem resolution and felt that they are expected to fight in order to protect an external part of one's masculinity. This directly coincides with the fourth dimension called '*give 'em hell* (Solomon, 1982). It therefore appears that even though times are changing, many of the adolescents' in this study have still been socialised to abide by very traditional and hegemonic notions of masculinity.

In addition, these above sex role stereotypes that the participants appear to be pursuing, also seem to be consistent with the concept of *isoka*, a man in Zulu culture who is respected, socially successful and popular with women; a man who displays dominance and decision making power in a relationship (Varga, 2003). Furthermore, these ideals of masculinity are also consistent with the results of Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study on the perceptions of Zambian adolescent boys, which found that a 'real man' was seen as an individual who possesses power, status and position in the society, a man that should be brave and strong. Moreover, it has been argued that it is these sex roles and sexist ideas and behaviours that encourage rape and facilitate the social control of women (Vogelman, 1990). Further, from the above results it also appears that the idea of masculinity appears to be further embedded through activities encouraged by the community and peers, for instance soccer and cars. This in turn appears to further reinforces sex role stereotypes where competition and physical strength are therefore fostered.

Finally, it appears that in conjunction with Solomon's (1982) view that not following the above dimensions and scripts of masculinity can lead to the risk of being socially ostracised and losing one's chance for success and status, for these boys it remains crucial to follow these rules of masculinity. They too feel they will be ostracised, disregarded and discriminated against unless they follow these scripts, and this too would diminish their chances for social success, status and happiness. It appears that these boys are therefore being socialised into more isolated ways of being and are modelling the more aggressive and power seeking nature of the adult males in their family and communities.

4.2.2 SEX-ROLE EXPECTATIONS ACROSS DIFFERENT COMMUNITIES

From the interviews, it appears that gender role expectations differ according to the community that one lives in. All the participants in the study live in the Alexandra Township, except participant 1, who commutes between the Alexandra Township and Orange Grove (a middle class suburb in Northern Johannesburg). Participant 1 explains the differences between living in Alexandra, as opposed to other communities, like

Orange Grove: '*That side (in Orange Grove) as a man, you need to have a big house, not a small house. A house with a pool inside. A man must be successful. In Orange Grove they will say it is cool if you do things differently, they will admire you... In Orange Grove, it is a place whereby people know what they want in life... but here, in Alex, it is different. I learn more things. Like being strong outside and in. If you are not strong you will end up on the street. You will get killed... I am not going to lie to you. You have to be brave and strong and a man. Life here is difficult... very very difficult... you have to show you are man enough...'*

The above quote clearly demonstrates the pressures that adolescent boys living in the Alexandra Township appear to be facing. It appears that in order to survive they are required to abide by the above hegemonic masculine scripts. Demonstrating ones masculinity by being brave, strong, and being in control of one's emotions and showing one is 'man enough' by having many girlfriends is not just seen as a requirement to fit into the peer group but a necessity for survival in Alexandra Township. It therefore appears that abiding by these hegemonic scripts is almost paramount to survival in this male dominated society. Even more problematic is the notion that it is these exact sex role stereotypes that encourage rape (Vogelman, 1990).

Furthermore, the above discussion gives evidence to Frosh et al. (2003) statement that boys' emergent masculinities are heavily marked by ethnicity and culture, directing their interpersonal relationships and inflicting their personal accounts of their lives. It can be seen by the above quote that one cannot understand the emergent masculinities of these participants, independent of their background, culture and ethnicity, as for instance, the above participant mentions that it is for cultural reasons that he has to adopt a 'tougher' masculine identity. Frosh et al. (2003) argue that masculinities are multiple and variegated, constructed anew by each particular boy in relation to the positions made available by the wider culture.

4.2.3 SEX-ROLE EXPECTATIONS OF GIRLS AND BOYS IN RELATIONSHIPS

4.2.3.1 'Girls are meant to be sweet, sensitive and vulnerable'

In contrast to the gender role expectations of men, according to the participants, women are expected to be sweet, gentle and sensitive. Girls are encouraged to cry, be emotionally responsive and vulnerable in relationships. Furthermore, it appears that if a girl does not fit this mould there would be a worry that she would be too powerful, independent and controlling in the relationship. Moreover, many of the participants felt that if she was not vulnerable and did not need to rely on her boyfriend for support and protection, she would not have any reason to want to stay in the relationship (unless he was providing her with financial support). The participants also felt that women should be co-operative and helpful in a relationship and should be the one to cook and look after the household and children.

Only one participant mentioned that he would like his girlfriend to be independent and ambitious, but as mentioned earlier, felt that she must not earn more money than him, so that he could still be in control of the relationship. In contrast to the other participants, he also felt that he would like a girlfriend who is not completely reliant on him and would also help him out financially. The following quote demonstrates this sentiment:

> ***P1**: I want someone who is going to dream big, someone independent. She must also be good physically but she must have plans. She must be responsible in the relationship. I am looking for someone who can be alright when I am not available. You should help each other, she should also take me out and she should also pay the bills*

It appears from the above results, all the boys in the study also seem to follow the traditional view of femininity and the belief that girls should be sweet and sensitive and should not display dominance, independence or aggression. Only participant 1 mentioned that he would like a girl that would not always rely on him, yet he made it very clear that she should not earn more money than him, hence still relying on him for something. In

addition, this gives evidence to Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study stating that troubling threats to the traditional gender roles emerge when women start to become economically independent. In conjunction with the above results, in their study some men expressed worries that woman who earn their own money will start to see men as useless.

South Africa is traditionally a male dominated patriarchal society. Men are expected to hold the power while women are expected to passively stand back and are frequently exploited (Walker, 2005). The participants in this study appear to fear a woman's independence and dominance. In addition, according to Whaley (2001) the more women break out of the traditional female role and assert themselves in new ways, the more threatened the male ego becomes and the more emasculated and powerless men start to feel. One can therefore speculate that the participants in this study appear to promote the traditional female role due to a fear that if a woman becomes too independent and is no longer required to rely on her boyfriend, she will begin to dominate the relationship and hence emasculate her boyfriend.

4.2.3.2 Boys to be confident, strong and in control

Again, in order to be considered as a potential prospect by a girl, it was felt that a boy needed to show that he is confident, strong (emotionally and physically) and brave.

> ***P2:*** *Most girls expect a guy to be strong inside and out... to have a good body... you know muscles, superb. That's what they expect.*
>
> ***P3:*** *Women want men that are brave in challenges.*

Here, from participant 2's explanation of what women desire in men, it appears that he believes that men are merely seen as objects, and their outer appearance and impression appears to be of great importance to girls. Therefore, it appears that it is believed that it is not a boys' inner personality and values that are of importance but his outer appearance and superficial qualities that are seen as demonstrations of his worth. Moreover, it was also felt that it was important for a guy to show confidence with girls, and demonstrate that he is popular both with the other girls and boys. A man is also expected to be a

protective force for a woman. All the participants felt that girls would not be attracted to a guy that is sensitive or weak.

> ***P2:*** *When you are too sensitive you won't be able to operate in a relationship. A woman will kick you around and take advantage of you. She won't have a reason to stay and will leave the relationship.*

Boys are therefore once again encouraged to suppress their raw weak emotion and vulnerability and instead react in more controlled and confident ways. These boys are therefore being trained to interact with girls in tougher, harder ways as opposed to softer 'real' ways. Perhaps, as Pattman (2007) hypothesised it is this encouragement that can lead boys to follow more power-seeking and superficial roles, especially in relationships, often leading to the control and subordination of women.

4.2.3.3 <u>The 3 C's</u>

Second to being brave and strong, it seems that some participants felt that demonstrating wealth and success was important to girls. They mentioned the importance of showing you have the three C's; cash, cell phone and a car. For instance:

> ***P1:*** *Most of chicks appreciate those men that have money in their pockets. Those men that can give her a car to drive around in. It's important to have a car. Chicks like boys who pretend to be someone else.*

> ***P8:*** *Girls get impressed by stupid things like * Sipho has a car or 'Sipho lives in a nice house'. In front of girls you have to be funny and sweet and impress them so that they like you. Girls can date you for the car that I drive and the house that I live in. A girl can date a guy for what he gives her, not for who he is.*

It appears that participant 1 and 8 both feel that in order to be appealing to the opposite sex, it's important to display material success and wealth and in doing so '*hide'* your true personality, in order to impress a girl. This notion can lead a young boy to believe that in order to be appealing to the opposite sex, it is not important to be genuine and 'be yourself' but rather important to impress the girl by being '*sweet and funny'* and giving her material goods. Further, according to Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) women's' expectations of possible material gain they can expect from men plays an important role

in making them vulnerable to some risky behaviours of men. The focus group reports in this study revealed that many girls and women look up to men to provide them with money, cell phones, clothes, smart cars and houses. Lindegger and Maxwell (2007) also describe the 3 C's, cell phones, cars and clothes that put women at risk. Further, it is the very need or desire for these economic advantages that predisposes women to accept conditions that put them at risk, such as unprotected sex or being one of several sexual partners (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

In summary, it appears in order to gain the respect of both the girlfriends and the peer group, the boys in the study felt that they needed to demonstrate material wealth (in the form of the 3 Cs, having multiple and good looking girlfriends and showing one is brave, strong and in control). The insecurity that the participants are facing in relation to their worth appears to be evident, as it is felt that a woman will only stay with him, if he provides her with enough support (financial or other); it is felt here that his personality is not enough in itself to keep a woman.

4.2.3.4 Who should be the one to bring up sex in a relationship?

It appears that the general consensus amongst the participants was that the man must be the one to bring up and talk about sex in a relationship. It was felt that if a girl brings up sex then she may be seen as though she is a prostitute, or someone who sleeps with many men. Ironically, if a girl refuses to have sex with a guy then she is also seen in negative terms, and may be called 'tight' and 'a bitch'.

> ***P6**: I think that man must initiate and talk about sex because she will be very scared to do it. Sometimes if she says that she wants sex the man will think she is a prostitute or something. She likes having sex a lot or something.*
>
> ***P4:** In a relationship if she brings up sex then she is scared that you will think she is some kind of easy or something... so she doesn't want to tell you. You have to ask her and she will tell you (if she wants to have sex).*

Consistent with the results of Varga's (2003) study, where the majority of participants identified the male partner as having the sole right to decide when to initiate sex in a

relationship, the majority of participants in this study too felt, as demonstrated above, that it was the man who should be the one to initiate sex in a relationship. In addition, as mentioned previously in the literature, in South Africa a woman's sexual fidelity is highly valued, and having multiple sex partners compromises her respectability (Niehaus, 2005; Varga, 2003, Vogelman, 1990). The boys in this study appeared to agree with this concept as demonstrated in the above results when mentioning that the woman must not be the one to initiate sex as then she would be seen as 'cheap' or a 'whore'.

The boy's responses reiterate Memela's (2005) concerns that, while females are expected to satisfy males sexually, their sexual satisfaction is totally overlooked. A common thread that ran throughout the focus groups, in this study and other studies, was that although a woman is expected to provide sex, it is unacceptable for her to initiate it (Sathiparsad, 2007). As demonstrated above, any attempt by women to move into an initiating role can have serious negative consequences for them, the assumption being that they are sexually experienced, a position that is reserved for males. While females are expected to concede to men's sexual demands, such submission may warrant criticism and labels such as a 'slut' 'loose woman' and 'whore'. An important consequence of sexually assertive women as being viewed as promiscuous is that safer sex negotiation and refusing sex is then daunting for many women (Sathiparsad, 2007).

4.2.3.5 Making rules and dominance within a relationship

The majority of the participants felt that men should be the one to make the rules, be dominant and be the head of the relationship. A few of the participants mentioned that they felt that if a girl were to make the rules in a relationship then she would take advantage and be controlling of her boyfriend. For instance:

> ***P8:*** *Boys should make the rules because these girls, they are not honest enough, you can't trust in them. They will control you.*

Here it can be seen from participant 8, that there is a fear that allowing a girl decision making power in a relationship will result in her ultimately taking advantage of that

power and controlling her boyfriend. Further, participant 2 later explains that if a girl were to be the one to make the rules and have the control in the relationship, this would be viewed very negatively by his peer group. It was felt that if a girl made the rules in a relationship then the boy would be seen by his friends as a 'push over' or 'not man enough', and hence would be discriminated against. This is reflected in the following statement:

> ***P2:*** *If she makes the rules and is strong and I am sensitive, my friends will take me for a fool and will discriminate against me.*

It therefore appears that dominance in a relationship is very much tied into a young adolescents' relationship with his peer group and community. There appears to be a cost that the boys face if they are not the head of the relationship. It appears that being seen as a 'push over' in a relationship will diminish his respect and status within the peer group and may even result in him being ostracised and ridiculed from his peers or even in his community.

Moreover, participant 1 explained feeling confused about whether or not he should be the one to make the rules in a relationship. On the one hand he explained feeling that in order to keep a relationship going he would need to follow his girlfriend's rules and allow her some power in the relationship, however, on the other hand he would worry about his peer group and communities reactions to this. There appears to be a worry that his peer group may disrespect him for not being the head of his relationship. Moreover, the respect and acceptance of his peer group appeared to be essential in gaining personal respect and power. Participant 1 consequently decided that he would then have to be the dominant force in the relationship and therefore must not always obey his girlfriend's rules.

> ***P1****: That is where the problem comes in. In the community they want the men to be the boss of the relationship... to tell the ladies what to do... with me it happens that even if I don't want to be the boss of her... I need to be the boss... like if my girlfriend wants to go somewhere and I let her, it is going to be a problem with my friends. Because my friends will just make fun of me and all those things... I can do anything to make my friends comfortable.*

It appears that participant 1, when faced with the dilemma of either keeping his relationship strong or gaining the respect of his peers, ultimately he chose to follow the '*rules'* of the peer group and community, in order to maintain his *'ukuhlonipha'* and status and power within his community. This merely demonstrates the power that the peer group and community has over a boys decision making process and how community and peer group socialisation can have a strong effect on adolescent dating relationships. These results support Harrison et al. (2001) and Varga's (2003) notion that in order to gain acceptance into the peer group, adolescents' relationships become characterised by unequal decision-making between partners, poor dyadic communications about sexual matters, lack of preparation for intercourse and gender- based differences in motivation to become sexually involved.

