

**THE INFLUENCE OF MASCULINE AND FEMININE
ORIENTATION ON ATTITUDES TO SEXUALLY
COERCIVE BEHAVIOUR**



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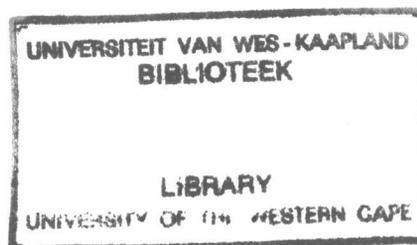
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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to conduct a psychometric investigation of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale and to explore the impact of sex and of masculine and feminine orientation on attitudes towards sexual coercion. Sexual coercion theory, attitude theory and the Jungian theory of the personality formed the theoretical framework of this study. Thirty-eight male and thirty-four female university students participated in this study. They were asked to complete questionnaires designed to measure sex-role orientation and attitudes towards sexual coercion. Sex-role orientation was measured using the Bem Sex Role Inventory, which classifies subjects according to the categories of masculine, feminine, androgynous and undifferentiated. The Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale was used to measure attitudes towards sexual coercion. Individual items on this scale were generated on the basis of psychological and sociological theory on sexual coercion and a review of the constructs that have emerged in the literature and were identified as important. The five sexual coercion constructs included consisted of the following: rape myths, sexual petting, forced sexual intercourse, attitudes to women and benign sexual behaviours. The scale originally comprised of 66 items. Following factor analyses all five dimensions of sexual coercion did emerge clearly, and the validity of each of the five subscales of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale was confirmed. All items with loadings of 0.5 or less were excluded from each of the subscales. The final items of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale consisted of twenty-three. Analyses of variance were used to assess the relationship between sex-role orientation, sex and attitudes to sexual coercion. Statistical analyses revealed that men and women differ significantly in relation to

their attitudes towards sexual coercion. The male subjects showed significantly more sexually coercive attitudes than the female subjects. Non-significance was found for sex-typed differences in relation to attitudes to sexual coercion. Masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, androgynous and undifferentiated subjects were not significantly different in their attitudes to sexual coercion. These findings warrant further investigation and research in order to confirm or refute these findings.



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DECLARATION

The author hereby declares that this whole thesis, unless specifically indicated to the contrary in the text, is her own original work.



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CHAPTER ONE - INTRODUCTION

This study set out to explore the influence of masculine and feminine orientation on attitudes towards sexual coercion. The prevalence of sexual aggression in South Africa (Vogelman, 1990) necessitates a study which analyses variables which may predict the likelihood of sexually coercive attitudes. A great deal of diversity exists in the definitions which have been proposed to explain sexual coercion. This chapter will attempt to give a definition of sexual coercion which is applicable both theoretically and practically to this study. This chapter will look at the prevalence of sexual coercion on a local and international level. Furthermore some of the psychological and physical consequences for the victims of sexual coercion will be explored. Finally a synopsis will be given of each of the chapters of this research project.

1.1 Definition of sexual coercion

Sexual coercion is difficult to define as it can describe a range of activities from bottom pinching to rape. Rape is the only form of sexual coercion to be legally recognised in South African Law. As the purpose of this study is to provide information regarding the link between gendered behaviour and sexual coercion, rape has been chosen as a central concept for analysis, as it avoids the ambiguities that surround the recognition of other sexually coercive acts.

There is no one definition of rape which exists. People have differing views regarding the behaviours which constitute sexual aggression and the circumstances under which such behaviours would be regarded as rape (Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989; Fitzgerald & Ormerod, 1991). Most definitions of rape focus exclusively on penile-vaginal intercourse (Vogelman, 1990). Some definitions also include anal and oral intercourse and penetration with objects (Koss, Gidycz & Wisniewski, 1987, cited in Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps & Giusti, 1992).

Other definitions offer a broader perspective and see rape as "any form of nonconsensual sexual activity" (Vernon & Kilpatrick, 1983, p.342, cited in Muehlenhard et al., 1992).

Other definitions use terms such as sexual assault, sexual aggression, sexual victimization, sexual harassment and sexual coercion to explain the range of behaviours involved in the act (Charney & Russell, 1994; Muehlenhard et al., 1992). Such definitions often place sexual behaviours on a continuum. For example, Koss et al. (1987, cited in Muehlenhard et al., 1992), defined sexual aggression as any "unwanted sexual behaviour....ranging from kissing to sexual intercourse" (Muehlenhard, et al., 1992).

Although this definition includes a broader spectrum of behaviours than the definitions which focus on penile-vaginal intercourse, it can be seen as having a phallocentric bias in that it sees the vagina as constituting real sex and therefore risks devaluing any other forms of sexually coercive behaviours. In spite of this, it manages to give a perspective of sexual coercion which includes a variety of behaviours and forced sexual intercourse may be regarded as more traumatizing than having one's bottom pinched. This justifies having a continuum of sexually coercive behaviours. This definition fails to focus on other relationships which may be coercive, such as sexual coercion within gay and lesbian relationships (Muehlenhard et al., 1992). It also portrays males as the perpetrators of all sexual violence against women and ignores situations in which women may be sexually coercive. Although this is problematic, most sexually coercive acts are perpetrated by men against women and this therefore justifies why so much research has been done which focuses on men as the perpetrators and women as the victims of sexual aggression (Vogelman, 1990).

The legal South African definition of rape has been divided into two parts, namely statutory rape and forcible rape (Vogelman, 1990).

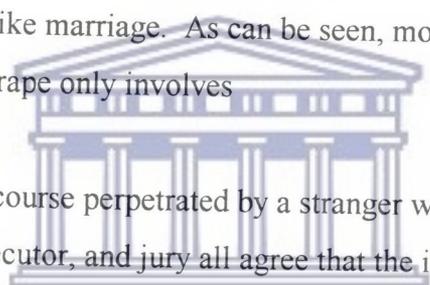
Statutory rape laws apply to the man who engages in sexual intercourse with a female under the age of consent, even if she participates willingly. Forcible rape consists of

intentional unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent (Vogelman, 1990, p.2 - 3).

Such definitions of rape can be seen as limiting, as they focus purely on penile-vaginal intercourse, excluding many other forms of sexual contact which may violate the victim's psyche and body (Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps & Giusti, 1992). Other sexually coercive acts, such as oral and anal intercourse and penetration with objects, common to many rapes, are not included in this definition (Vogelman, 1990).

This above definition of rape (Vogelman, 1990) is narrow as it also excludes many situations in which rape occurs. In South Africa, until the end of 1993 a man could not be convicted of raping his wife. It is only recently that this country has recognized that rape can occur in an established relationship, like marriage. As can be seen, most conventional definitions of rape perpetuate the belief that rape only involves

penile-vaginal intercourse perpetrated by a stranger with a weapon, and only if the victim, police, prosecutor, and jury all agree that the incident was rape (Muehlenhard et al., 1992, p.40).



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Since rape occurs in the context of other coercive behaviours, it is therefore important to move away from a narrow definition of rape, to a definition which is inclusive of sexually coercive behaviour in general. Such a definition should include factors which do not necessarily involve physical force or penetration. For example, the issue of power and domination that the perpetrator has over the victim cannot be ignored. Sexual coercion relates to a heterogeneous group of behaviours, which may be regarded as mild, moderate or severe. For the purpose of this study, sexually coercive behaviour has been defined as a situation in which a woman is psychologically and physically violated by a man by any uninvited or unwanted sexual behaviour. This may range from whistling, bum-pinching, kissing to sexual intercourse. All of the behaviours can be seen as being damaging. Sexual coercion can be

seen as one aspect of male domination over women (Charney & Russel, 1994).

There are many myths surrounding the occurrence and nature of sexually coercive behaviours and these will now be explored to clarify the conceptual analysis of this thesis.

1.2 The prevalence of sexual coercion

The prevalence of reported rape in South Africa appears to be on the increase. In the 1980's the number of reported rapes was 16 000 per annum (Vogelman, 1993). In 1988, the official figure for rape was 19,368 (The Star, 19 April, 1989, cited in Vogelman, 1993). The official racial breakdown of these figures was 819 white rape victims per annum and 18,459 black rape victims per annum. Black women therefore appear to be more vulnerable to rape than the rest of the community. The South African Law Commission Report on Sexual Offenses (1985) stated that the official statistics of reported rape between 1980 and 1985, was approximately 15 500 cases per annum (cited in Levett & Kuhn, 1991). According to Vogelman (1990), the unofficial estimate of actual rapes committed annually is closer to 390 000, implying that on average over 1000 women are raped daily in South Africa and that most are unreported. Most South African research focuses on heterosexual rape, as it is the most predominant form of rape (Levett & Kuhn, 1991). It appears that an understanding of the factors which contribute to rape in South Africa may assist in the designing of preventative programmes in an attempt to decrease its prevalence.