It appears that sometimes a boys' respect or *'ukuhlonipha'* becomes so important, that controlling ones girlfriend becomes a pertinent component in an adolescent's relationship with his peers and community. Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) reported that male on female violence also erupts when women fail to seek permission from their partners before taking major decisions such as going on a journey, engaging in new economic activity or even visiting a friend. They continue to report that a 'real man' also doesn't tolerate his wife questioning him about sexual adventures, or worse, refusing to have sex with him as a result. This, in many cases can result in a male sexually assaulting or raping his girlfriend, in order to keep up with appearances. Clearly, although women frequently end up as 'victims' of violence, men are themselves under a great deal of pressure to fit the hegemonic norm of what it means to be a 'man' and frustrations around this are linked to both stress and gender based violence. While most of the boys in Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) study rejected the idea of the use of violence in relationships, when violence was linked to misdemeanours such as 'disobedience' or failure to seek permission from a spouse, this can sometimes be justified. Furthermore, according to studies cited in the UNFPA report (2000 cited in Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007) sexual or physical violence was least prevalent in households where spouses communicated and shared responsibility for decisions. In households where no decisions were made jointly, the incidence of sexual or physical violence was six percent.

Further, two of the participants disagreed with the other group members and felt that decision making and power in a relationship should be equal between men and women.

> ***P6:*** *It is 50/50. I don't believe that the boys should make the rules because you can't make the rules that are difficult for her and that she doesn't agree with. I don't believe in that. You put your votes with the girls and then you vote for the rules and then I must also agree with the rules that she sets.*
>
> ***P7:*** *I am going to disagree with the others the whole way. I have two parents. From the day my father and mother got married, my father has never raised a hand on my mother and my father respects my mother with full attention. Why? Because they always have a conclusion between them with everything that they do. There has to be a decision between whatever they do and if I don't like what you are doing and you tell me and if you don't like what I am doing I tell you.*

These two participants seem to be subscribing to alternative and healthy voices of masculinity and go against the hegemonic view of masculinity in relationships that the majority of the other boys seemed to follow. One can infer that this may be due to the way they have been socialised in their home environment. For instance, participant 7 has been socialised to believe that men and women should be equal in relationships, as demonstrated by his parents 'equal' relationship. This gives evidence for Vogelman's (1990) school of thought describing the family as the most significant institution in shaping the child's beliefs, attitudes and values. It appears that some of the participants have adopted some of the attitudes and roles of their parents, especially sex role stereotypes. This also gives some evidence that, as demonstrated by some of the above quotes, although the community appears to be an influencing factor in the socialisation process, the home environment and parents may play an even stronger role.

Niehaus (2005) stated that young boys are often pressurized into showing their masculinity in the traditional ways of being dominant and 'manly' in their relationship (sexual and other) with girls. This study gives some evidence to this statement as it appears that the boys in this study demonstrate the pressure they are under to be 'man enough' in their relationship. This involves being the head of the relationship and making the rules, as many of the boys mentioned, as well as showing sexual success and control over their girlfriends. It appears that only the boys that are more secure within themselves

were able to assert their masculinity by other means and allow equal decision making and power in their relationship. Participant 6 is the one participant that appears to be confident within himself and hence believes that it should be 50/50 in a relationship. One can speculate that his healthy confidence and self esteem may come with age, as he is the oldest and most mature participant in the study (19). It appears that he has already faced adolescence and perhaps his quiet confidence comes with being mature enough to find security within himself.

One participant mentioned his role model's view of equality in a relationship and that decision making should be equal between both men and women.

> ***P5****: The man JZ is my role model and he says it should be 50/50 in a relationship. He is a positive role model.*

However, he continued to state that he still feels that men should be the head of the relationship. It appears that although participant 5 has a positive role model and influence, he has still been socialised to believe that men should be dominant in the relationship. It does appear however, that he has incorporated some of his role model's beliefs by stating that a man should not take advantage of a girl, even if he is the head of the relationship. The following statement demonstrates this viewpoint:

> ***P5:*** *Men should be the head of the relationship but if she says that she does not want to have sex, you should go with her and not take advantage. Men must be at the top but that does not mean you should take advantage of a girl. In my relationships I am the one that makes the rules. If she makes the rules then she will be controlling me and I will do things that she wants and I will be too busy to do my school work.*

Dahlbäck et al.*'s* (2003) study exploring the perceptions among Zambian adolescent boys' found that a common way of acquiring self image and manliness was to imitate the behaviour, image and values of role models or even celebrities. It appears that there was some mention of this here, as participant 5 mentions his role model JZ and JZ's thoughts on equal decision making in relationships. However, even though participant 5 has a positive role model and influence, he still felt that men should be the one to make decisions in the relationship. It appears that even though role models have influenced the

boys in this study, stronger factors like sex role socialisation and peer socialisation appear to have had a stronger influence on them. This merely demonstrates the difficulties and contradictions that some boys experience when trying to negotiate alternative voices of what it means to be a man.

However, consistent with the findings in Dahlbäck et al.'s (2003) study, there does appear to be a lack of good male role models for the boys in this study. The majority of the boys in the study valued the role model of the conventional and stereotyped role of a 'real man', a man who had many girlfriends and a man who should be able to have numerous sexual partners. The adolescents in this study have seemed to have grown up believing wholly that their identity as men and individuals is defined by their sexual prowess, this was especially demonstrated in the third focus group where group members appeared to be respected and looked up to for demonstrating their sexual success with girlfriends. Dahlbäck et al. (2003) further state that in the absence of good role models, young boys often turn to the peer group for identity building. It appears that is what has happened for many of the boys in this study.

4.2.4 PEER SOCIALISATION

4.2.4.1 Peer influence and pressure

From the interviews it became clear that peer influence plays a major role in the decision making and behavioural choices of these adolescents. In fact, peer influence appears to be so strong that some of the participants felt that being accepted by the right peer group was crucial and that friends were extremely important while attending high school. It appears that acceptance into a peer group allows one to feel secure and powerful, which in turn allows one to feel protected against bullying and discrimination.

> ***P1:*** *Friends come first you know...*
>
> ***P7:*** *Having a strong group of friends that has style gives you power. A group that is cool.*

From the interviews, it appears that peer pressure is a very prominent theme and one of the major challenges that these boys are facing. It appears that in order to be accepted by the peer group, one is required to follow the group, and do whatever it takes to be accepted. Moreover, it appears that peer pressure is more intense at the start of high school, in grade 8 and 9.

> ***P4:*** *Every year the grade 8's, they come to the school and they are still young and are boys and then in 3 months, from January until March, they have changed completely. Most of them, 80% of them, they change because of peer pressure... mostly boys. They start smoking and doing all those things and only see consequences later in life.*

The peer pressure that the boys mentioned consists of getting involved in various activities, which differ depending on that particular peer group. Some of these activities involved fairly safe practices like enjoying the same activities as the group, for instance sports or cars or more negative things, like disrespecting teachers. Other more serious activities included smoking, drinking alcohol, consuming illegal drugs and carrying weapons, like guns. The one theme that was consistent among all the participants was the expectation that in order to be accepted, it is essential to have one or more girlfriends and to be involved in a sexual relationship. All the participants felt that there is a lot of pressure to be having sex with girls. It was additionally felt that if one were to get involved in the above activities, then one would be powerful and respected by the peer group. It was also felt that the majority of youth respect those people that 'do wrong things'.

This is reflected in the following quotes.

> ***P1:*** *You have to be the man that friends want you to be, you know, having lots of girls, doing funny thing like smoking and drinking.*
>
> ***P4:*** *Our peers, they expect you to be smoking, drugs, those kinds of things. They tend to respect you if you do those kinds of things... they take you for a fool if you don't join them and do those things.*
>
> ***P5:*** *The majority of youth, they admire those that do wrong, those that steal, do drugs and alcohol. Those that have many girls and those that fight.*
>
> ***P10****: When I didn't have a girlfriend, people are telling you that you are*

useless, they keep telling you that you are a fool, you are still a virgin and you are like 14 years.

These results appear to be in line with Vogelman's (1990) reports that this kind of behaviour is encouraged by peers, it appears that many young boys in the Alexandra Township do support and encourage these negative and often dangerous behaviours. Recent studies indicate that in order to assert their masculinity and gain acceptance into the peer group adolescent boys are often influenced to be disruptive at school, have multiple girlfriends, fight, smoke, drink and take drugs (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007; Pattman, 2007; Ratele et al., 2007). May and Strikwerda (1994) further argue that it is these interactions of men (that are demonstrated above) that contribute to a pattern of socialisation, and this in turn can play a major role in the incidence of rape.

It was additionally found that if you do not follow the group, and give in to peer pressure, you will often get treated badly, teased and discriminated by your peers. Feelings of sadness and loneliness were mentioned as reactions to discrimination that some of the participants have faced.

P3: *In the past I have been discriminated because I don't do something that they want me to do. Like having sex. Most of the time they are pressurising me to get a girlfriend when I don't want to or am not ready. I felt a bit sad because they treated me like that.*

P4: *They treat you like a fool if you don't do what they do. You are not cool and you can't have many friends. They treat you like you are not cool. Also, they want you to do other bad things like disrespect the teachers. Sometimes I feel lonely, I have nobody*

P5: *I come from a friendship that if I make one wrong move I will be treated very badly*

The above results give evidence to Walker's (2005) statement about South African men who do not drink, smoke, hang out with other powerful men, or have lots of girlfriends being referred to in insulting and belittling terms. It appears that, according to the participants in this study, if one does not engage in these activities, then one is often ostracised and discriminated against by the larger community and peer group.

In his individual interview participant 1 mentioned that there are certain group rules that one must follow in order to be accepted into his peer group.

> ***P1:*** *To impress my friends, I always do what they want me to do... you see we have a group... and in the group there are our rules... so every time we must obey the rules.*

Four rules were mentioned: Firstly, a guy must always have a girlfriend. Secondly, you should always have 3 or more girlfriends so that if one leaves you, you have another one or two. Thirdly, before one ends a relationship with a girlfriend he must sleep with her more than once. The final rule involved always putting your friends first, and if a group member has a problem you must always be there for him and support him. Participant 1 was the only participant to bring up the group rules. Moreover, he was very concerned about the confidentiality aspect of the study as he explained that the group rules are a secret. It appeared that participant 1 also had mixed feelings about the group rules. On the one hand he explained feeling comforted by them, as they allowed him access into the group, and this, in turn, allowed him to feel accepted, secure and protected. However, he also explains that he has hurt many girls because of the rules and expressed some regret in this regard**.** For instance:

> ***P1:*** *I remember one of my girlfriends. I used to love her very much. I hurt her because of the rules and she nearly killed herself. I am telling you. I was with this other girl. I was told to be with her... by my friends. I hate that.*

Only two participants spoke of giving in to peer pressure due to the various consequences and diseases one may face when having multiple girlfriends.

> ***P3****: Competing is dangerous because there are so many diseases. It does happen but I don't compete.*

> ***P6:*** *Most of people, they like competing about these things but on my side I say I don't like competing of girls, of how many girls do I have. If my friend got this and that… that I have to get this... I don't like this. I know that there are many consequences and maybe you can get lost with them in the end. I do think that some boys are under a lot of pressure, especially when they hear us boys talking about our girlfriends and having sex and all those things. Then they think that they are missing out and are left out and that they need to have sex. They put themselves under pressure- they like to compete.*

One can speculate that peer pressure and the need to compete in order to be accepted by the peer group may be greatly influenced by the stage of life that these boys are going through, namely adolescence (Hjelle & Ziegler, 1981). The mention of peer pressure that the boys in the study face being even more intense in the earlier years of high school, appears to directly coincide with the early years of adolescence.

Erikson (1968) states that adolescence is a time when individuals are preoccupied with social expectations in an attempt to develop an identity. He further states that this encourages adolescents to find a group of friends that can supply support and affirmation. There was definite evidence of this demonstrated by many of the boys in this study. It seemed that for many of the boys in the study, acceptance into the right peer group appeared to be crucial. Furthermore, acceptance into that peer group also required conformity to the standards and norms of that group. This was demonstrated by the group rules that participant 1 talks about and the pressure the boys felt to modify their behaviours to better suit the peer group.

It appears that the group rules provided a platform for the boys to be accepted into the group and in that way, as described by participant 1, they were seen as a comfort. Yet, on the other hand, as mentioned by some of the participants, the consequences to participating in group activities like womanising and following the group rules can also be quite serious. Hence, the boys in this study are often finding themselves in a double bind situation where they would need to conform to be accepted into the group, yet conforming also brings about severe consequences. Some of the participant's spoke about the consequences of womanising and abiding to the group rules. Moreover, even though the consequences appear to be quite severe, for instance contracting HIV/AID's or Sexually Transmitted Diseases from sleeping with multiple partners or hurting a girlfriend that one loves, for many of the participants, the need to fit in and feel supported by a peer group appears to override the consequences of doing so. This just demonstrates the strength of the insecurities, emotions and fears generated by the process of adolescence, and the consequences they can have on a young boy's life; and how these

insecurities and fears can bring about an overwhelming need to be accepted by the peer group, no matter the cost.

*4.2.4.2 **Peer Competition***

All the participants agreed that boys compete with each other about the number of girls that they have sex with. For example:

> ***All:*** *Yo, yo yo yo!!! Yes definitely we all compete*
>
> ***P5:*** *Definitely yes, definitely! Let me give you an example…Like he will every time talk about how many girls he has slept with and all the time will ask for how many girls you have slept with.*

All the participants appeared to be very animated when talking about whether or not they compete for girlfriends. It appears that competition for girlfriends is something that is very prominent in the daily lives of these adolescent boys. Participants 1 and 2 elaborate on the nature of competition that the boys experience at school:

> ***P2****: Wow, Ya! Just talking of our school, that is what happens. We compete. Like over December they say like 'how many girls did you sleep with?' and you say 'like 3' and they will say 'you are too weak, you should sleep with like 11 girls'. Then you say 'I don't do such things' and then they will say 'you are just a fool'.*
>
> ***P1****: If I have a girlfriend and he has a girlfriend and his girlfriend can sleep with him and mine can't sleep with me and I will do anything just to be like him. Like if he asks me' what did you do with the chick?' and I say 'nothing much because she refused'. And then they will say' you know what? If she does not want to sleep with you, just do anything to get her to sleep with you'. And okay, fine… I will do it. I don't wanna lie, talking from experience, especially on holidays, like December, June most of these things happen. They put you under pressure so that you do such things.*

Participant 2 talks about the pressure that boys are under to compete. It appears that not only are boys expected to sleep with multiple girls, but if they do not have sex with enough girls they are seen as weak, and disrespected for not asserting their masculinity by having a sufficient amount of multiple girlfriends. Competing appears to be more intense and frequent during the holiday period when perhaps boys have less responsibilities, and more time and are expected to demonstrate their sexual success and

competence with the opposite sex. One can therefore infer that the holiday season may be a high risk period for adolescents experimenting with sex.

In addition, when an individual tries to go against the notion of competing, it appears that he is often discriminated against and is '*taken for a fool'*. This appears to influence a boy's respect and his acceptance into a desired peer group. Moreover, as participant 1 explains, it appears having a girlfriend that refuses to have sex with you is viewed in very negative terms, and a boy will feel pressure to 'do anything' to get a girlfriend to sleep with him. Perhaps it is this pressure that can cause boys to coerce or even force their girlfriends into having sex with them. Some participants felt that competing and sleeping with lots of girls is all about gaining respect from peers and showing that you are man 'enough'.

> ***P9:*** *It's about earning respect... earning respect by competing and having lot of girls.*
>
> ***P7:*** *It is about respect. I have to say so.*
>
> ***P8:*** *You can't hate me for fucking a girl that is not your girlfriend- you respect me.*

Again, participants talk about the respect that an individual gains from having sex with multiple partners. This just demonstrates how fragile the masculine identity is and how heavily it relies on external affirmation. The boys in this study appear to have a need to have their masculine identity constantly affirmed either by their peer group or the community at large. As seen by the above quotes, it appears that in order to affirm their masculine identity most boys feel the need to show that they are highly sexually active and have multiple girlfriends. So important is it to be seen as conforming to these rigid gender expectations that boys are pressured to give the impression of conformity at all costs, by reports of multiple girlfriends and considerable sexual experience. In addition, it appears that peers were mutually involved in participating in the endorsement of hegemonic norms, pressurising peers to conform to these norms, and giving others the impression of personal conformity to these gendered norms as criteria of acceptable masculinity.

Other participants also spoke about feeling left out and pressurised to have sex if they don't compete and don't have girlfriends that they are sleeping with.

> ***P4****: Maybe there is a group of boys and they are talking about how they had sex with their girlfriends and all those things. That is when I feel the pressure.*
>
> **P8:** *In my community when you don't have a girlfriend you just feel like you have been left out... cos, as boys we definitely talk about sex and yes... we impress one another by talking about 'eish bafana, I fucked this girl at my house'... 'that's nice and I am thinking about fucking her friend'. Those kinds of things... and then you feel like you are living a dream. But if you don't have a girlfriend as he is treating girls like he is just crushing cockroaches or something of the sort... when people tell you that you don't have a girlfriend you just feel inside yourself or something. These guys... they feel so very left out.*
>
> ***P9****: It's like everyone having a pair of sneakers and you don't have.*

It appears that a large part of male bonding appears in the form of conversations about female conquest and success. Boys that are not successful with girls or boys that do not compete and participate in womanising and having multiple girlfriends, appear to feel very left out, isolated and alone. It appears these feelings of isolation and exclusion that the boys describe above often result in pressure for boys to gain more sexual experience and success with girls. In addition, the boys explain feeling inadequate around sexually experienced boys, if they themselves are inexperienced. These feelings of inadequacy also may result in boys feeling pressure to gain sexual experience at any cost. This could result in young boys forcing unwilling girls to have sex with them.

4.2.4.3 Conclusion

This competing that has been discussed above was seen in the third focus group where the participants were actively competing with each other about how many girls they have had sex with. It appears that this competing allows one to prove ones masculinity and gain respect for being 'man enough'. According to Vogelman (1990) peer-group socialisation has been a powerful predictor of sexually aggressive behaviour in young men. These results give evidence of Varga's (2003) statement that acceptance into a peer group requires a boy gaining respect or *'ukuhlonipha'* of their peer group through showing

dominance and sexual success with girlfriends. In addition, it appears that these boys' current insecurities about being 'man enough' are intensified by their need to act 'macho' in public. This appears to be played out in their relationships with girls and their need to demonstrate their ability to control their girlfriends. It appears, consistent with reports from Wood and Jewkes (2001) that these boys tend to feel left out, insecure and unconfident when they fail to measure up to other stronger, sexually experienced boys. Furthermore, it also appears that from the above results, there is some evidence that this leads to faulty methods of problem solving, for instance giving in to peer pressure and competition or engaging in sexually aggressive or violent ways in order to establish and demonstrate their masculinity.

4.2.4.4 Dealing with peer pressure and competing for girlfriends

The participants mentioned different methods of dealing with peer pressure and competition. Some participants mentioned giving in to some pressures, like smoking, drinking and being with girls. Others try to remind themselves that the pressure will pass when they leave school. One participant mentioned trying to get involved with friends that have a good influence on him. The following quotes demonstrate some of these methods of dealing with peer pressure and competing:

> ***P4:*** *As boys, we do compete but I must remember that when school finishes it will be different and the pressure will be gone. I have to study and get a Matric and I can't be spending time on girls and competing cos it will distract me very much and then I can't do my school work. We are all school children and we must get a better life. I have one best friend who I mostly hang out with, he gives me good advice. We mostly walk together, but when I walk with others and I see that things are getting out of the way then I take myself home. Sometimes the pressure is just too much. I will keep quiet and think maybe I should find a girlfriend so I can be accepted. Sometimes I even smoke myself, which I know in my heart I don't want to do.*

> ***P5:*** *I sometimes stick to myself, I listen to myself and tell myself 'hey, don't let them get to you, just do what you want to do'. Sometimes I do give in and drink to be a part of the group, even though I am a churchgoer and don't want to drink and other times I will just go to a lady, it doesn't matter if I like her just to prove that I am not scared of girls and that I am man enough.*

It appears that both these participants have different methods of trying to stay clear of peer pressure. Participant 4 reminds himself that after Matric things will be very different and not giving in to peer pressure will help him to achieve a '*better life'* in later years. It appears that he tries to remind himself that if he can survive the pressure now, he will be happier later. Participant 5 also tries to talk to himself and tell himself not to allow the comments of his peers to 'get to him'. However this seems to be quite a difficult task for an individual going through adolescence, a stage of development, marked by impulsivity, fragility and insecurity. This is evidenced by the fact that even though Participant 4 tries to think about his future and tries to mix with good friends, and participant 5 tries to stick to himself and listen to himself, they still do give in to peer pressure at times.

Some participants spoke about lying to their friends as a way of dealing with the pressure.

> ***P2:*** *There are some other brothers who drink alcohol and smoke weed, those brothers are really disturbed. Even if they speak to you as a young kid, they will tell you to do things like 'fuck her'. I have this one brother who only speaks to me when he is drunk and he tells me that I should do this and get a chick and don't let her out and fuck her. I learnt in school about peer pressure and how to control myself. I would just laugh and he would then think that obviously I am going to do it... I just laugh so afterwards he won't ask me that 'did you do it?' He will just tell you what and not ask 'did you do it?' But if he does ask then I will lie and just say that I did it, even if I don't.*

Here participant 2 describes a situation where he is being pressured to coerce a girl into having sex with him. It appears that the boy that is pressurising him has significant power and perhaps respect in the community for being a 'bad guy' through smoking drinking and womanising. Participant 2 appears to find it very difficult to tell this boy that he does not want to pressurise a girl to sleep with him, he instead feels the need to lie, or rather give the boy the impression that he is listening and agreeing by laughing alongside him. Perhaps participant 2 was afraid of being ridiculed and teased for not agreeing with this boy and asserting his own thoughts and opinions on the matter. It appears that this fear of being ostracised or ridiculed is what perhaps drives boys to assert their masculinity in ways that are affirmed by the peer group and in doing so often give into peer pressure.

Participant 2 continues to state that *'if you are strong enough emotionally you will control yourself. Like if they say 'you are stupid' and you say' well, I don't care, as long as I know what I*

want in life.' It appears participant 2 believes that not giving in to peer pressure comes with being emotionally mature and confident enough to stick up for oneself and not rely on external affirmation and others approval and acceptance. It appears that this is a difficult task for some of the participants, (including participant 2 who was unable to do this in the scenario above) who still strongly rely on external affirmation and support, especially those that strongly value the respect and status that comes with acceptance into a peer group.

Finally, it was felt that in order to deal with the pressure of being successful with girls, some boys resort to raping girls.

> ***P6:*** *There are some boys that can't take the pressure and will rape to tell their friends. It depends on what type of boy you are. If you are strong then you will tell yourself that you don't care and will wait for a girlfriend and then you won't do it Other boys that come from bad friends, they can't wait because they will want to be with those friends. Those are the boys that rape.*

It appears that there are times when the pressure is just too intense for some insecure adolescents whose identity is still too fragile and reliant on external affirmation. It appears that this is the time when there is real danger of a boy giving in to peer pressure and in some cases raping a girl to be accepted by a group of friends.

Conclusion

It appears that in order to gain the respect of one's peers, having multiple sexual partners is ranked very highly. From the results, it appears that the peer pressure that these boys are facing to be sexually confident and successful is often immense and overwhelming. It seems that some of the boys in the study have developed some methods of coping with pressure and in doing so are following more healthy masculine scripts of masculinity. These boys also appear to be rejecting hegemonic masculine norms of masculinity and are displaying more progressive ideas and ways of displaying their masculine identity. However, on the whole, it appears that many of the boys in this study have, at times, given in to peer pressure in order to be accepted into a peer group. It is therefore those progressive voices that one needs to promote to develop more healthy masculine scripts. This is especially important since, according to Vogelman (1990), the most frequently

used means of coping with the inability to conquer a woman is not accepting a woman's refusal, and coercing her to sleep with you. It appears that although the boys in this study do not admit to using such faulty methods in dealing with the pressure, they do allude to other boys in their communities resorting to these faulty methods of problem solving.

As demonstrated above, the peer group appears to have had a strong influence in the attitudes, values and behaviour of these adolescent males. The peer group's ability to pressurise individuals to conform in order to become an *isoka* and gain respect and *ukuhlonipha*, makes it an effective instrument in reinforcing stereotypical sex role behaviour.

4.2.5 THE INFLUENCE OF MEDIA

From the interviews it has been found that the media, specifically television and movies, appears to have played a role in both educating boys about sex and influencing the boys to engage in sexual relationships. For instance, some of the participants explained that it was from television that they learnt about sex and through this learning, which came in the form of physically seeing sexual intercourse on television, they felt they were then tempted to explore their sexuality and engage in sexual intercourse, even at a young age. These results therefore appear to provide evidence for Gruber and Trau (2003) who found that televised sexual content may induce adolescents to follow sexual scripts, and tempt them to experiment with sex, even when they might not have adequate knowledge about it or are mature enough to understand the emotional impact of sex. The following quotes demonstrate these notions:

> ***P1:*** *I first learnt about sex by watching porn. I saw it in a shop in Alexandra. It was late, I had watched a game of soccer and after 10 they put the porn movie on. When I see this I thought 'I must do this'.*
>
> ***P9:*** *I had seen sex on TV and then I wanted to do that thing.*

Both participant 1 and 9 explain that it was only after they saw pornographic movies and sexual content on television that they felt the desire to experiment with sex. This gives evidence to the importance of media in influencing adolescents to experiment with sex.

The influence of media was explored by Schneider, Cockcroft and Hook (2008) who researched the effect of South African magazines on male sexuality. It appears that South African magazines promoted the notion that sex is a competitive domain in which the mastery of sexual practice is seen as pertinent. It additionally appears that the media promotes and encourages males to become more sexually experienced and competent with women.

Further, participant 2 talks about how, after watching pornographic content on television, or seeing their parents having sex, many boys will feel sexually aroused and want to experiment with sex. He goes on to explain that it is this sexual arousal that will influence young boys to rape:

> ***P2:*** *If your parents leave you alone while you are still young and your parents watch TV, video's and porn and stuff and leave it lying around. Then you think of a girl and you see your sister and you go for her and you do it. Those kids are doing something that they saw. If they saw it on TV then they will do it, if they saw their parents doing it then they will also do it. I didn't see at all and then I won't do it to people,*

Participant 2 explains that it is after a young boy witnesses individuals having sex that he will want to experience it. It appears that participant 2 thinks that a young boy's lack of knowledge, coupled with watching pornographic movies and seeing your parents having sex at a young age can even influence a young boy to rape a girl, even his sibling. Further, in line with Dahlbäck et al.*'s* (2003) findings there appears to be a lack of parental guidance and control over what children watch on television. A number of boys mentioned learning about sex after watching pornographic movies, which some of them saw in their homes, either after their parents had left these movies lying around the house, or out in the streets at a shebeen or even at a friend's house.

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4.3 RAPE SUPPORTIVE MYTHS/ATTITUDES

4.3.1 WHERE DID THE BOYS LEARN ABOUT SEX?

As mentioned above, some of the participants learnt about sex through the media, mainly television and pornographic movies. In addition to the media, some participants learnt about sex from visually watching people having sex on the streets in Alexandra Township or by living in a one bedroom house and seeing their parents having sex.