1.3 Date rape

International research has shown that rape often occurs in a context where the victim knows the assailant. This is known as 'date' or 'acquaintance' rape (Koss & Oros, 1982, Jackson, 1985, Levy, 1984, cited in Miller & Marshall, 1987). It has been recognized that most sexually coercive acts occur between acquaintances and most go unreported (Sorenson & White, 1991; Vogelman, 1990). In the United States only 40-50% of all rapes are reported to the police (Law Enforcement Assistance Administration, 1975, 1977 cited in Charney & Russell, 1994).

Koss and Oros (1982, cited in Miller & Marshall, 1987), found that 20% of their female respondents had been victims of attempted rape and rape by someone they knew, but that only 8% reported this to the police. Out of the men, 43% admitted using violence to obtain sex, and 27% stated they had used various degrees of physical and emotional force to coerce an unwilling woman to have sex with them (Koss & Oros, 1982, cited in Barrett, 1982).

Jackson (1985, cited in Miller & Marshall, 1987), found that 20% of the 247 university women they interviewed had been physically forced by a man to have sexual intercourse on a date.

Miller & Marshall (1987), found that 27% of the female university students who participated in their study had been psychologically or physically pressurized to have sexual intercourse. Thus 27% of the women who participated in their study had been coerced into having sexual intercourse whilst attending university. Out of the men, 15% indicated that they had forced women into having sex with them whilst dating. Malovich and Stake (1990), reported that approximately 30 - 53% of undergraduate women experience some form of sexual coercion whilst attending university. Hall, Hirschman and Beutler (1991), in a review of the literature, found that 20-30% of nonclinical female populations report having been exposed to sexual coercion. It appears from the above research that date rape is one of the prevalent forms of rape, and that most rape victims do not report their victimization to the police.

Collings (1987), looked at a sample of white South African women to see why they under-reported rape (cited in Levett & Kuhn, 1991). It was found that 37% of the women feared victimization from the police or the criminal justice system, and 52% of the women feared receiving a nonsupportive response from family and friends. This under-reporting of rape could account in part for the discrepancy noted above (Vogelman, 1990), between the official statistics and the unofficial estimation of actual rapes which occur in South Africa.

1.4 Sequences of date rape

Shotland (1992), found that date rape occurs at different stages of a relationship. For example, Koss, Dinero, Seibel, and Cox (1988, cited in Shotland, 1992), found that 21% of university women were raped by 'casual' dates, 30% were raped by 'steady' dates and 49% were raped by acquaintances, strangers and husbands. It appears that over 50% of the respondents in this study had been raped by someone that they knew. This indicates that 'date' rape can occur at any stage of a relationship, including during a marital relationship. It would thus appear that most sexually coercive behaviours occur between people who know each other.

It is relevant to note that most sexual aggression is male initiated, with fewer than 5% of females being sexual aggressors (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979). In order to understand the prevalence of male sexual aggression it is important to explore what it is that motivates certain men to behave in a sexually coercive manner and what motivates certain women to accept their victimization. Under certain situations attitudes have been shown to be behavioural predictors (Taylor, 1984). Thus people who hold attitudes which are supportive of sexual coercion may be more likely to accept its existence and to behave in a sexually coercive manner.

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1.5 Psychological and physical consequences of sexual coercion

It has been shown that sexually coercive behaviours have both psychological and physical consequences for the victim. Feelings of loss, depression, anxiety, rage, anger, guilt, helplessness, lower self-confidence, self-blame and shame have been shown to predominate in victims of sexual aggression (Charney & Russell, 1994; Malovich & Stake, 1990; Rose, 1986). This has important implications for mental health professionals in their treatment of rape victims. According to Rose (1986), until the development of the feminist movement, most mental health professionals overlooked the devastating psychological effects of rape on the victim and on society in general. The prevalent attitudes that have prevailed historically are that women are to blame for their own victimization. It is only recently that mental health

professionals have changed their perceptions and have been able to truly study the trauma of rape (Rose, 1986). Of significance, is that mental health professionals themselves have often been involved in sexually coercive behaviours, but this is not within the scope of this project to be explored (Charney & Russell, 1994).

1.6 Layout of thesis

Chapter two of this thesis looks at different theories of sexual coercion. It is essential to have an understanding of the theoretical positions regarding sexual coercion, in an attempt to understand what motivates the perpetrator to behave in a coercive manner. It is also important to understand why some women accept their victimization. The emphasis of this chapter is on the importance of a multifactorial approach to sexual coercion. It will be argued that no single factor in isolation can be seen as being able to predict sexual coercion, a combination of both psychological and sociocultural factors can be seen as assisting in our understanding of sexual coercion.

Chapter three focuses on attitude theory. By deconstructing the attitude construct an understanding can be given regarding factors which contribute towards the construction of attitudes. The relationship between attitudes and behaviour can also be explored. Such an understanding has important implications for the relationship between masculine and feminine orientation and attitudes to sexual coercion. It can also be seen as assisting in our understanding of the relationship between holding sexually coercive attitudes and behaving in a sexually coercive manner.

Chapter four focuses on psychological theory in an attempt to explain attitudes towards sexual coercion. The Jungian theory of the personality is explored and emphasis is given to his notion of the bisexuality of the psyche. This is done to understand differences in attitudes towards sexual coercion. This exploration provides an understanding of some psychological factors which may influence sexually coercive attitudes. This chapter finally looks at the interrelationship between sociocultural and psychological variables in explaining attitudes

towards sexual coercion.

The remaining three chapters of this study present the research. Chapter five describes the methodology. Chapter six presents the results of the research. Chapter seven is a discussion of the results in relation to the theory on which the research is based.



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CHAPTER TWO - THEORETICAL EXPLANATIONS OF SEXUAL COERCION

2.1 Introduction

Attitudes towards sexual coercion cannot be clearly understood without some knowledge of the theories explaining its existence. Most theoretical explanations in this area focus on explaining the existence of rape as opposed to sexual coercion (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991; Ellis, 1989; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Malamuth & Check, 1983). Conventional definitions of rape have tended to include only penile-vaginal intercourse, which can be regarded as being on the extreme end of the continuum of sexually coercive behaviours which range from acts such as bottom pinching to forced sexual intercourse. Sexual coercion can be seen as being very damaging, in that it can occur in subtle ways which are not necessarily regarded by society as being coercive, therefore leaving the victim feeling unsupported and alone.

This chapter will attempt to show that forced sexual intercourse, which lies on the extreme end of the continuum of sexually coercive behaviours, is motivated by similar underlying personality and psychological dynamics which motivate an individual to partake in other sexually coercive behaviours. This is not meant to imply that a person who partakes for example in bottom pinching behaviour is also likely to perpetrate rape. By exploring the extreme version of sexual coercion, i.e. forced intercourse, this chapter will attempt to highlight the sociological factors and personal psychological dynamics which underlie rape and other sexually coercive behaviours.

2.2 Theories of rape

Many theories have been proposed to explain rape (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991; Ellis, 1989; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Malamuth & Check, 1983; Prentky & Knight, 1991). This chapter will explore the psychopathology, motivational, sociobiological, physiological, social learning and sociocultural approaches to sexual coercion.

2.2.1 Psychopathology model of sexual coercion

The psychopathology model explains the existence of sexual coercion in terms of the internal, psychological dynamics of the perpetrator of the sexually coercive act (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991). The clinical approach has been

dominated by a psychopathology approach to the offender, which attempts to specify the anomalous characteristics inherent to the offender that cause his sexual aggression (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991, p.621).

Much of the clinical research done on sexual coercion, has tended to study incarcerated inmates or has focused on men attending outpatient treatment clinics (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991; Groth & Birnbaum, 1979). The clinical approach argues against rape being an act of sexual gratification and describes rape/sexual coercion in terms of the subjective emotional distress experienced by the perpetrator, in the form of anxiety, depression and rage (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991, Groth & Birnbaum, 1979). Support for this argument is given by Groth and Birnbaum, (1979), who found that 46% of sexual offenders experienced sexual dysfunction such as impotency, premature and retarded ejaculation during the rape. The presence of sexual dysfunction in offenders can be accounted for by the impact of their psychological functioning on their physiological functioning. Thus rape can be regarded as being a symptom of psychological dysfunction, "it serves to gratify an impulse, to defend against anxiety, and to express an unresolved conflict" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.98).

Other personal characteristics, such as the presence of childhood experiences of sexual abuse, have been found in the life histories of certain offenders (Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss & Tanaka, 1991; Prentky & Knight, 1991). Although experiences of childhood sexual abuse can be seen as playing an important role in adult sexually abusive behaviour, it is not possible to say that all who are sexually abused as children will be sexually aggressive as adults (Prentky & Knight, 1991). It is important to identify the 'complex interactive conditions' under which

sexual abuse is likely to increase the probability of adult sexual aggression (Prentky & Knight, 1991). It is still possible to state that

The offender's adult crimes may be in part a repetition and an acting out of a sexual offence he was subjected to as a child, a maladaptive effort to solve an unresolved early trauma (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.103).

Sexual coercion is thus seen dynamically as equivalent to a symptom, in that it serves to express an "unresolved conflict, defend against anxiety, and gratify an impulse" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.104).