> ***P2:*** *Some other kids do it because they live in one room with their parents and their parents are doing it right in front of those kids. They think that those kids are sleeping and those kids don't know what is happening and then they go do that outside. That is why there is too much rape. Also, a lot of people are having sex on the street.*
>
> ***P1:*** *You see, the thing is, it's a small township Alexandra, very very small and it has got too many people in it and honestly speaking we do do things on the street. I don't want to lie, people do funny things. Like having sex on the street. Can you believe it? At the end of the day I saw some people having sex on the street. I used to know about sex but I had never seen people doing it.*

In addition to learning about sex in inappropriate ways, for instance, watching their parents having sex or seeing people having sex on the street, it appears that this method of learning about sex encourages boys to want to experiment with sex themselves, even when they might not have the appropriate knowledge and maturity to know what they are doing and understand the emotional and physical costs of having sex. This is additionally what participant 2 believes may be the cause of rape in the townships. The rest of the participants learnt about sex either from their friends, or occasionally from an older sibling. One participant mentioned learning about sex at school from his friends and teachers and another mentioned that he gets information about sex from his doctor, as he does not have siblings who he can talk to about sex.

> ***P6:*** *I don't have a brother, I only have a sister and I find it difficult to talk about it, sometimes I do listen to my doctor who tells me things and says that you can get affected by such things. Like things about HIV and STDs. He tells me that I must protect myself and I must use a condom.*

It seems like participant 6 feels like it is not an option to talk to his sister, a female, about sexual matters. He therefore is forced to rely on his doctor to educate him. It appears that the participants in this study have been socialised to believe that they cannot talk to females about sex, this was evidenced by the fact that many of the participants were very surprised that they were able to talk to the researcher, a female, about sexual matters. For many of the participants in the study, this was their first experience of talking to a female about sex. Moreover, in addition to feeling like one cannot talk to females about sex, none of the participants felt it was viable to talk to their parents about sex and hence none of the participants were educated about sex by their parents. In fact, some felt it to be disrespectful to even talk about sex to older family members.

> ***P5:*** *In my culture we don't talk about sex. If I talk about sex then I feel like I disrespect people in some way. I don't talk with my parents.*
>
> ***P1:*** *Black people cannot talk to their parents about dating. I never got information from my parents because my parents are too old to talk to me. As blacks, we talk to people our own age.*

It appears that some boys often do not learn suitable information about sex because culturally they have been led to believe that it is inappropriate to talk about sex with their parents or other community members. In fact, they have even been given the message that it is disrespectful to talk about such matters with elders. This prevents adolescent boys from enquiring about sexual matters and asking questions about issues they are unsure of, thus preventing a process of learning about appropriate safe sexual practices. After being socialised to believe that it is inappropriate to talk about sex, it is no wonder that these boys learn about sex by chance and often pick up false or dangerous information.

According to Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) boys are rarely provided with the information, guidance and knowledge about sex that they require. In addition, from the above results and current studies, it can be seen that boys are actively encouraged by peers and community members to engage in sexual experimentation during their adolescent years (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Nzioka, 2001). However, it appears that at the same time girls are expected to defer to men, thus reinforcing the notion that boys pursue and seek out girls and that boys may enjoy a measure of sexual

latitude over girls. Men and boys are also expected to know everything about sex, or else their masculinity is brought into question, and hence boys often pretend to know everything about sex. Yet privately and secretly, they may very well lack the knowledge. Therefore they often conform to the expected sexual norms and practices of other boys or community members, individuals that may themselves be lacking in knowledge and safe sexual practices (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007).

It appears that either parents feel that traditionally it is not acceptable to talk to their children about sexual matters or perhaps parents themselves do not have enough knowledge to educate their children. It appears that even though parents are considered to be the most appropriate primary source of education and guidance for children, the participants in this study agreed with the participants in Dahlbäck et al.*'s* (2003) study who felt that most adolescent boys cannot talk to their parents about sexual and reproductive matters. They too felt that parents are not able to talk to their children about such matters, and that while some parents don't have the appropriate knowledge to discuss or advise the younger generation, it was felt that others do not want to (Dahlbäck et al., 2003; Kaufman & Stavrou, 2004). It appears that due to this lack of appropriate knowledge and education, children are forced to learn about sex by chance, or by older siblings who perhaps also do not have adequate education. Other children are forced to rely on society and their community to educate them about sex. It is not surprising then, that this faulty process of education would lead to misinformation about sex which could lead to acceptance of rape myths.

4.3.2 INFORMATION/MISINFORMATION

It appears that the type of information that the participants get told about sex is often dependent on the types of role models they have accepted into their lives and the type of friends that they spend time with. It appears that some role models give some good advice, for instance:

> ***P2:*** *Some tell you that... please... whatever you do, use a condom because having a child is not easy. It is something that you have to take care of for the rest of your life.*

> ***P3:*** *Teachers, they tell you that you must wait until you are ready before you have sex and that you must use protection because there are a lot of diseases.*
>
> ***P4:*** *When I was young my brother started talking to me about a girl that was my friend. As time went by he said 'you must not sleep with her, you are too young' and stuff and I must make sure I don't find myself in that situation.*

Here, these three participants have been told helpful information from either their older brothers or a teacher at school who has their best interests at heart. There are however, other friends and role models that give false information, or bad advice. This is the type of information and myths that once internalised can encourage rape or rape supportive ideas and attitudes. Some of this negative or false information that has been told to the participants will be discussed in the rape myths below. However, here are some examples of negative information suggested by some negative role models:

> ***P2:*** *Other brothers they will tell you that you have to do this. They say 'you see that chick?' and you say 'yeah' and they say 'you have to fuck her.... dangerously!'*
>
> ***P6:*** *They tell you to have sex without a condom. It is very stupid. They say that they enjoy to have sex without a condom. They say it is very different.*

These two participants have been given very dangerous advice that can lead to unsafe sexual practices. According to Koss and Harvey (1991) society is often the cause of rape promoting myths and attitudes. Moreover, it is some of the above mentioned bad advice or misinformation that can result in the internalizations of these myths or attitudes (Lewis, 2000; Robertson, 1998). It additionally appears that the adolescents in this study have been readily exposed to this type of bad advice and misinformation and hence many of them have been socialised to believe and accept such myths. The following sections will further discuss the various rape myths and whether this misinformation and bad advice has led the acceptance of rape supportive attitudes and myths.

4.3.3 VICTIM PRECIPITATION

It appears that many of the participants feel that rape is often precipitated by the woman and hence can be prevented by her actions:

> ***P2:*** *Rape can be prevented by the woman. Especially if she was raped by her boyfriend then I would probably think- what did you do to get yourself in this situation?*

Here participant 2 advocates blame to the woman for getting raped, particularly if she has had a relationship with the male, and would have perhaps previously consented to sex, indicating that she is a willing sexual partner. Participant 2 implies that there is something that she has done to get herself into that situation, therefore taking the blame away from the perpetrator who raped her and instead putting it on to the victim. This is consistent with the popular view that the rape victim in many instances leads the rapist actively into temptation (Burgees, 1985) and that blame is often advocated to the female victim. In addition to this, many victims have reported that when they reported the rape to the police, they have felt that they have been the one that is on trial and not the perpetrator (Lewis, 2000; Mgoqi, 2006).

Many participants implied blame towards the female for tempting the male to rape her by wearing revealing or provocative clothing. The following statements clearly demonstrate this sentiment:

> ***P1:*** *Those men are raping those woman because of their wants, especially when there are the girls that will do anything to attract you. I think girls should wear comfortable dresses and hide their bodies**.** Ok, you see… I think that you can only wear those things in your house. Like, say I invite you for dinner or something and you come to my house wearing those things and there are just the two of us in my house. And then she will always come to you and stand close and on top of you. Now come on, what is that? She is giving you a message. I mean you can only wear those things when you are out with your mum or cousin. But there are those girls that dress like that to the clubs, wearing those things. I mean.. come on… it is saying ' let's have it' and any guy will have it.*
>
> ***P2:*** *Many chicks wear mini skirts and I will be watching TV and you see those programmes when they have sex. When you see a girl wearing a mini skirt you get that thing in your mind saying 'Go for it... Go for it!' That's why guys rape*

because of how girls dress. She is definitely asking for it. If she was not, she would be wearing a trouser or a long skirt. She would not have her legs open and her boobs out.

P4: *Boobs are a woman's private part and she should choose to protect them. No guy should see those boobs. It is definitely her fault if she is dressed like that and a guy takes advantage of her. A guy gets tempted because of what she is wearing not because it was his intention... maybe it gets to the point where he sleeps with her and rapes her. If a girl is wearing a mini skirt we will pay attention to her but if she goes to the party and she is wearing a long skirt or maybe a jean and a t-shirt that covers her boobs, we wouldn't pay too much attention to her and she won't get raped.*

These three participants all talk about the arousal a man feels when he is 'tempted' by revealing clothing worn by a woman. They seem to feel that in order to prevent rape, girls should not dress in provocative clothing and should instead cover their bodies. When describing the effect that revealing clothing has on a man, the use of the wording *'let's have it'* described by participant 1 and *'go for it'* stated by participant 2 implies that the woman is purposefully enticing and stimulating the man's sexual drive. In line Hollways' (2001) male sex drive discourse, these participants believe that men's sexual drive, once aroused becomes out of his control. All three above quotes infer that once man's sexual drive is aroused it becomes unmanageable, and then he can no longer be responsible for acting upon it and raping a girl. The woman is thought to be aware of this and hence it is thought that she should be more responsible in the way that she 'entices' men and evokes their 'uncontrollable' sex drives.

A girl's actions, and the way she behaves was also mentioned as important factors for preventing rape. It was felt that many boys in this study interpret a girl's heavy drinking, as a cue that she is looking to have sex, and the thought of a girl wanting sex will then stimulate a man's sexual drive (Hollway, 2001). It was felt that if a girl were to control herself, not get drunk and not entice boys with the way she dances or dresses then rape would not occur. The understanding here is that she would not be enticing a man's sexual drive to the point that he is no longer in control of his actions and would need to rape the women to satisfy his sexual instinct.

Further, it was felt that in order to avoid being raped, a girl should never walk alone at night time and must be very careful in accepting drinks and gifts from a boy, and especially accepting to come home with a boy.

> ***P2:*** *If a guy approaches a girl and says 'can I buy you a drink?' they should speak about it first. 'She must ask 'after you buy me a drink, what is going to happen?' She knows what he wants.*
>
> ***P8:*** *She knows that if she comes to my house then she is accepting to have sex with me. She knows exactly she is not stupid.*

As will be discussed later in this chapter, these participants feel that girls should be aware that if they go home with a boy or accept a gift from him, then she is giving out a message that she is consenting to sex. Moreover, these participants are of the belief system that girls are in fact aware of the sexual cues that they send out to males, and as both participant 2 and 8 imply, girls are not as naive about a boys intentions as they make themselves out to be. Hence, it is believed they should take more responsibility for preventing dangerous situations where they are faced with a man's uncontrollable sex drive. Here is a belief that because a girl 'knows' that accepting a drink or going home with a boy means that she is arousing his uncontrollable sexual drive (by implying she is willing to have sex with him) then she should not accept the drink or invitation unless she is ready and willing to follow through on her intentions and have sex with him. Here again, believing in Hollways' (2001) notion that once aroused, a man has no control over his sexual impulses, allows boys to think that it is then a woman's responsibility to make sure she does not unnecessarily arouse a man that she has no intentions sleeping with, because once aroused he is no longer in control and is no longer accountable for his actions.

Further, due to the above mentioned concerns that a woman, often knowingly, gives a man the impression that she wants to have sex by the way that she dresses or acts, it is often believed that if she really does not want to have sex with the man then she should actively fight the man off and be sure to let him know that she is not interested in having sex with him:

> ***P2:*** *If she doesn't scream for help or go straight to the police... means that you enjoyed it, it was not rape.... at the end of the day she always forgets how she says 'no'. She said no but she was laughing and then she goes to the police and says 'he raped me'. If a girl was fighting I would believe her and if she didn't fight I don't really know what I would think. I would probably think 'what did you do to stop him?' If she says 'nothing' then obviously he couldn't have raped her because she has done nothing to stop him. If you are serious enough you need to show the guy and fight.*
>
> ***P3****: I think the woman should be aggressive, angry, fight back to say 'no'*

Mogapi (2000) states that the myth of victim precipitation implies that it is not what the man does that defines rape but what the women does to stop him raping her that is important. Here it is believed that only if a woman puts up a real fight, screams, gets aggressive and actively tries to stop the attacker, would it then be considered rape if he then still rapes her. The implication here is that if she does not fight to prevent being raped, then perhaps she was irresponsible in demonstrating her unwillingness for sex and perhaps gave the man the impression that she did in fact want to sleep with him, hence rendering him innocent if he interpreted her actions to mean that she was a willing partner. In addition, there is the idea that she may have done something to entice him or lead him to believe that she wanted to have sex with him.

Conclusion

From the results it appears that many of the participants believe that many men rape due to the various risky behaviours that some girls display, for instance accepting gifts, going home with boys, drinking alcohol or even dressing in revealing clothing. From the above statements it appears that there is often an assumption made by the boy that by partaking in these high risk behaviours like drinking or wearing revealing clothing the female is consenting to sexual relations with him. Consequently her withdrawal prior to the act is seen by the boys as irresponsible.

Moreover, it appears that many of the participants in this study often assign responsibility for rape to the girls, whom they find irresponsible and at times even deserving of being raped. From their beliefs, the participants seem to have also endorsed the notion that rape is a woman's responsibility. This in turn coincides with Vogelman's (1990) definition of

victim precipitation where it is felt that woman choosing to enter certain vulnerable situations must assume a level of risk. The above results and notions are also supported by May and Strikwerda **(**1994) who state that the victim precipitation myth promotes that females who are sexually promiscuous, go home with a man or wear revealing clothes are seen as a precipitant to the rape. These above quotes give an indication of the belief systems of these participants and show how they have appeared to have accepted and internalised this rape supportive myth. Moreover, it may be worrying that acceptance of the myth of victim perpetuation may provoke perpetration of the crime of rape and sexual assault (Burgees, 1985).

4.3.4 A BOYFRIEND CAN RAPE A GIRLFRIEND

At first, most of the participants felt that it is possible for a boyfriend to rape a girlfriend; especially if she is making him wait a long time to have sex with her or if a girl is refusing to sleep with her boyfriend at all.