Other personal characteristics, such as a tendency towards life-style impulsivity and personality disorders have been found to be important contributors to sexual aggression (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979; Prentky & Knight, 1991; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984). Prentky and Knight (1991), found that research done on both criminal and non-criminal samples has shown a relatively consistent relationship between impulsivity and sexually aggressive behaviour. Furthermore, it has been found that a tendency towards antisocial behaviour is highly correlated with the likelihood of sexually aggressive behaviour (Prentky & Knight, 1991; Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984). Groth and Birnbaum (1979), found that the majority of sexual offenders suffered from personality disorders, with antisocial, borderline and passive-aggressive amongst them.

The psychopathology model of sexual coercion gives a clear conceptualization of some of the psychological factors, such as unresolved childhood conflicts, anxiety, depression and various personality disorders, which can be seen as underlying sexually coercive behaviour. It is essential to look at the interaction between the above-mentioned psychological variables and sociocultural factors, such as conventional definitions of masculine and feminine behaviours, in order to gain a comprehensive understanding of sexually coercive behaviour in general.

2.2.2 Motivational models of sexual coercion

The motivational model can be seen as fitting into the psychopathological approach to sexual coercion. This model of rape or sexual coercion, identifies three main components present in sexual coercion, namely: power, anger and sexuality (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979). Rape offenders are seen as being a heterogeneous group, with the interrelationship between the above-mentioned variables differing among subgroups of offenders. The amount and meaning of aggression is used to discriminate among subgroups of offenders (Hall, Hirschman & Beutler, 1991; Prentky & Knight, 1991). In this analysis a distinction is made between 'instrumental' aggression and 'expressive' aggression. 'Instrumental' aggression is "characteristic of most social acquaintance rapes. It is limited to the amount of aggression necessary to attain victim compliance" (Prentky & Knight, 1991, p.647).

The anger present is seen as being a response to victim resistance. In 'expressive' aggression, "rather than simply intending to gain victim compliance, the offender's behaviour suggests a desire to injure, abuse, and degrade" (Prentky & Knight, 1991, p.647).

According to this model of sexual coercion, sexuality is used as a means of expressing underlying feelings of aggression and hostility which motivate the sexually coercive act.

According to Prentky and Knight (1991), the amount and the quality of expressed sexual aggression has been found to be more highly variable and complex than the above simplified dichotomization of aggression into 'instrumental' and 'expressive' components. It is essential that attitudes, cognitions and situational variables are considered when trying to discriminate among sexual offenders and offenses.

Using the above distinction between 'instrumental' and 'expressive' aggression, Groth and Birnbaum, (1979) identified three patterns of rape, namely: 'anger rape', where the sexuality is a 'hostile act', 'power rape' where the sexuality is an 'expression of conquest', and 'sadistic rape', where violence has become eroticized.

Rape, then, is a pseudosexual act, a pattern of sexual behaviour that is concerned much more with status, hostility, control, and dominance than with sensual pleasure or sexual satisfaction. It is sexual behaviour in the primary service of non-sexual needs (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.13).

The three patterns of rape will be briefly discussed to give an overview of the basic premise of the motivational models of sexual coercion.

i Anger rape

In anger rape sexuality becomes the means by which anger and rage are expressed. This explanation fits in with the definition of expressive aggression. This kind of assault is characterized by physical brutality. In such a rape, the offender aims at hurting and humiliating his victim both physically and verbally.

The anger rapist does not usually find any sexual gratification in the act, and the satisfaction achieved results from a discharge of aggression (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991; Sorenson & White, 1992). The anger rapist is seen as displacing his anger and frustration experienced in his own relationships onto another person, often a complete stranger, especially when he is unable to control his pent up aggression (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991). The anger rapist will strike on many occasions as the assault only offers relief for a limited period of time. The angry rapist is likely to express his aggression to both males and females and the violence is likely to be more random i.e. directed towards someone who happens to be in the way at the time (Prentky & Knight, 1991).

ii Power rape

The range of sexually coercive behaviours (bum-pinching to forcible sexual intercourse), is partially explained by the definition given by Groth and Birnbaum (1979), of the power rapist. In this definition the aggression and violence expressed by the offender are done so as a means of overpowering and controlling the victim in an attempt to gain victim compliance,

and thus fits in with the instrumental aggression definition.

The amount of aggression used to force victim compliance may vary in accordance with a number of factors, namely: victim resistance, alcohol use and other situational variables (George & Marlatt, 1986). Thus differentiation between subtypes of sexual offenders is highly complex.

The offender is often obsessed with fantasies of sexual conquest (Hall, Hirschman & Beutler, 1991; Kaplan & Sadock, 1991; Sorenson & White, 1992). The power rapist usually finds little satisfaction in the assault as reality fails to live up to the fantasy. As a result the power rapist may commit many offenses in a quest to achieve satisfaction. The aim of the offender is not sexual, it is more to "capture, conquer and control his victim" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.28). Many theorists state that this kind of offender is often insecure about his masculinity and is conflicted about his sexual identity. This corresponds to the 'compensatory masculinity hypothesis' of Babl (1979, cited in Prentky & Knight, 1991). According to this approach "rape can be understood as an antisocial expression of exaggerated masculine-typed behaviours, originating in acute feelings of social and sexual inadequacy" (Prentky & Knight, 1991, p.654).

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The assault can be seen as an attempt to assert his masculinity and his heterosexual identity. In general they can be regarded as being insecure and uncomfortable with sexuality. Often the victim is seen as representing everything the offender despises about himself, namely: weak, powerless and effeminate (Prentky & Knight, 1991).

The offender's underlying feelings of inadequacy, insecurity and vulnerability, are regarded as being motivating factors for the sexual assault. "The offender attempts to restore his sense of power, control, identity, and worth through his sexual offense" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.31).

The assault is thus an attempt to assert himself and to validate his masculinity. Compensatory masculinity helps the offender to overcome feelings of inadequacy through an assertion of dominance and control in sexual behaviour.

iii Sadistic rape

The common feature of sadistic rape is "a pattern of extreme violence in the offence that has often focused on erogenous areas of the body and that may be considered bizarre or appear ritualized" (Prentky & Knight, 1991, p.653).

In the sadistic rape aggression becomes eroticized. The offender finds gratification in the suffering and torment of his victims. "The assault usually involves bondage and torture and frequently has a bizarre or ritualistic quality to it" (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979, p.44).

Prostitutes are often the victims, in that they symbolize something the sexual sadist wants to punish and destroy. The aim of the sadistic rapist is to torture and abuse his victim, using sex to punish and at times destroy (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992; Kaplan & Sadock, 1991). Research has not yet given a clear picture of whether there is a small subset of offenders who find victim distress and violence as being sexually arousing (Prentky & Knight, 1991).

Power rape is the predominate form of sexual coercion (Groth & Birnbaum, 1979). This coincides with research, which shows that most sexually coercive acts occur with someone that the victim knows, and is not necessarily the act of a deranged, mentally ill person (Miller & Marshall, 1987). This is contrary to popular belief, that most rapes are sadistic rapes, and that most rapists are essentially mad (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

The motivational model of sexual coercion thus sees rape as the means for discharging underlying conflicts surrounding issues of anger and power. The rapist is depicted as being tormented by feelings of powerlessness, inadequacy and vulnerability. The sexual assault is seen as representing an internal crisis in the offender.

2.2.3 Critical perspective of the motivational and psychopathological models

Research conducted in the psychopathological tradition, focuses on the personal characteristics of men who have been incarcerated for rape. It can thus be seen as supporting the belief that rape is an act perpetrated by a few 'deviant', 'deranged' and 'mentally ill' men (Donat & D'Emilio 1992; Sorenson & White, 1992; White & Farmer, 1992). It fails to recognize the fact that most sexually coercive acts occur between people who are in fact acquaintances and that most sexually coercive acts go unreported (Sorenson & White, 1992). Furthermore, men who have been incarcerated for rape have been shown to respond differently to 'normal' men on a range of psychological indices (Sorenson & White, 1992).

According to Donat and D'Emilio (1992), the psychopathological approach describes rapists as being unable to control their sexual and aggressive impulses due to an ineffective superego. They have therefore been described as suffering from personality defects. Other theories in this tradition focus on castration fears, feelings of sexual inferiority/inadequacy and homosexual tendencies to explain the behaviour of rapists (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). Although psychological factors are essential in understanding sexual coercion, an approach is needed which also focuses on other factors, such as sociocultural variables, which can account for sexual coercion.

2.2.4 Sociobiological approaches

In the sociobiological model of sexual aggression the focus is on biological variables, such as brain functioning and hormone levels, that are assumed to have an evolutionary basis (Ellis, 1989 & 1991; Hall & Hirschman, 1991). According to Ellis (1989), Deutsch (1944), was the first theorist to suggest that the male propensity to rape could have an evolutionary basis.

Loss of a distinct period of sexual receptivity (estrus) by women marked the beginning of their subjugation to the sexual wills of men, and implied that rape could be one of the consequences (Ellis, 1989, p.14).

This theory thus attempts to offer support for the traditional roles adopted by men and women in society. Proponents of this theory proclaim that females emphasize the care of offspring, whilst males emphasize the securing of as many sexual partners as is possible (Ellis, 1989). The underlying assumption of the evolutionary theory is that males are able to inseminate a large number of females, rather than having to take care of the offspring. "If so, forceful copulatory tactics (or rape in human terms) may have been naturally selected" (Ellis, 1989, p.15).

In an attempt to incorporate aspects of social learning theory and the evolutionary theory, Ellis (1991), developed a 'synthesized' theory of rape. This theory falls within a sociobiological approach to sexual coercion. Sexual aggression is regarded as being sexually motivated by "the drive to possess and control others to whom one is sexually attracted" (Ellis, 1991, p.638).

Men are regarded as having a stronger sex drive than women and a greater propensity to copulate outside of an established relationship than women. Sexual aggression is thus understood in terms of releasing sexual tension. Exposure of the brain to androgens can lead to an enhancement of the sex drive and the drive to possess and control multiple sex partners. Furthermore, exposure to androgens can result in a decrease in the sensitivity to the suffering of others. Thus according to this approach people may be "neurohormonally disposed towards sexual assault" (Ellis 1991, p.638). Such a belief offers support for many of the myths which exist today surrounding sexual coercion.

The synthesized (Biosocial) approach states that for evolutionary and neurohormonal reasons men are more predisposed to rape than women.

Neurohormonally, raping tendencies may be seen as resulting primarily from an increased sex drive, a desire to possess and control multiple sex partners, and an insensitivity to adverse consequence of one's actions (Ellis, 1991, p.638).

Furthermore, testosterone levels have been found to be elevated in violent sexual offenders. It is unclear as to whether testosterone levels are associated with sexual aggression or aggressive behaviour generally. Research with

non-criminal and non-sex-offender populations have been similarly inconclusive in that both negative and positive findings have been reported regarding testosterone and nonsexual aggressive behaviour (Berlin, 1983, Bradford & Mclean, 1984, cited in Hall & Hirschman, 1991).

2.2.5 Critical perspective on the biosocial approach

The biosocial approach to sexual aggression is biologically reductionist. It implies that sexual aggression is unavoidable, and justifies sexually coercive behaviour. There is an overemphasis on instinctual aspects of sexual behaviour and an exclusion of other important factors such as social and relationship factors and cognitive variables (Hall & Hirschman 1991). As mentioned above, this approach can be seen as offering support for many of the myths which currently exist about rape. For example, the biosocial approach proposes that men are biologically predisposed to rape due to their strong sex drive. This belief can be seen as excusing men who rape and making women responsible for controlling the male sex drive by not acting in a 'so-called' provocative manner. This can be seen as offering support for the idea that victims are responsible for the encouragement of sexually aggressive acts.

2.2.6 Physiological approach

The physiological approach to sexual coercion focuses on the relationship between sexual arousal and aggression in assessing proclivity to rape.

Abel and associates (1977, 1976, 1978, 1978, cited in Malamuth 1986) were amongst the first researchers to attempt to differentiate rapists from nonrapists by developing the penile tumescence rape index. This index is "a ratio of sexual arousal to rape portrayals compared

with arousal to consenting sex portrayals" (Malamuth, Check & Briere, 1986, p.954).

They attempted to develop an objective index of a proclivity to rape based on the arousal differences between rapists and nonrapists (Malamuth & Check, 1983). A man whose penile tumescence to rape is similar or greater than his penile tumescence to consenting depictions would be regarded as having a proclivity to rape (Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Abel and his colleagues (cited in Malamuth, Check & Briere, 1986), found that

rapists showed relatively high and about equal levels of penile tumescence in response to audiotaped portrayals of both rape and consenting sexual acts. Male nonrapists, in contrast, showed relatively little sexual arousal (both in self-report and tumescence measures) from rape depictions in comparison with consenting depictions (Malamuth et al., 1986, p.330).

Although Abel and his associates found that rapists, as opposed to non-rapists, were equally aroused by consenting and non-consenting sex depictions, other researchers have found that men from the non-rapist population have been shown to respond to depictions of rape. (Malamuth & Check, 1983). According to Malamuth and Check (1983), the above research does not indicate who in the general population is likely to act in a sexually aggressive manner.

Furthermore, among the rapist population no single mode of sexual arousal has been found which is applicable to all rapists (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991). An extreme amount of heterogeneity exists among sexual offenders. For example, sadistic rapists may show arousal to depictions of rape, whereas nonsadistic rapists may show no such arousal (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991). It is therefore important to explore the relationship between the patterns of response to rape cues and the classification of rapists into various subtypes. It is also essential to look at individual differences when researching both the rapist and nonrapist groups. Research looking at the comparison of sexual arousal between rapists and nonrapists

has come up with conflicting results.

Some individual rapists show response patterns indicating that rape cues have excitatory factors, whereas others show a preferential rape pattern (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991). Some sexual offenders have shown equal or greater arousal to rape stimuli than to consenting stimuli (Hall & Hirschman, 1991).

In general, both rapists and non rapists have been shown to have a similar overall pattern of physiological response, i.e. both display lower levels of arousal to sexually coercive acts than to noncoercive acts. As can be seen it is important to take into account the heterogeneity that exists among sexually coercive and non-sexually coercive males (Hall & Hirschman, 1991). Hall and Hirschman (1991), state that it is as yet unclear whether high levels of physiological arousal are necessary for the person to become sexually aggressive. It appears that in examining sexually coercive behaviour, both sexual and aggressive components are present and it is essential to explore the ways in which these components interact (Barbaree & Marshall, 1991).

Malamuth and his colleagues (1983 & 1986) were amongst the first researchers to explore some of the ways in which aggressive and sexual components interact, as well as exploring the importance of other factors in sexually aggressive behaviour. Within the male nonrapist population there are large individual differences in the degree to which men are aroused by rape depictions (Malamuth & Check, 1983). According to Malamuth and Check (1983), these differences can be accounted for by looking at the victim's response to the assault, and the nonrapists tendencies towards sexual aggression. They found that if the woman was portrayed as becoming sexually aroused in the rape scene, then those males regarded as having a low likelihood of raping showed equal arousal to both the consenting and nonconsenting sex scenes. Whereas those found as having a high likelihood of raping showed greater arousal to the nonconsenting depictions. If the woman was depicted as showing disgust, then both those with a high and a low likelihood of raping showed more arousal to the consenting than to the

nonconsenting depictions.

Arousal to rape depictions can possibly be regarded as one index of the proclivity to rape (Malamuth & Check, 1983). What is of importance is the content of the depictions, not just the woman's consent or nonconsent. Thus variations in content of rape scenes (whether the victim reacted with abhorrence or arousal), or the subject's psychological state at the time (degree of anger), may critically affect the degree of nonrapists sexual arousal to sexual stimuli (Malamuth & Check, 1983).

As mentioned above, it is essential to explore the interaction of sexual and aggressive components when examining sexually coercive behaviour. Malamuth, Check and Briere (1986), found that research exploring the differences of sexual arousal of rapists and nonrapists to nonsexual aggression has shown conflicting results. Some studies showed both rapists and nonrapists experiencing sexual arousal to nonsexual aggression. Whereas in still others, nonrapists showed no arousal (Malamuth et al., 1986). Therefore the impact of aggression on the sexual arousal of nonrapists is unclear. Malamuth, Check and Briere (1986), conducted a study to explore the impact of aggression on sexual arousal among the nonrapist population. They found that aggression may be a sexual stimulant for some members from the nonrapist population. They found that for subjects who reported no or moderate arousal from force, aggression inhibited sexual arousal. In subjects who reported a high level of arousal from force, the presence of aggression was found to enhance sexual arousal. Malamuth, Check and Briere (1986), state that those who showed high levels of arousal to force, were more accepting of an ideology that "justifies male aggression against and dominance over women" (p.338).

Arousal from force was seen as being associated with a greater acceptance of aggression in nonsexual situations, and with a greater tendency to become involved in sexually coercive acts. Overall they found that the self-reported likelihood to be sexually aggressive was associated with attitudes supportive of rape. This offers support for the feminist approach,

which explores the impact of cultural attitudes and roles on aggression against women.

...a man who believes that women must be coerced into sexual acts may experience sexual arousal and pleasure while engaging in an act of real or imagined aggression or dominance (Malamuth et al., 1986, p.338).

Although sexual arousal is an important factor in the motivation to act in a sexually coercive manner, the presence of additional factors needs to be taken into account. Malamuth (1986), emphasizes the importance of multifactorial models to explain sexual coercion. "Sexual aggression is caused by the interaction among multiple factors.." (Malamuth, 1986, p.955).

Malamuth (1986) found that factors such as: sexual arousal in response to aggression, the desire to be sexually dominant and powerful, hostility towards women, attitudes accepting of violence against women, antisocial personality characteristics and sexual experience were significantly related to a proclivity to become sexually aggressive in a naturalistic setting. The presence of any predictor alone was found to be unlikely to result in high levels of sexual aggression. Thus sexual arousal in response to aggression can be regarded as one of the factors that may create an inclination for men to aggress against women, but other factors must be present before such an arousal pattern will lead to aggression. The factors are seen as interacting to produce levels of sexual aggression.