> ***P4:*** *Yes, a boyfriend can rape a girlfriend. Sometimes you will find a girl that doesn't want to have sex and she tells her boyfriend and then he just rapes her.*

> ***P5:*** *I think that a boyfriend can rape a girlfriend cos let's just say I have a girlfriend and let's say she is a virgin and is waiting for marriage, I can't hold on that long and I have to rape her.*

Here participant 4 and 5 feel that it is possible for a boyfriend that is sexually frustrated to rape his girlfriend. There is a belief that a boys' sexual drive is so potent that it is almost impossible for him to wait for marriage to have sex with his girlfriend, and would therefore have no other choice but to rape her. These results give evidence to Ratele et al.'s (2007) statement that some boys believe that males more than just 'desire' sex; and that males need sex with females on pain of insanity. Moreover, there is a belief that the male need for heterosexual sex is a maddening potent obligation (Ratele et al., 2007). Hence, the notion that a man's sexual drive is uncontrollable allows boys to believe that he 'needs' to satisfy his sexual drive and then has no other choice but to rape his girlfriend. After discussing this concept further, most of the participants felt that it was

impossible to rape a girl in a relationship where a boyfriend and girlfriend have already slept together. For instance:

> ***P9:*** *No, that is stupid! If you are already having sex with a girlfriend, you can't rape her because you are already doing that thing.*
>
> ***P3:*** *It is not possible to rape someone that you are already having sex with because they are already used to having sex. It is really impossible because they are already having sex. If it happens then they don't know each other very well.*
>
> ***P6:*** *I don't think it is possible, girls that have been raped by their boyfriends. I don't think that it is true.*

These participants are of the belief that once a girl has consented to sex with her boyfriend, she forfeits her right to refuse it in the future. This then gives a boy the impression that it is impossible for a boy to rape his girlfriend because she has consented to sex in the past. This notion is very dangerous as it allows boys to think that once a girl has consented to sex then she is consenting to allow her boyfriend to have sex with her at any time that he wishes. This in turn allows boys to justify having sex with a girlfriend even if she refuses him or is not in the mood to have sex and allows boys sexual leverage and control over girls in relationships.

Similarly, this notion is supported by Mogapi (2000) who found that if a woman claimed she has been raped by her husband or boyfriend then she had no case for rape. It is speculated that this is because very little is said about cases where woman are raped by men they know and trust, particularly their lovers and that rape constitutes only those cases where the rapist is an acquaintance or stranger (Cowan & Campbell, 1995). Moreover, according to Mgoqi (2006), and in line with the above results, rape myth beliefs have been mostly applied to rape from an acquaintance or lover rather than stranger rape. Moreover, a large variety of sex role expectations and rape supportive beliefs appear to be incorporated into perceptions of date rape, or rape where the woman is well known to the male, as opposed to stranger rape (Bridges, 1991). It appears that from the above results and the belief from the participants that a boyfriend can only rape a girlfriend if they have not yet had sex, that rape myth acceptance from the participants

appears to be more endorsed with date or relationship sexual assault and rape than stranger rape.

4.3.5 GIRLS ENJOY BEING RAPED

All of the participants disagreed with the concept that girls enjoy being raped. They felt that girls undergo a trauma when being raped and are emotional and traumatized after being raped. Participant 1 however felt that instead perhaps it is boys rather than girls that enjoy being raped.

> ***P1:*** *I don't think chicks enjoy being raped. I think males enjoy being raped. If someone had to just walk into my house and force me to sleep with them, then I would be happy. If a chick wants to sleep with me and thinks I am better than those guys then I am on top of the world.*

Participant 1 talks about the fact that if a guy were to be raped he would feel like he is on top of the world, as it means that a girl has chosen to sleep with him over all the other boys she could choose to sleep with. This just shows what sex means to a boy in the adolescent stage of development. It appears that the act of sex itself gives a boy a sense of pride and accomplishment, increasing his self esteem because he believes that he is 'man enough', as a girl wanted to have sex with him. This just demonstrates the danger of sex during this stage, as it can be misused as a way to fuel a boy's esteem in adolescence, without the boy taking the risks of the sexual encounter into account.

However, it appears that all the boys in this study did not agree with and endorse the rape supportive myth that girls enjoy being raped. This goes against Mogapi (2000), who found that many young boys hold the view that girls enjoy being raped and that the ignorance related to this myth can play a contributing role in rape. This study therefore does not give evidence for this myth being a contributing factor to the incidence of rape and shows that perhaps boys are becoming less ignorant and more educated when it comes to sex.

4.3.6 SLEEPING WITH A VIRGIN CURES HIV/AIDS

None of the participants believed in the myth that sleeping with a virgin cures HIV/AIDS. Only one participant mentioned that he had heard this myth when he was younger, in grade 8 and that although he felt he was young and naive at the time, he did not believe this myth. Other boys felt that it is only uneducated boys from the rural areas that would believe in such a myth.

> ***P2:*** *No, whether she is a virgin or not, if she is HIV then you will get infected and if you are HIV then she will get infected.*
>
> ***P5****: No, you crazy! There are some boys from rural area's that believe that because they do not get information. We here, get educated. Culture in the rural area is the most important thing. If you tell them that they are wrong they will say, 'well this is what I have been told and the way I have been brought up, so you will be scared to tell them'. They won't change*
>
> ***P7:*** *I mean what would make a virgin so special that a virgin can take that away.*

It appears that the participants from this study do not support this rape myth. Moreover, these results give further evidence to Jewkes, Martin and Loveday (2002) who have challenged the virgin myth explanation and believe other factors are to blame for rape. However, there is some evidence that this myth may give some evidence for the increase in adolescent and child (virginal) rape committed in rural South Africa. This provides evidence for Richter (2003), who stated that the virgin cleaning myth is widely held in rural areas and informal settlements in South Africa. According to Richters' (2003) account, the high HIV environment in the rural areas without the public access to treatment and education creates conditions of hopelessness in which bogus cures proliferate. Therefore, he states that it is individuals in this setting that are more likely to endorse and believe this rape myth.

4.3.7 SPERM CAN BUILD UP AND MAKE YOU SICK

It appears that some of the participants have heard the myth that sperm can build up in the body and make you sick. For instance:

> ***P4:*** *Like... they say that if you don't have sex then you have lots of salt in your body and the salt can go to your head and make you stupid. Those are the kinds of things that they say. There is this thing that your body will fill up with sperms. They say that when you have pimples on your face- those pimples are from sperm in your body because you are not having sex.*
>
> ***P5:*** *Before I became sexually active, I had those friends that would tell me that if I did not have sex then I would get something horrid... you will get mad, these sperms will go to your head and stuff like that. If I am 21/22 and have not had sex then the semen's will go to my head. Then if I get to 30 then my penis won't erect.*

This myth prompts boys to believe that if they don't have sex then they will be putting both their mental and physical health in danger, by believing that if they abstain from sex then they risk becoming stupid, getting pimples, getting something 'horrid' or even risking not being able to get an erection. One can therefore understand that a belief in this myth can be scary for young boys who don't know better. Participant 5 talks about his perception of this myth stating '*I was worried that it might happen. When you are younger you can let these negative thoughts impact on your mind, causing some to rape'*. Therefore, it was even felt this myth has the potential to impact on you in such a way, that the fear it creates could even encourage young boy to rape a girl.

It appears that acceptance of this rape myth has varied amongst the boys, depending on whether or not they had a trustworthy source where they could question this information, like an older sibling. For instance:

> ***P4:*** *I know now that it is not true because my brother told me it is not true*

Participant 4 therefore challenges and rejects this myth in stating that he knows it is not true. Therefore there are some boys that will reject this myth, especially those that have a trustworthy source where they can question information of which they are unsure. Age also appears to be a factor, as it is felt that when one is younger and more naive and

scared, it is easier to let these myths impact on you. It appears that this myth, even though it might be common among adolescent boys in South Africa (Varga, 2003) may not be readily accepted and internalized. However, there is evidence that this myth, if it is accepted and internalized, particularly by young boys, has the potential to frighten many young boys and pressurize and prompt them to have sex, when either they or their partners may not be ready and willing (Varga, 2003).

4.3.8 RAPIST AS A MASOCHIST

For many of the participants, their idea of a rapist is someone who is either mentally unstable or who is very intoxicated (from drugs or alcohol). It was generally felt that 'normal' guys don't rape.

> ***P9:*** *Maybe the people who rape are some people who are drunk or people who have serious problems. Maybe they are mentally disturbed. Normal guys don't do that.*

This myth, perpetuated by the media and society, deceptively plants the picture of a rapist as someone who is not 'normal'. It appears that these boys have internalized this myth which suggests that a woman should be able to tell a rapist from a 'normal' man (Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Mogapi, 2000). The danger in this is that it gives both men and women the impression that a 'normal' boy will not rape a girl. It also allows boys to think that they are not raping a woman, even when coercing her to sleep with him, because they believe they are not mentally disturbed and are 'normal'. Moreover, it allows women to think that there is something that she must have done to cause this 'normal' man to sexually assault her (Mogapi, 2000).

4.3.9 CONCLUSION

In line with research findings that heterosexual men are likely to endorse rape myths, (Aromaeki, Haebich & Lindman, 2002; Cowan & Campbell, 1995; Davies & McCartney, 2003), it appears that the participants in this study do in fact endorse some, but not all, rape myths. From the above results it appears that some rape myths are quite heavily

accepted by the participants. For instance, many of the participants blame girls for rape by putting themselves in a vulnerable position to get raped. In addition, the majority of the boys believed that one cannot rape a girlfriend in a relationship where she has already consented to sex. Finally, the boys also believe in the myth that rapists are masochists, a discourse that is often used to absolve perpetrators of rape. The internalisations of these myths can be dangerous as they might contribute to the incidence of rape.

However, some of the other myths like, girls enjoy being raped, sleeping with a virgin cures HIV/AIDS and that sperm can build up and make you sick were less believed and accepted by the participants. Therefore, in contrast to many studies claiming that these myths contribute to the incidence of rape, (Adams, 2006; Mogapi, 2000; Richter, 2003; Varga, 2003) this study does not support this notion. This also shows that perhaps boys are becoming less ignorant to some rape myths and are becoming more educated in some aspects when it comes to sex. Therefore, even though the participants do display some rape supportive attitudes and beliefs, they did not believe and display acceptance to all the rape myths. However, the internalisation of the 'victim precipitation', 'a boyfriend can rape a girlfriend' and 'a rapist as a masochist' myths may have effected how they internalise and conceptualise rape, sexual consent and sexual relations with the opposite sex, which will be outlined below.

4.4 SEXUAL CONSENT

4.4.1 WHAT AGE DO BOYS START TO HAVE SEX?

The majority of the participants mentioned that boys in their community start to have sexual intercourse at a very young age, and according to the boys in the study, in some cases start engaging in sexual practices as early as 9 or 10 years of age.

> ***P2:*** *I see little kids, and I mean little kids... at the age of 10 years. 9 years... they do such things.*
>
> ***P4:*** *Even 9 year old.. 10 year old children, they can do it. You see a 12 year old girl that is pregnant and you ask yourself 'how did that happen?*

P7: *I would say 10 years... ya, that's what I would say.*

It appears that boys are starting to engage with sex at a very young age, even as young as the age of 9 or 10. In many cases this is even before many boys have even been educated about sex or understand the emotional and physical dangers surrounding it. Two of the participants stated that they thought that boys start to engage in sexual intercourse when they get to high school, around the ages of 13-15.

> ***P8:*** *I would say 13 years, 13 years and upwards... with girls it is something else but boys it is 13...*
>
> ***P5:*** *It happens at about 13/14 when you go from Primary School to High School.*

Most of the participants themselves lost their virginity around the age of 16, with only one participant still a virgin and one participant losing his virginity at a very early, at the age of 8. However, it was found that all the participants felt that the age boys start to have sex is getting increasingly younger.

> ***P6:*** *Our group started when we were 15/16 but now you hear of young boys and young girls. It's getting young. You can see a 10 year old having sex. A 10 year old is pregnant and in love with an 11 year old.*
>
> ***P9:*** *To be honest, I had sex when I was 8 years old. I was in Primary School and there was this girl. So the whole thing happened in the classroom. We were punished, I can't remember what we did. I was having sex for the first time. I don't want to lie to you, I did not enjoy it. You know when you are young... you want to know these things and do them. You want to do it with anyone but you don't know what you are doing. Anyway, it kept going on for another week. I did it again the next time when I was about 16.*

These results coincide with Buseh's (2004) study of the patterns of sexual behaviour among secondary school students in Swaziland, reporting that sexual activity is common among 15-19 year olds. From the above results it appears that the majority of the boys in the study were sexually active before or either by the time they turned 16. In addition, it appears that the age that boys are starting to have sex is getting even younger and children of 9 or 10 years are even engaging in sex (or even younger as participant 9 demonstrates). This too supports Buseh's (2004) study that found that many male students had initiated sexual intercourse before the age of 13 years. In addition, sex

education for boys and girls needs to start at a younger age, before the age of 9, in order to try prevent unsafe sexual practices at a very young age.

4.4.2 STORIES AND DEFINITIONS OF RAPE

All the participants had seen or heard stories about girls being raped in their community. In most cases they had heard of stories of boys drugging girls at parties, or getting them drunk and raping them. In addition, in most of the stories, there were explanations of more than one boy raping a girl, they explained that on average there are 4 boys who decide to rape one girl.

> ***P6:*** *Sometimes you find the boys at parties give the girls drugs and all that stuff and rape them.*
>
> ***P3:*** *Most of the guys, they get the girls drunk, give her drugs and then they have sex. I have seen this in Alex. At parties they buy girls the drinks, get her drunk and rape her.*
>
> ***P4:*** *You will find at parties, there are at least 4 guys that want to rape the same girl. They give her a lot of alcohol and a lot of drugs so that she becomes very high and then they can rape her. I would say it happens at almost every single party.*

Therefore, there appear to be many strategies that boys utilise in order to have sex with girls. It appears that one of the most popular methods of raping a girl is drugging her. Perhaps, prevention programmes need to educate girls and help them to become aware of the strategies that boys utilise to rape girls at parties. Moreover, these participants explain that rape is more often seen as a group activity at parties and is committed in groups of 4 or more boys. Therefore the influence of the peer group and gang rape is perhaps something that needs urgent attention.