2.2.7 Critical perspective on the physiological approach

The physiological approach has focused its research on rapist and non-rapist populations. It is not clear whether the 'non-rapist' populations had engaged in sexually coercive behaviours besides forced sexual penetration, which may have affected the responses given. The exclusion of the range of sexually coercive behaviours supports the belief that such behaviours are not coercive and only forced sexual intercourse is regarded as being damaging and coercive. What is clear is that sexual arousal to depictions of rape and consenting sex are not clear cut, and both rapists and non-rapists show a variety of arousal responses.

The importance of social factors in understanding sexually coercive behaviours cannot be ignored. Sociocultural factors, such as hostility towards women, attitudes which support sexually coercive behaviours, acceptance of rape myths and an acceptance of an ideology which emphasizes conventional understandings of masculinity and femininity, need to be incorporated into an understanding of sexual coercion (Malamuth 1986; Malamuth, Sockloskie, Koss & Tanaka, 1991). Malamuth et al., (1991) found that exposure to hostility at home, antisocial personality predisposition and sexual promiscuity were important contributing factors to both sexual and non-sexual coercion. They emphasize the importance of a multi-factorial approach which takes into account both individual and psychological variables, such as masculine and feminine orientation, and sociocultural factors, such as male dominance of women (Malamuth et al., 1991).

2.2.8 Social learning theories of sexual coercion

The social learning theory of sexual coercion sees sex role socialization as being central to rape/sexual coercion.

The social learning theory states that repeated exposure to almost any type of stimulus tends to promote positive feelings towards it. According to Bandura, aggression is learned through modelling and is sustained via intermittent reinforcement (Ellis, 1989). Thus, according to the social learning theory, rape is aggressive behaviour towards women which is learned through four interrelated processes, namely: by imitation of acts of violence against women displayed in the media or in reality, by associating sexuality with violence, through the perpetration of rape myths and by the desensitization of people to the pain and humiliation of sexual aggression (Ellis, 1989; Malamuth & Brier, 1986; Malamuth & Check, 1983). Vogelman (1990), using a social learning approach, made the following observations. In many parts of South Africa, violent behaviour offers the model of relating. Many boys are exposed to violence in the home, which is usually physical violence against the mother and they thus learn this mode of relating themselves. "The experience of parental conflict and the effects of sex-role socialization help to reproduce this mode of relating in adulthood"

(Vogelman, 1990, p.8).

Furthermore, it has been shown that children learn about violence by being victims of violence themselves (Groth, 1979; Prentky & Knight, 1991). Vogelmann (1990), found that "most of the rapists and physical assaulters had experienced physical and psychological abuse as children. Many of these violent childhood encounters occurred with their fathers" (p.8).

Thus violence becomes a learned way of relating. According to the social learning perspective, men's perception of women is seen as being influenced by their earlier interactions with parental figures. The way in which men come to perceive women is influenced by the first interaction with women in their lives, namely their mothers. Although social learning theory can be used to explain why people brought up in violent circumstances will have a tendency to behave in a violent manner in adulthood, it fails to explain why those who are not necessarily brought up in violent circumstances or exposed to other forms of violence may have a proclivity to behave in a sexually coercive manner.

2.2.9 Critical perspective on the social learning theory

From a critical perspective, some psychological explanations may be helpful in gaining insight into the development of masculine and feminine identity in men and women. Such an understanding can be seen as assisting in gaining more insight into the factors which predispose certain men to behave in a sexually coercive manner. For example, the mothering that boys and girls receive can be seen as accounting for the crucial differences found in the masculine and feminine parts of the personality (Chodorow, 1989). In western society, women are largely responsible for the socialization of children (Hollway, 1984). Even whilst the infant is in the womb the parent's perception of the sex of the infant will affect the socialization that that particular infant will receive (Tolson, 1977). For example a boy may be encouraged to enter into the masculine world which can conventionally be defined as representing independence, challenge, rationality and power (Tolson, 1977).

In contrast, the little girl can be seen as being encouraged to partake in the feminine world which can be seen as consisting of emotional and relational aspects. Boys are thus encouraged to deny and repress their dependency and emotional needs, whilst girls are discouraged from partaking in the masculine world (Chodorow, 1989). The adoption of what Jung terms the masculine 'persona' by men, can thus be seen as an attempt by men to compensate for their inner femininity. Sexual coercion may be seen as an attempt by sexually coercive men to destroy anything that threatens their masculinity and is representative of their own inner femininity (Jung, 1978). The impact of the child's socialization and of underlying psychological factors cannot be ignored when looking at sexual coercion. Social and psychological factors have to be considered if a full understanding of sexual coercion is to be obtained.

2.2.10 The sociocultural approach

Feminist theory of sexual coercion/rape gained momentum in the 1960's and has recently become one of the main explanations for sexual coercion (Sorenson & White, 1992). Feminist theory incorporated a social learning focus on sex-role socialization into a social-political-historical account of rape. According to this approach,

men are socialized to perpetrate violence and to view sexual exploitation as part of the masculine sex role, whereas women are socialized to accept rape-supportive beliefs and to blame themselves for their victimization (Sorenson & White, 1992, p.3).

The feminist view can thus be seen as fitting into a sociocultural approach to sexual coercion, as it focuses on the importance of the relationship between sociocultural factors and sexual assault (White & Sorenson, 1992). It takes into account the fact that sexually coercive behaviour occurs within a sociocultural context and affects society's reaction to and therefore tolerance of such behaviours (Burt, 1980, Brownmiller, 1975, Donat & D'Emilio, 1992, Sorenson & White, 1992, White & Farmer, 1992, White & Sorenson, 1992). According to this theory it is essential to understand the positions and attitudes held by men and women

within a political, economic and cultural context (Vogelman, 1993).

Basically, the feminist theory considers rape to be the result of long and deep-rooted social traditions in which males have dominated nearly all important political and economic activities. Reflecting and reinforcing this male domination and exploitation of women is the existence of prostitution and especially pornography. In both cases women tend to be treated (or portrayed) in subservient and degrading ways (Ellis, 1989, p.10).

According to this approach, women are seen as being excluded from the political decision making processes which affect them, including rape and are regarded as being unequal participants in interpersonal relations. According to Ellis (1989), in the extreme women can be viewed as male property over which men can compete. In the light of this approach, sexual coercion can be explained in terms of social, political and economical matters, where women are viewed as male property. This approach appears not to take into account the social changes which have occurred in society, where women are gaining more economical and political power. *This is especially noticeable in South Africa, where women appear to have more say in the political and economical arenas (Perkel, 1994). It appears as if changes are taking place in South African society, which may enable women to express their viewpoints and to play an active role in the decision making processes in the country. It is still true that many South African women are exposed to both physical and sexual abuse (Vogelman, 1990). The prevalence of violence against women in South African society can partly be explained by the adoption of the male and female sex role by many South African men and women respectively, resulting in violence and victimization. The extreme poverty and unemployment faced by many South Africans, may in part account for the physical violence in the country, where men may feel disempowered economically and physical and sexual abuse may be an attempt by men to reassert their masculinity. Thus it appears as if the basic needs of the community at large need to be addressed before there will be a decrease in violence. *

Although sociocultural factors can be seen as playing an important role in the prevalence of sexual violence, it is essential that psychological variables be taken into account when attempting to explain sexual coercion. According to the sociocultural approach, interpersonally sexual coercion is seen as a response to the social inequality between the sexes affecting interpersonal interaction between men and women. Sexual coercion is seen as men adopting a sexist ideology and behaving and taking on all the qualities assigned to the male sex role, such as violence, power and dominance (Vogelman, 1993). Sexual coercion can be seen as the use of sexuality to establish and maintain dominance and control of women by men (Burt, 1980). It is seen as a form of social control, ensuring women's subservience to men (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992; Sorenson & White 1992; Vogelman, 1990).

According to this approach, sexual coercion is supported by prevailing cultural attitudes that condone and normalize violence against women (Brownmiller, 1975; Sorenson & White 1992; Vogelman, 1993). Cultural attitudes and rape myths and the assertion of male dominance and power are seen as motives for sexual assault (Burt, 1980; White & Farmer, 1992).

According to Vogelman (1993), sexual coercion needs to be understood in terms of the following: It exists within a society where an ideology of sexuality prevails which asserts that it is mens' right to initiate sex and therefore their right to intimidate women. * Pornography and prostitution can be seen as increasing the objectification of women and eroticizing sexual aggression (Malamuth & Briere, 1986). Furthermore, language, such as 'chick' or 'bird', can be seen as further objectifying women.

This approach regards sexually coercive beliefs as encouraging victim blaming, and social scripts, which define how men and women interact, as promoting sexually coercive behaviours (White & Sorenson, 1992).

2.2.11 Critical perspective on the sociocultural approach

The sociocultural approach sees socialization as the primary factor in the development of the male and female psyche. This approach fails however, to take into account the individual's unique experience with his/her primary caregivers, the importance of underlying psychological factors and subsequent developmental experiences, such as schooling, when explaining the development of the male and female psyche respectively. Furthermore, it appears to ignore the fact that an individual may adopt both masculine and feminine attributes and not necessarily purely adopt the attributes associated with his or her defined sex role. According to most psychological theory, psychological health is represented by an integration of masculine and feminine attributes within the psyche of the individual (Bem, 1974; Jung, 1977; Perkel, 1994). Such an integration is seen as enabling the person to get in touch with other important aspects of his/her personality and as allowing for flexibility in behaviour (Bem, 1974; Jung, 1977). Furthermore, early modern feminism promoted the ideology that women could only be equal to men if they were the same as men (Hollway, 1984). This ideology can be seen as perpetuating the inequality of the sexes, by proposing that the masculine role is superior to the feminine one. "To compete with men like this necessitated a negative definition of myself as a woman..... To be like men, I had to be not like women" (Hollway, 1984, p.230).

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This approach appears to deny the importance of feminine attributes which are seen as enabling a person to get into contact with his/her inner world and to have the capacity for empathy and for interpersonal relatedness (Jung, 1977; Perkel, 1994). Perhaps the ideology that masculine attributes are superior needs to be challenged.

Masculine personality, then, comes to be defined more in terms of denial of relation and connection (and denial of femininity), whereas feminine personality comes to include a fundamental definition of self in relationship (Chodorow, 1989, p.169).

According to Chodorow (1989) boys and girls are seen as emerging from the resolution of the Oedipus complex with differential needs and wants. Boys are prepared for activity in non-relational spheres, whereas girls are prepared for activity in relational spheres. A person who adopts a purely masculine persona would thus have to deny their inner femininity and may in fact be motivated to 'destroy' what is regarded as feminine in others. This could be a motivating factor in sexually coercive behaviours.

The feminist sociocultural approach condemns all men for innate violence. It does not take into account or explain why all men do not behave in a sexually coercive manner.

Sociocultural factors cannot be ignored when understanding sexual coercion, but other psychological variables such as, poor self-esteem, masculine and feminine orientation, must be considered if sexual coercion is to be fully explained. The interaction between social and psychological factors determines whether men will hold sexually coercive attitudes and behave in a sexually coercive manner. An approach is needed which looks at whether all men have internalized societal scripts and takes into account personal psychological variables which can explain the existence of sexual coercion.

2.3 Understanding sexual coercion

The above theoretical approaches have focused on explaining the existence of rape as opposed to sexual coercion, which includes a number of heterogeneous behaviours of which rape forms a part. Forced sexual intercourse, or conventionally rape, can be regarded as being a more extreme form of sexual coercion than for example bottom pinching, wolf whistling and kissing.

The fact that rape is the only form of sexual coercion to be legally recognised in South African Law and predominates in the literature supports the conclusion that it is more universally regarded as a coercive act. Rape was chosen as a central concept for analysis, in that it avoids the ambiguities which surround the recognition of other sexually coercive acts.

Furthermore, it may be assumed that by gaining an understanding of the psychological, biological and sociocultural factors which underlie rape, one may gain some insight into the factors which underlie other sexually coercive behaviours. Through an examination of an extreme form of sexual coercion, one may be able to identify psychological factors, such as poor self-esteem, as well as sociocultural factors, such as sex-role socialization, which can be seen as underlying other sexually coercive behaviours. It is possible that someone who partakes in less severe forms of sexual coercion may have a greater tendency towards other more severe forms of sexual coercion. This does not mean to imply that less severe forms of sexual coercion are likely to lead to forced sexual intercourse. For example, a man who feels insecure about his masculinity may attempt to compensate for his own feelings of inadequacy by making inappropriate sexual gestures to a female colleague. This does not mean that this same man will necessarily rape. Another man may, due to feelings of inadequacy in fact rape a woman in an extreme attempt to assert his masculinity. Thus although the same dynamics may be identified as underlying sexually coercive behaviour in general, this does not mean to imply that the personal dynamics which underlie less severe forms of sexual coercion will entice a person to rape.

2.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, when examining the above approaches to sexual coercion, it becomes apparent that no single approach is able to explain adequately the causes of sexual aggression. It is quite clear that a multifactorial approach is essential, which takes into account factors such as sexual arousal, aggression, hostility towards women and sexist attitudes. No single factor in isolation is enough to explain why certain men act in a sexually coercive manner.

Although the theories of sexual coercion provide useful tools for understanding sexually coercive behaviours, in and of themselves they seem inadequate. For example, theories of socialization do not adequately account for individual differences. Therefore the next chapter will take a more in-depth view of attitude theory in an attempt to explain individual differences in attitudes held.

CHAPTER THREE - ATTITUDE THEORY

3.1 Introduction

Sexual coercion is extremely prevalent, both internationally and in South Africa (Quackenbush, 1991; Vogelmann, 1990). Sexual coercion takes a number of different forms, whether seen as offensive bum pinching or whether seen as brutal rape.

Masculinity and femininity can be seen as shaping the social dynamics between men and women. In assessing the attitudes that underlie sexual coercion it is essential to understand masculine and feminine behaviours that support and contribute towards this coercion. It is therefore vital to understand what factors determine sexually coercive attitudes. Furthermore, it is important to understand the link between holding sexually coercive attitudes and behaving in a sexually coercive manner. Such an understanding has important implications for educational programmes aiming at changing sexually coercive attitudes and thus ultimately impacting on behaviour.

It is important to have an understanding of the differing theories pertaining to the attitude construct before explaining the psychological variables, such as masculinity and femininity, which in and of themselves may impact on the individual's attitudinal structure. This chapter will attempt to give a clear conceptualization of the structure and functioning of attitudes, which can be seen as assisting in the understanding of the interaction between the psychological variables of masculinity and femininity and attitudes in general and to sexual coercion in particular.

In this study, attitude theory is used to provide a conceptual analysis of how attitudes towards sexual coercion relate to masculine and feminine orientation. In order to explain this relationship, it is important to have a clear definition of the attitude construct and to describe some of the well known features of attitude theory.

3.2 Definitions of the attitude concept

The attitude construct has many different meanings attached to it. For the purpose of this study, it is essential to explore these meanings and arrive at a definition and understanding of the construct which is applicable both theoretically and practically to this study.

With the emergence of the behaviourist tradition in the twentieth century, the study of attitudes became central to American social psychology and has dominated this field from the early 1920's onwards. In 1918, sociologists Thomas and Znaniecki, defined social psychology as the, "scientific study of attitudes" (Allport, 1935; Kiesler, Collins & Miller, 1969; McGuire, 1986).

In spite of the centrality of this concept, it is notoriously difficult to define. No single definition exists which is acceptable to all who do research in this area. In 1933, McDougall criticized the variety and vagueness of existing definitions,

the term is used to cover a multitude of facts of many kinds including almost every variety of opinion and belief and all the abstract qualities of personality, such as courage, obstinacy, generosity and humility, as well as the units of affective organization which are called sentiments (McDougall, 1933, cited in Allport, 1935, p.3).

In response to McDougall's criticisms, Allport (1935) attempted to give a definition of attitudes, which was comprehensive, and defined an attitude as,

a mental and neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations to which it is related (p.8).

Allport's definition emphasizes the behavioural implications of the concept seeing an attitude as causing or directing subsequent behaviour. It clearly outlines the classical American

viewpoint and includes many of the notions still present in current definitions of the concept.

The influential Behaviourist tradition sees attitudes in terms of the stimulus-response approach. Both the classical and operant conditioning paradigms are used to account for attitude formation. Staats (1947) used the classical conditioning approach to understand attitudes and came up with the following definition, "an emotional response to a stimulus that has social significance" (Taylor, 1984, p.13).

Thus if you pair a new stimulus with one that already elicits an emotional response, the new stimulus will ultimately be able to produce the emotional response. Implicit in this definition is that the emotional response elicited from the new stimulus will affect the individual's behaviour (Taylor, 1984). Campbell (1947), approached the attitude construct from the operant conditioning paradigm and saw attitudes as being formed in terms of positive and negative reinforcement (Taylor, 1984). Thus behaviours which are positively reinforced will result in a positive disposition towards the object/event which resulted in the reinforcement.

The above behaviourist definitions do not take into account the emotional and evaluative aspects of the attitude concept. In an attempt to expand the learning theorist's understanding, Doob (1947), suggested that a mediating process intervenes between the stimulus-response process. This mediating process was regarded as being outside of the conscious control of the individual and as therefore not playing any dynamic or integrating role within the personality (Taylor, 1984). Doob (1947), defined attitudes as, "an implicit, drive-producing response considered socially significant in the individual's society" (Freedman, Merrill Carlsmith & Sears, 1974, p.245).