When asked to define rape, the participants answered as follows:

> ***P2:*** *When a man forces himself on the other person and she says 'no'.*
>
> ***P5:*** *When you are with a girl and you tell her that you want to have sex and she says 'no' and you force her. That's rape.*
>
> ***P8:*** *It is a very clear case that when you are about to stick it in and she says 'no' and you keep pushing.*

P9: *If a girl says 'no' and I keep pushing, that makes me a rapist.*

The above definitions fits with the legal definition of rape, which is 'intentional, unlawful sexual intercourse with a women without her consent' (Combrinck, 2006). However, after discussing the definition of rape further and deeper, it became clear that the participants felt that the definition of rape was not so 'clear cut' and that there are many different factors that play a part to rape, all of which result in differing opinions and ideas of what rape is. For instance, it appears that some boys believe that one can only call it rape if the individuals involved are not known to each other, moreover, others believe that it is not only what the man does that defines rape but what the woman does to stop the man. This appears to give evidence to Dunlaps' (1997) suggestion that there are many different cultural, traditional and theoretical definitions of rape, all of which are dependent on how an individual has been socialised and what the individual has been brought up to believe. Therefore, despite the above legal terminology of rape and the boys understanding of it, the intricacies surrounding the notion rape make it hard to define and understand.

4.4.3 HOW DOES ONE KNOW THAT SHE IS CONSENTING?

Some of the participants felt that the only way to tell if a girl wants to have sex or is consenting to sex is to talk to her about it and ask her if she is ready to have sex.

> ***P2:*** *I always speak, I am a person who really speaks. I will say to her that I want to do this thing and she will say to me 'okay I am ready' and then we will say 'okay, we will do it'. Then I will say on this day 'are you available? And then we will do it and such things.*
>
> ***P3:*** *She will tell me when she is ready, I will ask her and she will tell me when she is ready.*
>
> ***P6:*** *In a relationship, most of the time it is the boy asking the girl if she wants to have sex. You can ask her and when she is ready to have sex she will tell you...*
>
> ***P7:*** *With my girlfriend... we have to come to a decision, we have to talk about it.*

These participants all talk about making a mutual decision with their girlfriends about when they are both ready to have sex. They appear to be displaying progressive notions and alternative voices of sexual decision-making in relationships that differ from views of hegemonic masculinity and the concept of an *isoka,* a man in Zulu culture who displays dominance and decision making power in a relationship (Varga, 2003). Furthermore, they also differ from participants in Varga's (2003) study who identified the male partner as having the sole right to decide when to initiate sex in a relationship.

However, other participants had other views and ideas of how to know when a girl is consenting to sex. For instance, participant 8 believed that he knew by the girl's actions, and whether she is willing to come home with him, if she was consenting to sex.

> ***P8:*** *From my side, if you agree to go home with me then I know that you want to have sex with me. I just know when it means sex by her actions. If she is kissing me and all those things and says she wants to come home with me, then she is wanting to have sex. I have not come across a girl that comes home with me and does not want to have sex. I believe I can see whether she is comfortable or not. If she is not comfortable, her body language says 'no'.*

Participant 8 appears to think that he can 'sense' whether or not a girl wants to have sex with him by the way she touches him, and accepts his proposal to come home with him. This method however does appear to be full proof as it is mainly based on assumptions. According to Wood and Jewkes (2001) there is often an assumption made by the male that the female consented or implied that she consenting to sexual relations with him although sexual consent was withdrawn prior to the act. It appears that the boys in the study also appear to make assumptions about whether a girl is consenting to sex. In conjunction with Khumalo and Peacock's (2006) findings, participant 8 argues that sexual consent is established when a woman wears certain clothing, dances closely, or even comes back to their house. Moreover, it has been argued that these definitions of consent then provide men with a convenient justification for not respecting a woman's right to say 'no' to sex. One participant even disagreed with this statement and felt that one could not always tell that she is consenting to sex by coming home with you. For instance:

> ***P7:*** *I disagree with you... sometimes you meet different kinds of chicks. Sometimes the impression of taking a chick to your house, she probably wants to bond with you, which means the talking, you know. It doesn't always mean that taking a chick to your house means sex.*

Participant 7 argues with participant 8 in stating that one cannot always infer that if a girl goes home with you then she is consenting to having sex with you. He states that there are other reasons why a girl would want to come home with a boy, for instance to bond with a girl. In addition, these assumptions that both the men in the literature (Koss & Harvey,1991) and the boys in this study appear to make, often leads to miscommunication between partners about sex. From the above results, it appears that some of the boys feel comfortable in discussing their sexual intentions, yet others try to infer from indirect and non-verbal cues which may lead to errors. In addition it appears that these boys may even interpret a woman's friendly behaviour for something more sexual and then may not take a woman's refusal to sexual relations seriously.

Many of the participants mentioned feeling confused about whether or not their girlfriend was consenting to have sex with them. The following statement demonstrates this confusion:

> ***P5:*** *Sometimes it is confusing, like if you want to have sex right now and the girl is just kissing you and making it like she want you... but she doesn't go all the way... and says 'no' but makes like she wants you.*

The boys in this study appear to be split about how to interpret when a girl is consenting to sex. As participant 5 mentions, some boys appear to be confused when a girl starts to get physical with him and may interpret this as a sign for consent, other boys also mentioned that sometimes they get confused about whether a girl is consenting to sex. This notion has been supported by Koss (1988) who found that 75% of men who had raped their dates believed that the woman's non-consent to the sexual act was 'not all that clear.' Moreover, these results reinforce Khumalo and Peacock's (2006) notion that men's understanding of what constitutes sexual consent and their sense of entitlement to women's bodies seems to vary across South Africa, as the boys in the study all had varying understandings of the notion of sexual consent.

4.4.4 ‘NO’ MEANING ‘YES’

As mentioned above, some of the participants appear to be confused about whether or not a girl is consenting to sex. Only one participant, participant 3, felt that if a girl says ‘no’ then it always means ‘no’. Therefore from the 11 participants in this study there was only one participant that displayed an alternative voice to the others. Moreover, in the interviews participant 3 tended to try to portray himself in a positive light and his different opinion on this topic may have had to do with wanting the researcher to view him as a ‘good guy’ who would never take advantage of a woman.

Participants 1 and 4 explain their confusion about whether a girl is consenting to sex. They explain the belief that at times girls will say ‘no’ to sex even though they mean ‘yes’:

> ***P1****: Those ladies that will wear something which says ‘yes’ to my boyfriend, ‘I wanna sleep with you’ but says ‘no’ with my mouth. So you see, if you can wear something that says ‘yes’ and you say ‘no’ with your mouth, I thought it was obvious that I can touch your boobs and all those things. That is a very confusing message. I won’t lie.*

> ***P4:*** *Some girls tend to say ‘no’ and mean ‘yes’ but some of them say ‘no’ and mean it. If her boobs are hanging out and she is wearing a mini skirt then I will definitely know that she wants to have sex with me. It is a confusing message. It’s confusing,*

Both participant 1 and 4 talk about the clothing that girls wear and how this clothing can impact on the way a boy internalizes sexual cues. There appears to be an assumption made by these boys that the meaning attached for a girl wanting to wear ‘provocative’ or revealing clothing would solely be because she is interested in getting physical or having sex with the boy. A woman’s own alternative reasoning (for instance, that perhaps the clothes she wears allow her to feel more confident within herself) is often not taken into consideration. Moreover, according to May and Strikwerda (1994) the female may wear provocative clothing to boost her ego thinking that she is sending out a message saying ‘*admire me*’. Whereas, as demonstrated by participant 1, the male sees this as the female

saying '*take me'* and such dress signals are seen by the male as an intentional 'come on' (Vogelman, 1990). Participant 1 continues to state:

> ***P1:*** *Talking of saying 'no', most of chicks, they will come to you and say 'no' (I am talking from experience). Most of chicks that I used to date, they will say 'no' just to see if you are serious in giving that thing. They will say 'stop it, no'. So then you stop and she will go to her friends and say 'that *Thabo is not a real man'. It is a mixed message, she just wants me to show her how much I want her. You see, most of the girls that I date, they will say 'no' just to see what I will do.*

Therefore, in addition to the dangerous assumption that girls who wear revealing clothing are wanting to have sex, participant 1 assumes there is a hidden agenda for a girl saying 'no' to sex. It appears that he feels it is a game, and a test from the girl to see just how much the boy physically wants her and what he is prepared to do to fight for her. In addition, it is felt that a boy's masculinity is brought into question if he does not fight to have sex with a girl and it is thought then that he is not a 'real man' if he gives up too quickly. Subsequently this can be a very dangerous game, as the boy might mistake the girl's intentions and feel the need to be forceful in order to assert his masculinity. However, participants 2 and 4 explain that they believe that there is a way to tell the intentions of a girl who says 'no' and a way to tell whether or not she is playing a game with you or is just being serious about saying 'no':

> ***P2:*** *Sometimes girls are just saying 'no, please don't' when they are giggling. Then you think she is confused and then she shuts her mouth allows you to do it. If she says 'no' and laughs, she is meaning 'yes'.*

> ***P6:*** *You can see from her actions. If she says 'no' but she is getting too close to you. Sometimes you think that she is saying 'yes' or something.*

It appears that the way to tell whether a girl is serious about saying 'no' is all in her actions. Participant 2 explains that she is giving you a message by giggling when saying 'no', almost like she is spurring you on to chase her. Participant 6 goes on to explain that if she gets closer to you, she may also be giving you a message that she doesn't want you to stop. The 'cues' that the above three participants mention about knowing when a girl is playing hard to get can all be potentially dangerous as they are all assumptions made by the male. Participant 5 adds to the confusion by explaining that there could even be another alternative to a girl saying 'no' and meaning 'yes':

> ***P5:*** *Sometimes a girl can say 'no' when she wants to say 'yes'. Some of these girls they don't want us boys to think that they are easy targets. Like if I say 'hey, let's have sex' and she says 'yes'. But instead she will just say 'no, I don't want to', so that you keep pressurising her so that it just happens. Most of the time, if she says 'no' just keep pressurising her because she wants to. She wants to but she might say 'no'. She just doesn't want you to say 'hey that girl is an easy target'. For her respect she will say 'no'.*

It appears that there is a fear that if a girl says 'yes' straight away then she may be seen by boys as promiscuous and her respect comes into question. It has been found that in South Africa a woman's sexual fidelity is highly valued, and having multiple sex partners compromises her respectability (Niehaus, 2005; Varga, 2003, Vogelman, 1990). The above sentiment is further supported by Mogapi (2000) who found that in an African culture a girl is encouraged to play hard to get when a man wants to have sex with her, regardless of whether or not she likes him and is ready and willing to sleep with him. It appears that this is due to the fact that if she were to accept a man's proposal without making him toil for her love, she may be considered cheap (Mgoqi, 2006). Varga's (2003) study on the link between South African adolescents' gender ideals and social consequences to sexual relations further supports this notion. The study revealed that a girl's respectability is gained by her being sexually available to her partner while exhibiting coyness and resistance to his sexual advances. This dangerous myth, based on the assumption that woman always 'play hard to get' appears to have been internalized by the majority of the participants. According to Mogapi, (2000) individuals tend to use this myth, in the case of rape, to claim that woman actually wanted the sex and that they were playing hard to get.

4.4.5 THE ACCEPTANCE OF GIFTS FOR SEX

None of the participants personally felt that if they take their girlfriend out, buy her gifts or flowers, or pay for her movie, that she is then consenting to having sex with him. Some participants did however mention that they would only spend money on a girl that they really cared for, but in doing so would be showing her that they care for her and would not expect anything in return.

> ***P1****: Doing that for her I am not thinking that she will sleep with me. I am doing that for her because I love her and I want to spend my time with her. I don't think that if I pay the bill it is saying that it is okay to have sex. I don't think so. I am doing it with my heart, not to impress her.*
>
> ***P4:*** *Most of the time it is about showing girls how special they are to you... showing her how much you love her. It's not about that.*
>
> ***P6:*** *As a boy, it doesn't mean so… Maybe they just like to enjoy their relationship, without asking for sex.*

These boys appear to be going against the notion of gift giving in exchange for sex by stating that they would have alternate reasons, other than for sex, to buy a girl gifts. It appears in this case gift giving is seen as something a boy does to express his love for a girl. Moreover, some boys felt that if accepting gifts was all about consenting to sex, then this would mean that a boy would be buying a girl to sleep with him. Further, the concept of buying a girl for sex was considered very negatively by the participants.

> ***P3****: I think that by doing that she will think that you are buying her to have sex and taking her to the movies, buying her clothes and other things.*
>
> ***P8:*** *No, no... she is not consenting because that means you are buying her.*

The idea of buying a girl for sex was considered negatively by the boys because 'buying' implies that the boy is unable to attain sex from a girl in his own right. It would show that perhaps a boy is not 'man enough' to get a woman and would need to resort to buying her to get her to want to be with him sexually. Therefore, the majority of the boys go against the notion of gift giving in exchange for sex that was previously supported by Kaufman and Stavrou, (2004) and Wood and Jewkes (2001), who found that young men often tend to reflect a particular idea of exchange of their gifts or 'contract' and that many young men believe that they would be able to have sexual relations in exchange for these gifts.

However, for some of the participants there does seem to be other circumstances where gift giving would be thought of as an exchange for sex. This was indicated by participant 1, who although earlier mentioned that he would only buy a girl a gift to show her how much he loved her, felt that if he did not know the girl very well or care for her very much, he would then expect something in return for his gifts.