This definition can be seen as an attempt to account for mental processes from a learning point of view. It focuses on what an attitude is as opposed to the behavioural implications of the concept. The underlying assumption is that an attitude will affect individual behaviour. *
The response is implicit in that it occurs within the individual and is not necessarily

noticeable to others. What is noticeable is the overt behaviour evoked by the attitude, but which does not in itself constitute the attitude (Taylor, 1984).

Generally from the learning theorists viewpoint, attitudes towards sexual coercion would be seen as being influenced by positive or negative reinforcement schedules and as directly influencing behaviour. The individual is almost portrayed as having no conscious control over the attitudes he/she holds and is seen as a passive recipient of environmental forces. ?

Other understandings and definitions of the attitude construct move outside the somewhat simplistic stimulus-response approach of the behaviouristic tradition and emphasize the importance of conscious processes, reasoning, thinking abilities and the need for a person to understand and integrate incoming information (Taylor, 1984). Attitudes are seen as means of categorizing and evaluating social objects, thus having important evaluative and affective components. Kretch and Crutchfield (1948), were amongst the first theorists to recognize the centrality of cognition, affect and conation to the attitude construct. They defined an attitude as, "an enduring organization of motivational, emotional, perceptual and cognitive processes with respect to some aspect of the individual's world" (Kiesler et al., 1969, p.1-2).

One of the most commonly accepted definition of attitudes, includes the above components of cognition, affect and conation (Freedman et al., 1974). The cognitive component consists of the beliefs, thoughts and knowledge about the attitude object. The feeling component includes the positive and negative evaluations of feelings relating to beliefs and the behavioural component is a combination of cognitive and affective components (Atkinson, Atkinson & Hilgard, 1983; Eagly & Mladivic, 1989; Middlebrook, 1980). These components are important in understanding attitudes towards sexual coercion. For example, according to this understanding what we know, think and feel about sexual coercion will determine how we evaluate whether something is sexually coercive or not and this evaluation will ultimately influence our behaviour. Implicit in this definition is that behaviour is strongly influenced by existing attitudes. The assumption that there is a strong link between attitudes and behaviour

permeates most of the classical American view of the attitude concept (McBroom & Reed, 1992). This can be seen as having resulted in research which focuses on the particular conditions under which attitudes can be seen as causing behaviour (McBroom & Reed, 1992).

The above definitions can be seen as being tenuous as they emphasize the attitude-behaviour link which has been shown not always to be present (Middlebrook, 1980; Taylor, 1984). This approach can be regarded as being simplistic in that attitudes do not determine behaviour in a simple linear fashion. Behaviour can be seen as being determined by a variety of variables, with the relationship between these variables being complex and involving various interactions and mediations (Taylor, 1984). For example, it is not only feelings or evaluative components which determine behaviour, but also social pressures which may intervene and determine how a person will behave in a certain situation. Thus both external (social and environmental) factors and internal (cognitive and emotional) factors can be seen as exerting an influence on the attitude-behaviour link (Taylor, 1984). For example, other factors, such as social desirability, may intervene and prevent people who hold sexually coercive attitudes from behaving in a sexually coercive manner. Furthermore, this understanding does not clearly take into account other factors, such as masculine and feminine orientation, which can be seen as being related to internal emotional factors, which may separately intervene and affect attitudes towards sexual coercion.

The classical American viewpoint regards attitudes as being located within the individual and as learned (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). Criticisms of the Classical Individualistic American understanding of the attitude construct is given by European scholars, Eiser and Van der Pligt (1988), who argue that attitudes are social constructs which are: "contextually and culturally shared... are both a social product and an intrinsic part of social action" (cited in Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992, p.122).

Thus attitudes are not regarded as individual constructs which alone can cause and direct behaviour, but as social constructs which are shared by others, are used for classification of

objects and assist in the establishment of a social order according to which groups and individuals can identify themselves (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). In understanding attitudes towards sexual coercion it is essential to see that they are supported by the structures of social relationships amongst people in general and between men and women in particular.

In conclusion, the components of cognition, affect and conation can be seen as being essential, but not all inclusive to an understanding of the attitude construct. Other factors, for example 'personality' variables, need to be taken into account when examining the various determinants of a particular attitude. Furthermore, an understanding of attitudes and its impact on behaviour needs to take into account the importance of mediating variables, social influences and the degree to which individual responses belong to various social groupings, before any definite conclusions can be drawn. It can be assumed that human behaviour is under the influence of various factors, which when they interrelate may make some behavioural prediction possible.*

3.3 Historical developments in attitude research

The study of the attitude construct dominated Social Psychology in three distinctive historical periods (McGuire, 1986).



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The 1920's and 1930's were concerned with attitude scaling and its relation to behaviour, for example the Likert Scale. During the 1950's and 1960's the focus was on the individual dynamics of attitude change and the theories of cognitive consistency and cognitive dissonance dominated. From the 1980's the focus has been on attitudinal structures and functioning "including the structure of individual attitudes, of systems of attitudes, and of attitudinal systems as they relate to other systems within the person" (McGuire, 1986, p.89).

This approach appears to have recognized the need for the simultaneous scaling of several variables and the relationships between them. It appears as if interest in attitude research has shifted from a focus on attitude measurement and its relation to behaviour, to the dynamics of

attitude change and now onto the structure and functioning of attitudinal systems. The attitudinal structure and functioning approach forms the basis of understanding of the attitude construct in this chapter. A comprehensive overview of the evolution of the latter theory will be given by exploring some of the theories which can be seen as forming the basis of this approach.

3.4 Theoretical approaches to the study of attitudes

There are many different frameworks for analysing attitudes in contemporary psychology. This chapter intends to provide a brief overview of the differing theoretical views of attitudes and then it intends to draw from these theories analyses which are useful in understanding the relationship between masculine and feminine orientation and sexual coercion. Briefly the schools of thought that this paper will explore are the consistency theorists, the persuasive ~~communication model~~, the ^{Part of Economic approach theories} expectancy-value model, the theory of reasoned action, the theory of planned behaviour and the functionalist approach. These theories focus on the individual's reasoning and thinking abilities, his/her need to understand and integrate the information he/she receives from the outside world. Attitudes are seen as ways of evaluating, categorizing and integrating information. The individual is seen as a conscious and active agent as opposed to the passive representation of the individual in the behavioural approaches ? discussed above.

3.4.1 Consistency approach

The underlying notion common to the cognitive consistency theories is that people have a basic need for consistency. The assumption is that people strive to maintain consistency between their cognitions, that is, between their attitudes, beliefs and behaviours. According to this approach any inconsistency between attitudes, beliefs and behaviour, will produce "psychological tension" and result in the individual modifying these elements until the tension is reduced and the elements form a more coherent package (Kiesler et al., 1969). Fritz Heider (1958), is regarded as being one of the first cognitive consistency theorists. The following theories will be examined briefly: Fritz Heider's (1958) balance theory and Osgood's (1955)

congruity theory.

3.4.1.1 Balance theory

Heider's analysis is based on the P (person) -O (another person)- X (some object) unit of a cognitive field (Insko, 1967). This approach examines the relationship between 2 persons, an object and the relationship between them, "...person (p) attempts to keep his or her sentiments regarding another person (o) consistent with the relationship with a third object (x)" (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992, p.129).

Two relations exist, the liking and unit relation, each relation can be either positive or negative. For example, in the liking relation P (person), likes or dislikes O (another person) (Kiesler et al., 1969). If all three relationships are positive, or if two are positive and one is negative, then a state of balance is inferred. Any other combinations are regarded as unbalanced. A balanced state is stable and resists outside influences. An unbalanced state is unstable and produces tension, encouraging the individual to change the situation so that balance is achieved and tension relieved (Kiesler et al., 1969).

Such a model provides a convenient way to study attitude formation and change in that it examines the situation between one person receiving information from another person about a particular object (Freedman, Carlsmith & Sears, 1974). It gives a clear conceptualization about the ways in which inconsistencies can be resolved. It is an important approach for understanding attitude change.

A number of variations of the original balance model exist today, most of them representing an attempt to increase the power of the original theory. Each variation represents an improvement, although the basic underlying assumption remains the same ie. there is a movement towards balance. Rosenberg and Hovland (1960, cited in Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992), for example, proposed that attitudes consist of affective, cognitive and behavioural components "a consistent system of beliefs, emotions and behaviours organized around a

particular object" (Middlebrook, 1980, p.161).

According to this approach, change in one component will lead to changes in the other components in the general direction of increasing the consistency of the entire attitude structure.

3.4.1.2 Congruity model

Osgood's (1955) congruity model deals with the acceptance of communication. It makes predictions about both the direction and the extent of the attitude change. It focuses on evaluations (i.e. the positive and negative evaluations of the attitude) and on attitude change. The underlying assumption being that there is a move towards congruity. The principle of the approach is that

when two attitude objects of differing evaluation are linked with an assertion there is a tendency for the evaluations of each object to shift toward a point of equilibrium or congruity (Insko, 1967, p.113).