> ***P1:*** *I would only do that with a girl that I love, if she is not my girlfriend and I spent money on her then I would expect, obvious, to sleep with her.... If she then says 'no', then I would expect my money back.... I will just never ask her out again. I will take out other ones.*

Therefore, there is another aspect of gift giving that one needs to take into account. For instance, if perhaps it is the first date or if the boy is not personally invested in the girl as a girlfriend and does not have strong 'love' feelings for her, then perhaps the nature of gift giving may take on another dimension. As participant 1 explains, gift giving no longer becomes about spoiling a girl in order to demonstrate your love for her, it becomes about buying her gifts in order to '*woo*' her into having sex with you. As participant 1 states: '*what is the point of wasting money on someone that doesn't want to be with you.'* Here participant 1 is explaining that he would only invest money (in the form of gifts) into something or someone that is an 'investment' and therefore would not spend money on a girl if she were to '*not give him anything back'* (i.e. not have sex with him). In addition, he appears to be saying that he would '*want his money back'* implying that he has gotten a disservice if she does not sleep with him after he has spent money on her. In stating '*I will just never ask her out again'* he is almost comparing this experience with a girl to a business transaction where he never got his money's worth and hence would never make use of that business again.

In addition, there appears to be the implication that the girl knows why the boy is taking her out and buying her gifts and should only accept the gifts if she is going to give him his 'money's worth'. This is indicated by participant 1 statement below:

> ***P1:*** *If they accept and go with you and at the end of the night they don't want to be with you, that is bull shit!*

Further, it should be mentioned that even though the majority of the boys in this study did not personally support the notion that taking girls out on a date incurs a right of something in return (something sexual), they did seem to believe that a woman should be more careful about the gifts that she accepts. Moreover, they believed that if girls do not want to engage in sexual relations with a boy then she should not accept any gifts, especially from a boy that is not her boyfriend; hence advocating blame to the female, as

it was felt that she would know what she is consenting to by accepting such gifts. Kaufman and Stavrou (2004) support this belief in stating that most people are aware of the symbolic meaning of gifts. They additionally state that this symbolic meaning is also widely accepted and rarely questioned. It therefore appears that for many of the participants, the nature of gift giving may in fact blur the boundaries of sexual consent in relationships.

Moreover, it was felt that even though the participants did not personally expect sex in return for a gift, they felt that many of the other boys in their community would expect sex in return for gifts.

> ***P2****: There are some other boys that think that if they... like... buy you a cake, take you to movies, buy you clothes… that means that you are accepting that thing to have sex with you. A lot of boys think that if you accept such things, you really accept their requests.*

> ***P5:*** *It depends what kind of a boy are you ... Like a mad sex boy can take you out or something and at the end of the night will just say 'hey, you have to repay me' or there are other boys who just want to enjoy their relationship. I think that about 40 percent goes to this and 60 percent expect sex.*

From these results, it appears that there is some evidence that some boys (in fact, 60 % of boys, according to participant 5) would expect sex in exchange for taking a girl out and buying her gifts. There is an idea that if the girl were to accept these gifts then she would be accepting the boy's requests. Therefore, there is some evidence that gift giving, although not personally endorsed by the participants in this study themselves, may, for other boys in the community, be associated with sexual leverage or an entitlement to the sexual rights of the others body. It also appears that gift giving may also influence the pace and progress of that relationship, especially if it is early in the relationship, for instance the first date.

4.5 SEXUAL GRATIFICATION OR POWER?

4.5.1 CONTROLLING ONES SEXUAL URGES

Some of the participants felt that boys rape because they cannot control their sexual urges and impulses.

> ***P1:*** *Men are too weak when it comes to sex, we can't control it.*
>
> ***P2:*** *Boys do rape because they cannot control themselves. There is a point where some men will just do it. Like say there is a delicious cake in front of you... you like that cake and if you put that cake in front of your eyes... they are open and they give you a knife. What are you going to do? Obviously you try and eat the cake because you like it. She must not be naked and all those things.*
>
> ***P4:*** *Men can't control themselves.*
>
> ***P10:*** *I think that some men can't control it.*

These boys endorse the view that sex is a biological urge that men cannot and should not be forced to control. This view gives evidence to Hollways' (2001) male sex drive discourse where men's sexuality is seen as directly produced by a biological drive, the function of which is to ensure reproduction of the species. The above statements confirm Hollway's (2001) contention that it is natural for men to be seen as sexually incontinent and out of control. In these discourses, the hegemonic positioning of the males in relation to females who are expected to be submissive highlights the perception of the role of women as sexual providers. Moreover, a few participants mentioned that there gets to a point where a boy can no longer control his sexual urges. This breaking point however appeared to vary from participant to participant.

> ***P2:*** *Boys, sometimes when they see boobs or they see vagina, they get so hot and they are kissing and it gets to that stage when they get hot, you can't control yourself and you want to sleep with them. When she is naked and kissing you... that's when you can't control yourself. There are a lot of guys that can't stop themselves when their chick is naked, seducing him and that kind of thing. I wouldn't be able to stop.*
>
> ***P4:*** *To be honest, I won't be able to stop myself when she starts taking my clothes off. If I leave her before she gets naked... I might be able to stop.*

Participant 2 and 4 talk about not being able to control themselves when girls are naked, kissing them or even touching them in a sexual way. It appears that just like the participants in Vogelman's (1986) study, many of the participants in this study also believe that the way women dress, the way they look or even the way that they move can uncontrollably arouse a man's sexual appetite. Moreover, it appears to be widely accepted amongst the participants that male sexual desire is seen as quite volatile and difficult to control and that a woman should be more responsible and impose appropriate limits so as to curb the male's powerful sex drives (Mogapi, 2000). However, not all the boys agreed with the statement that men can't control their sexual urges, for example, participant 5, who states *'I don't know about other boys but I can control myself when kissing I have done it before. I just think about something else and talk to someone else and try to get that thing out of my mind. I wait for it to pass and I control myself'*. Participant 5 believes that it is about self control and being able to think of methods to let the sexual feeling pass. He therefore believes that if a boy tries hard enough he can control his sexual feelings.

Other participants also agreed with participant 5 and felt that boys can in fact control their sexual impulses, and that other boys use 'not being able to control their sexual feelings' as an excuse for raping girls.

> ***P3:*** *Boys sometimes can't control themselves and that is why some boys rape their girlfriends. But normal guys, they can control it. It might be that they are drunk/smoking, that kind of thing.*
>
> ***P9:*** *Only boys that are drunk or have serious problems can't control it.*
>
> ***P5:*** *I think that as a boys, you can control yourself, so if there is a boy that rapes and says 'hey, I could not control myself' it was intentional not because he couldn't control himself.*
>
> ***P6:*** *Those boys that can't control themselves, they have been pressurised by their friends. I think a guy can control himself.*

It appears that these boys believe that 'normal guys', i.e. guys that are not mentally ill or under the influence of alcohol or drugs, can control their sexual urges. Therefore, some boys believe that being intoxicated can increase sex drive to points where it becomes

uncontrollable. However, some of the boys argued that men can always control their sexual impulses and that if they do rape there is another reason for it, like peer pressure. Participant 5 even stated that he believes that other boys may merely use the notion that they can't control themselves as an excuse to rape or sexually assault women. This presents a flaw to Hollway's (2001) above theory that men rape because they cannot control their sexual urges, because all these boys all state that they can in fact control their sexual urges.

4.5.2 RAPING TO REGAIN POWER

A number of the participants explained that many boys rape to show that they have power over the girl and this makes them feel powerful in general and in their community.

> ***P2:*** *Boys rape because he wants to show that he is the powerful one rather than her making the decisions. Also, guys want to be powerful in the community and they do that by having sex. So if they want to do that they will rape to get powerful.*
>
> ***P4:*** *These boys want to show that they are powerful.*
>
> ***P5:*** *These boys, they want to know that they have power over these girls*
>
> ***P10:*** *I get more power, respect if I chase after the ladies.*

From the above statements it appears that there is some evidence that boys in the community rape and use sex to fulfil non-sexual needs such as the need for power, dominance and to assert their masculinity (Koss & Harvey, 1991). Moreover, as demonstrated earlier, there appears to be substantial evidence that the boys feel immense pressure to assert their masculinity in very 'manly' ways in order to feel powerful and respected in their community. Therefore in line with Wood and Jewkes (2001) who found that for some adolescents in South Africa the pressure to keep up with male dominant appearances often results in the need to force sex, the participants in this study too believe that there are boys in their community whom, when unable to find a girl that is willing to sleep with them, will force a girl to sleep with them in order to assert their masculinity and regain their dominance and power.

Moreover, other participants agreed that boys sometimes rape because they feel rejected by a girl or by their friends and feel powerless. It was explained that in order to regain their power, they feel they need to rape a girl.

> ***P1:*** *If you fight or reject those boys, they will rape you... obviously to get their power back. To be powerful . I am man enough and I can force you to sleep with me.*
>
> ***P2:*** *When you sleep with a girl there is something that you are gaining... they feeling bad from being rejected and you get power from a girl when you sleep with her, especially if you rape her.*
>
> ***P6:*** *Sometimes it is jealousy. If a boy approaches a girl and she does not want him. He just wants to hurt the girl and he will rape her.*
>
> ***P8:*** *Let's just say that you like a certain chick... she is beautiful... she is everything that you ever wanted. You approach her and she tells you to 'fuck off'. That hurts your feelings, so you go to another girl and she also rejects you. Then you see that everyone disses you. You tried, you tried, you tried and nobody wants you, you feel powerless, so to get power back you have to rape.*

All these participants mention raping a girl who rejects his advances. It appears that this rejection allows a boy to feel that the girl is in control and he hence feels powerless. They describe that the only way to regain their power is to maintain sexual control and dominance over her and rape her. There does appear to be some evidence that, in line with the socialisation perspective of rape, society has got a major role to play in sexual assault, as the boys in this study appear to have been socialised to believe that women who choose to behave differently from feminine norms and show any sort of dominance or control over a man are seen as a threat to a man's masculinity and power (Mogapi, 2000). There is therefore some evidence that rape or sexual violence in many ways acts together with social mechanisms, to control women and to put them into a subordinate position (Sideris, 2005). The theory (that the above participants came up with) that some men rape because they have been rejected supports the above statement. This is additionally supported by Vogelman (1990), who found in his study, rapists pointed out that they would rape women they felt that they could not control or women who lived as if they did not need men in their lives. It appears that when a man's power or masculinity is threatened, force and threat of force may be used to help maintain hegemonic masculinity (Whaley, 2001).

In summary, it appears that, from the above results, there is some evidence for the theory that boys rape because they cannot control their sexual urges, as many of the boys felt that they, themselves would not be able to control their sexual urges if a girl took her clothes off or if she started to kiss him. However, not all the participants agreed with this sentiment. Furthermore, it appears, as demonstrated above that many of the boys feel strongly that men rape to regain power or assert their masculinity. Therefore, in line with existing studies that generally endorse the view that rape is an act of power rather than sexual gratification (Niehaus, 2005), this study too gives some evidence that men rape in order to regain their power or dominance. Rape therefore may in many respects be a crime of power, not passion (Mogapi, 2000).

4.6 CONCLUSION

It appears that from the above results and discussion one can infer that society has got a major role to play in attitudes towards sexual assault and how it is dealt with. An examination of major social institutions, namely the family, the school, the peer group, media and society at large has revealed some of the different behaviours and values that the adolescent males in this study have been encouraged to adopt. It can be seen that the majority of the boys in the study have adopted some rape supportive beliefs and ideas. Moreover these values have been perpetuated in the socialisation process through the encouragement of sex role stereotypes. Throughout the findings of this study there was evidence of the pressure of young boys to conform to the hegemonic standards of masculinity, each of which has a distinct gendered implication for the risk of rape or sexual assault. Most of the participants have been heavily encouraged to display, and hence do display sex-role stereotypes and hegemonic masculinity.

Moreover, this study also gives evidence that the sex-role stereotypes and rape supportive beliefs and attitudes that these boys display appear to be primarily established at home, then heavily reinforced at school by the peer group and finally perpetuated in the society at large. This study therefore supports the notion that socialisation factors play an important role in the development of stereotypical notions of sex role behaviour in

adolescent males. Furthermore, change in these perceptions and hence the incidence rape would need to begin with a change early in the socialisation process, especially because, as this study demonstrated, children are starting to engage in sexual practices at a very young age. Moreover, Gibson and Lindegaard (2007) observed that the best time to capture and socialise boys would be in their childhood years when the most pressure is put on to boys to fit gender expected roles.

In addition, the sex role stereotypes that these boys have adopted; to be brave, strong and emotionally distant, to have many girlfriends, to assert ones masculinity in dominant and often controlling ways and to be aggressive and fight, has impacted on the way one constitutes a relationship with the opposite sex and has resulted in a patriarchal society of inequality, where the female is often forced to be submissive. It can be argued that these stereotypes have helped lead to a culture of sexual violence, where the male is dominant and asserts power over the female. It has been further argued that a change in the experience of a male dominated gender identity has to start in the early socialisation process, if a more equal gender relation in adulthood is to be achieved (Vogelman, 1990).

Further, sex education and the acquiring of sexual information in adolescence is a process that needs further attention. It appears that adolescents often acquire information by chance or from bad avenues. This often leads to adolescents attaining false or bad information that can in turn lead to the internalization of rape myths and rape supportive ideas and beliefs. Moreover peer pressure and the need to fit in further perpetuates these rape supportive ideas and hegemonic sex role stereotypes. Therefore this too is an area that needs further attention and investigation.

Various themes were uncovered both in the literature and the discussion. One of the prominent themes was sexual consent and the adolescents understanding of this term. From the results it appears that the definition and understanding of sexual consent is flawed, in that there are many different and often contradictory understandings of this concept- often then further complicated by traditional and cultural values. One thing that is certain and perhaps a little unsettling however, is the confusion that adolescent boys

face in trying to understand whether or not a girl is consenting to sex. It is this confusion that can also lead to the sexual abuse of adolescent girls. This is a concept that needs further investigation and needs to include the perceptions of adolescent girls in order to iron out this confusion and allow for safer sexual practices in adolescent relationships.

On the other hand, throughout this study there were some signs of alternative and progressive voices of masculinity emerging from some of the participants. Moreover, these contested versions of masculinity and the emergence of alternative masculinities indicate the potential for change in the gendered system. Here there is some evidence of competing masculinities and a move away from dominant hegemonic standards. The fact that in some incidences participants contested hegemonic masculinities, dismissed some rape myths and demonstrated support for more equitable relationships with girls suggests that alternative forms of masculinity were operating around and with dominant forms. Yet, adolescent masculinity could still validly be regarded as being in crisis and in need of attention, in order to decrease the prevalence of these problems and build the resistance of adolescent boys against these risks

It has been important to explore the current attitudes and perceptions of adolescent males in today's society. It has helped understand what these boys have been socialised to believe, as it is this belief system that could ultimately foster rape and the sexual victimization of young South African girls. However, one encouraging aspect about young people is that they have the potential change attitudes and practices if given appropriate education (Varga, 2003). Foels and Pappa's (2004) indicate that it is possible, through socialisation, to 'learn' and 'unlearn' gender myths and sexist ideas.

"*In a society which considers it masculine to be loving and concerned, to be attentive to the wishes to others, to detest domination, oppression, exploitation and violence, to see woman as human beings, to be more fond of personality and character than physical attributes, to cherish long term relationships rather than "one night stands", and to detest domination, oppression and exploitation.……..*

MEN WOULD NOT RAPE

South African society is, however, not like this. For the majority of men and woman, the experience of the South African society is of degradation and humiliation"

(Vogelman, 1986, p.154).

CHAPTER 5

LIMITATIONS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

5.1 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

5.1.1 METHODOLOGICAL LIMITATIONS

One of the limitations of the use of a qualitative methodology is the subjectivity of the researcher. However, the researcher was also careful to reflect on the role of personal, ideological and cultural assumptions in the analysis and interpretation of the transcripts. Discussion with a supervisor served to limit the influence of personal views and standpoints in the analysis stage of the research. However, the analysis and organization of the results cannot be regarded as objectively definitive and the discussion offers only one of many possible sets of interpretations.

Further, many of the themes being explored in the study were of a personal and sensitive nature. Participants may have initially felt uncomfortable to disclose such information in a face-to-face interview or focus group with the researcher, a stranger to the participant. This was perhaps evidenced by some of the participants' initial need to be viewed in a positive light that permeated some of the interviews, particularly towards the beginning. However, it should be noted that sensitive material, such as sexual relationships and rape, were nevertheless willingly and openly discussed by many of the participants and it was found that once sufficient rapport had been established with the participants, the need to be seen in a positive light and 'candy coat' answers significantly decreased. Yet, it is possible that additional themes may have emerged with subsequent interviews and rapport.

5.1.2 PRACTICAL LIMITATIONS

The study was complicated by the fact that the sample did not have uniform features in many respects for instance, relationship status, cultural and traditional background and age. There are also several problems inherent in the use of a semi-structured interview. Open-ended questions may prompt participants into providing ambiguous or vague answers. Participants may also not have always understood the questions in the same

way. In addition, the use of a semi-structured interview, combined with spontaneous probing, may elicit information in a way that confirms preconceived notions of the topic.

In addition, the present study focused primarily on African male township adolescents. This may limit generalisability of these findings to other South African racial groups, in particular perspectives of males in the Coloured, Indian and White communities.

The interviews were audio recorded during data collection. It is possible that the respondents' awareness of this may have prevented them from expressing themselves openly. Further, English was used as the medium of communication and although the participants were articulate and fluent in English, and some of the boys might have experienced some difficulties understanding the meaning of some of the questions and expressing their thoughts and feelings in a second language. However, on the whole it was felt that there was a good level of understanding and fluency in the participant's expression of their thoughts and feelings.

In addition, subjects participated in the study on a voluntary basis meaning that they were not obligated to participate in the study. This may have in turn meant that the voluntary participants provided information that was socially desirable (Rosnow & Rosenthal, 1991). It is therefore possible that the information presented by the participants is biased and not completely reflective of their true feelings and perspectives. It is also possible that participants produced certain responses that were not in accordance with their true experiences as a result of the knowledge that they were part of a study (Hawthorne Effect) (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). However, every effort was taken to develop rapport with the participants and help them to feel as comfortable as possible. In addition, the idea that the participants remain anonymous, and their names were not used in the study, hoped to restrict such limitations.

Finally the impact of possible response bias was discussed in the preceding chapter, although it was previously thought that the race and gender of the researcher may have had an impact on the validity of the responses, from the reflections of the participants it

appears that this did not significantly impact the validity and trustworthiness of the current study.

5.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

More research needs to be undertaken in general with regards to youths' perceptions of sexual relationships, on both a quantitative and qualitative level in order for adequate intervention programs to be developed and implemented. Moreover, due to the fact that many adolescent boys learn about sex by chance, more attention needs to be spent on educating young South African boys about sex. In addition, intervention programs aimed at combating sexual violence in schools needs to start earlier in the socialisation process and needs to consider the many rape supportive myths and attitudes that adolescent boys are exposed to.

It would be additionally helpful to research the perceptions and attitudes of younger male adolescents (12-15) undergoing the beginning stages of adolescence. From the results of the current study it appears that the peer pressure that many adolescents are facing is often intense and overwhelming. It additionally appears that the peer socialisation younger adolescents may be facing may be even more intense and overpowering. It would be useful to measure the impact of peer pressure on rape supportive attitudes within this age group. Further, the fact that younger boys are now engaging in sex puts them at a high risk for perpetuating the incidence of rape.

The concept of sexual consent in adolescent relationships needs further attention. Further research on girls' perspectives and attitudes towards sexual relationships would also be helpful in order to understand the differences in opinions of sexual consent between sexes. It would also be helpful in bridging the gap between contrasting and conflicting understandings of sexual consent between genders and allow for safer sexual practices.

In addition, given the relatively high prevalence rates of rape across South Africa, a study into perceptions and attitudes towards sex and rape in other groups, such as White, Coloured and Indian males is important.

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LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET- LEGAL GUARDIAN



School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

Dear Parent/ guardian

Hello, my name is Lisa Kann. I am a Masters student in Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my degree I am required to do a research project. I will be investigating young boy's ideas surrounding sexual relationships. The sexual abuse of girls, especially in schools, is becoming a big problem in South Africa. The findings of this study will help us to understand why more and more adolescents are turning towards violent sexual behaviour. Gaining awareness towards their attitudes and perceptions will help us to develop better intervention programs aimed at stopping sexual violence in schools.

I wish to invite your child to participate in my study. Should you agree that your child may participate, your child will be needed for a 45 minute to one hour group interview that will take place after school on the school premises. This interview involves a group of 3-5 boys. As this will be a group interview, confidentiality will be recommended of the group members. Confidentiality within this group however cannot be guaranteed. In addition, some of your children will be asked for a follow up 45 minute individual interview. By allowing your child to take part in this study you will help researchers to better understand the nature of sexual violence that takes place in schools across South Africa.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary. You may withdraw your child from the study at any time and it will not be held against you or your child in any way. Your son's privacy is assured. Should you be interested in the results of the study, I will be willing to give a copy of the results to your child's school, which you will have access to. Your child's participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. If you choose to participate in the study please will both you and your son fill in your details on the forms below and return it to his class teacher

Should you have any questions you can contact me on 082 374 1922.

Thank-you

Yours sincerely

Lisa Kann

*Please note that with your permission, in the end, it is your child's choice whether or not he wishes to participate.

APPENDIX B: SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET – PARTICIPANT



School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

Dear Participant

Hello, my name is Lisa Kann. I am a Masters student in Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my degree I am required to do a research project. I will be investigating young boy's attitudes and perceptions of sexual relationships. The sexual abuse of girls, especially in schools, is becoming a big problem in South Africa. The findings of this study will help us to understand why more and more adolescents are turning towards violent sexual behaviour. Gaining insight towards their attitudes and perceptions will help us to develop better intervention programs aimed at stopping sexual violence in schools.

I wish to invite you to participate in my study. Should you agree to participate, you will be needed for a 45 minute to an hour group interview that will take place after school on the school premises. This interview involves a group of 3-5 boys. As this will be a group interview, confidentiality will be recommended of the group members. Confidentiality within this group however cannot be guaranteed. In addition, some of you will be asked for a follow up 45 minute individual interview. By taking part in this study you will help researchers to better understand the nature of sexual violence that takes place in schools across South Africa.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw from the study at any time and it will not be held against you in any way. You have the right to not answer any questions you feel uncomfortable answering. Your privacy is assured. Should you be interested in the results of the study, I will be willing to give a copy of the results to your school, which you will have access to.

Your participation in this study would be greatly appreciated. If you choose to participate in the study please will you fill in your details on the forms below. You have also been given a form to take home for your parents to read and sign if you wish to take part in the study. Please return both these forms to your class teacher

Thank-you

Yours sincerely

Lisa Kann

APPENDIX C: SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET – PRINCIPAL



School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

Dear Principal

Hello, my name is Lisa Kann. I am a Masters student in Psychology at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of my degree I am required to do a research project. I will be investigating young boy's attitudes and perceptions of sexual relationships. The sexual abuse of girls, especially in schools, is becoming a big problem in South Africa. The findings of this study will help us to understand why more and more adolescents are turning towards violent sexual behaviour. Gaining insight towards their attitudes and perceptions will help us to develop better intervention programs aimed at stopping sexual violence in schools.

I would like to ask your permission to conduct my research in your school. Should you agree, I will need to conduct three group interviews with 3-5 adolescent males in each group, with participants from grades 10-12. In addition, 6 boys will be needed for a follow up individual interview. Each of the learners will therefore be needed for a 45 minute to one hour group interview, and then 6 learners will be needed for an additional 45 minute to a one hour individual interview that will take place after school on the school premises. By allowing me to conduct this study in your school, you will help researchers to better understand the nature of sexual violence that takes place in schools across South Africa.

Participation in the study is entirely voluntary and you may withdraw your school from the study at any time and it will not be held against you or your school in any way. The learners have the right to not answer any questions that they feel uncomfortable answering and confidentiality is assured. Parental consent of those learners under the age of 18, as well as each individual learner's consent will be obtained before the study begins.

Your permission and assistance would be greatly appreciated. Should you have any questions, please do not hesitate to call me on 082 374 1922.

Thank-you

Yours sincerely

Lisa Kann

APPENDIX D: CONSENT FORM (INTERVIEW – PARTICIPANT)

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

I have read and understood what this research involves and what is expected of me.

I understand that:

- I may refuse to answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable answering.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time and it will not be held against me in any way.
- Participation for this interview is entirely voluntary and no information that may identify me will be included in the research report.
- Any information shared in the group interview will also be kept confidential by the researcher
- If I disclose any violent sexual crimes that are in the process of being committed that will either harm myself or others, the researcher will report this to the relevant authorities.

I will keep any information shared by other participants in the group interview confidential.

I hereby consent to participate in this research project. I give Lisa Kann permission for my results to be used in the write up of this study.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Signature: _____

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM (INTERVIEW - LEGAL GUARDIAN)



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

You may withdraw your child from the study at any time and it will not be held against you or your child in any way. Participation for this interview is entirely voluntary and no information that may identify your son will be included in the research report.

I hereby consent for my child to participate in this research project. I give Lisa Kann permission for my child's results to be used in the write up of this study.

Child's name: _____

Date: _____

Parent's signature: _____

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM (RECORDING - PARTICIPANT)



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

I _____ consent to my group interview with Lisa Kann being tape-recorded.

I understand that:

- The tapes and transcripts will not be seen or heard by any person other than Lisa Kann, and will only be processed by her.
- All tape recordings will be destroyed after the research is complete.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.

Participant's signature _____

APPENDIX F: CONSENT FORM (PRINCIPAL)



UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050, Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: (011) 717-4500 Fax: (011) 717-4559

You may withdraw your school from the study at any time and it will not be held against you or your learners in any way. Participation for these group interviews is entirely voluntary and no information that may identify your learners will be included in the research report.

I hereby consent for my school to participate in this research project.

School's name: _____

Date: _____

Principal's signature: _____

APPENDIX G: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

* Note: Due to the fact that these questions can be seen as sensitive and perhaps intrusive, all the questions were framed in the third person. This was done as an attempt to avoid questioning that is too intrusive or personal as well as an attempt prevent individuals from revealing any information that is too personal or may be incriminating. Additionally this study aimed to explore perceptions and views on sexual relationships in general rather than to identify specific acts and experiences that individuals may have been involved in.

Introduction

- Have you ever been interviewed before?
- Do you have any questions about the process?

Sexual consent

- In general, what age do boys in your community start having sex?
- Who educates boys about sex?
- What reason would a boy have for having sex?
- How long do couples date before having sex?
- If a girl says 'no', does she mean yes?
- Does a girl have a right to say 'no'?
- When is it okay to sleep with a girl?
- Are boys entitled to have sex with their girlfriends if they take them out to the movies and buy them flowers? How about if they bought a girl sweets or a meal?
- How would a boy be viewed by his friends if he doesn't sleep with his girlfriend?
- Do boys in your school compete with each other about the number of girls they have had sex with?

Stereotypes and rape myths

- Girls enjoy being raped, is it true?
- Is it true that girls want to have sex because they wear mini-skirts? What if they are drinking? Are they asking for it?
- Is it true that boys rape because they cannot control their sexual impulses?
- Who makes the rules in the relationship?
- Do you think a boyfriend can rape his girlfriend?
- Who must initiate sexual intercourse in the relationship?

HIV/AIDS and condom use

- Why would a boy not want to use a condom when having sex with a girl?
- If you sleep with a virgin you will be cured of HIV/AIDS?

Sex role stereotypes

- Are boys in your community supposed to be brave and strong or aggressive?
- Are girls in your community supposed to be sweet and sensitive?
- How will other boys react to a boy that is weak and sensitive?
- How is a boy expected to be in a relationship with a girl?

What is rape?

- What is sexual violence/ rape?
- What is date rape?

Community and family violence

- How do men resolve relationship problems in your community?
- Do you hear stories of girls being sexually assaulted in the community?
- What makes men powerful in your community?

Reflections

- How did you find the interview?
- Would it have been different if there had been girls from your class present?
- Would it be different if I was male
- Would it have been different if it had been a black female interviewer or black male interviewer?