Thus there is person (P)'s attitude toward another person (S-source), who gives positive or negative information about another object (O). This model examines the impact of one person's evaluations toward another person or object on another person's attitude towards both the evaluator and the person or object (Insko, 1967). When incongruity exists, then a person (P) will change his or her attitudes towards both the object (O) and the other person (S). In predicting the direction of the attitude change, it is essential to take into account the existing attitudes held towards both O (object) and S (another person) before the message is received and the evaluations in the message are clear (Insko, 1967). According to Osgood, the more extreme a person's attitude is toward another person or object the less his or her attitude will change (Kiesler et al., 1969). This model examines one of the simplest forms of attitude change. It is able to make predictions about how one person's evaluation of an object affects our evaluation of both the person and the object. The main premise of this approach is that if

a discrepancy exists, there will be a change of attitudes in order to gain congruity.

3.4.1.3 Cognitive dissonance theory

The cognitive dissonance theory forms part of the cognitive consistency approach. The cognitive consistency approach focuses on the impact that attitudes have on behaviour, whereas the cognitive dissonance approach examines the impact of behaviour on attitude change. The theory examines the relationships between the cognitive elements (i.e. beliefs, opinions and attitudes) and the consequences of any inconsistency between these elements (Insko, 1967; Kiesler et al, 1969). Inconsistency between two of the cognitive elements is seen as resulting in dissonance (i.e. an aversive emotional state), which in turn motivates the individual to bring about a state of balance\consistency between the cognitive elements (Atkinson et al, 1983; Freedman et al, 1974; Kiesler et al, 1969; Insko, 1967). Furthermore, the individual will also attempt to avoid situations which could increase dissonance (Freedman et al, 1974).

Festinger (1958), explored the decision making process in terms of the cognitive dissonance approach. According to Festinger (1958, cited in Freedman et al, 1974), the process of decision making and of engaging in counter-attitudinal behaviour is the main source of the belief-behaviour inconsistency. In coming to a decision the positive attributes of the chosen alternative and the negative attributes of the rejected alternative are consonant with the decision. "That is, these attitudes about the choice of alternatives are consistent with the overt behaviour of deciding" (Freedman et al, 1974, p.261).

Dissonance will still exist, because there will be some negative attributes pertaining to the chosen alternative and some positive attributes pertaining to the rejected one. Thus every decision contains an element of cognitive dissonance. The overall thrust of this theory is that counter-attitudinal behaviour creates a pressure to reduce dissonance through attitudinal change, which results in consistency between attitudes and behaviour (Atkinson, Atkinson & Hilgard, 1988). Counter-attitudinal behaviour is seen as producing the most dissonance and

therefore the most behaviour change (Atkinson et al, 1988). According to this theory the greater the dissonance the greater the motivation for attitudinal change. Thus, the greater the reward or the punishment to induce the behaviour the less the dissonance (Insko, 1967).

In general, the cognitive consistency theorists approach to attitudes proposes that if there is an inconsistency in our beliefs, feelings and behaviour in relation to sexual coercion, these components will adjust to bring about a state of balance, and thus a possible change in our attitudes towards sexual coercion. In conclusion, all of the above-mentioned models have the same underlying assumption, when there is inconsistency in a system, there is a movement towards resolving this and creating greater consistency. Where there is inconsistency, equilibrium is sought. Research indicates that beliefs, emotions and behaviour are not always consistent. Of extreme importance is the social desirability component that haunts much attitudinal research. Under conditions in which there is a clear socially acceptable response, individual responses may not relate to the person's actual behaviour. When no socially acceptable response is present, attitudes may be highly predictive of behaviour. Thus when feelings and beliefs are consistent, then behaviour can be predicted with a certain amount of accuracy (Middlebrook, 1980). Thus the greater the consistency between emotions and cognitions, the greater the likelihood that people will act in accordance with their stated beliefs. If a person becomes concerned about the social desirability of his or her responses, there is likely to be an inconsistency between cognitions and emotions and the likelihood of a positive relationship between attitudes and behaviour decreases considerably. This is of extreme relevance to research looking at attitudes towards sexual coercion. Although a person may hold sexually coercive attitudes, he/she may not disclose these attitudes openly because of an awareness of the social undesirability of admitting to such beliefs. Furthermore, their behaviour will also not openly reflect their sexually coercive attitudes.

3.4.2 Persuasive communication model

As can be seen, research in the 1950's and late 1960's focused on attitude change (McGuire, 1986). The persuasive communication model, which was initially developed by the Yale

communication programme in the 1950's, held the assumption that information and education lead to attitude change and that a change in attitude results in a change in behaviour (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992).

In exploring attitude change McGuire (1969) proposed that the persuasive impact of a message to bring about a change in attitudes and subsequently in behaviour, is dependant upon the message reaching the subject, being comprehended, yielded and retained. The basis of this model is that attitude change is dependant upon the reception and acceptance of the message. This approach can be criticized in that it does not examine the strength of the first link in the chain, i.e. the initial motivation to receive the message. If this initial link fails, the rest of the process is null and void (Petty & Cacioppo, 1986).

Petty & Cacioppo (1986), proposed a revision of the persuasive communication model and proposed the elaboration likelihood model of persuasion. According to this approach messages are processed via two routes, namely: a central route, which focuses on the time and effort spent on the critical evaluation of the content contained in the message and a peripheral route, which focuses on peripheral factors, such as the attractiveness and the credibility of the source (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). Attitude change is seen as being more effective if the messages are processed via the central route as opposed to the peripheral route. Furthermore, persuasion is dependant upon the amount and favourability of the message. A message which triggers favourable thoughts will result in more elaborate processing and therefore will increase the potential persuasion quality of the message and thus the potential of attitude change. This has important implications for attempting to change sexually coercive attitudes. As can be seen, attitude change is largely dependant upon the person's own willingness to receive a message about the negativity of holding sexually coercive attitudes and to process this in order to bring about a change in his/her attitudes.

According to Foster and Louw-Potgieter (1992), this approach does not look at the interaction between the source and the motivational processes that underlie attitude change.

Furthermore, the approach can be seen as being overly individualistic, as proposing a linear assumption of causality and as being difficult to extend the analysis to groups (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992).

3.4.3 Economic approaches

These approaches can be seen as falling into the structural and functional understanding of the attitude construct. The economic approaches have an understanding of the attitude construct that follows a cost and benefit analysis. There are many theories which adopt the economic approach of which this chapter will examine the following: the expectancy-value theory, the theory of reasoned action, the theory of planned behaviour and the theory of trying.

3.4.3.1 Expectancy-value model

There are a large number of expectancy-value models and the amount of research in this area reflects its widespread influence in the field of attitude theory and research (Sparks, Hedderley, Shepherd, 1991). Fishbein and Ajzen (1975, 1980), are the main expectancy-value model theorists. This approach focuses on the structure and functioning of the attitude construct. The main focus of this theory is on the value pertaining to adopting a particular attitude. According to this approach, the structure of an attitude is seen as being made up of two composite components, namely: value, i.e. the positive aspects associated with the attitude object, and expectancy, i.e. the subjective belief that the attitude object will bring about desired/valued consequences (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). For example, the value of holding or not holding a sexually coercive attitude can be seen as being dependant upon the subjective belief that such an attitude will bring about a desired outcome. The attitude structure is seen as being made up of beliefs (i.e. the expectancies regarding the attributes) multiplied by the value of each of the attributes, with the products being summed.

Attitudes are seen as following on from beliefs and therefore a degree of consistency is seen as existing between the two. The consistency here is not the same as in the consistency theories, where it was regarded as being a psychological need, but more in terms of an

information processing procedure. The main focus of this approach is based on the consequences of adopting various attitudes. This approach can be seen as following some of the basic behavioural principles in that it proposes that a person will choose a course of action which results in positive consequences and will avoid those that result in negative consequences. According to Jaspers and Fraser (1984) individuals may not combine the various factors in a multiplicative way,

...it is questionable whether cognitive and evaluative aspects of attributes of attitude objects are indeed related in a multiplicative way to direct evaluations of the attitude object..., it is doubtful whether separate evaluations of the attitude object combine in a summative way (p.110).

3.4.3.2 Theory of reasoned action

This theory was developed in response to research in the early 1930's and 1960's which failed to show behavioural consistency across differing situations or predictive validity of attitude measures (McGuire, 1986). Fishbein & Ajzen (1975) and Ajzen & Fishbein (1980) can be regarded as the main reasoned action theorists. This theory makes the distinction between four concepts; beliefs, attitudes, intentions and behaviour, which are regarded as being distinct aspects and not components of the attitude construct (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). The basic premise of this approach is that

behaviour is determined directly by one's intention to perform the behaviour, intention in turn, is influenced by attitude (i.e. one's positive or negative evaluation of performing the behaviour) and by subjective norm (i.e., the perceived social pressure to perform or not to perform the behaviour) (Bagozzi, 1992, p.179-180).

The consequences for performance or non-performance of the behaviour are seen as affecting both the attitudes and the subjective norm. The attitude component is made up of the affective processes, beliefs constitute the cognitive process, intentions constitute the conative

processes and behaviour is the outcome which in turn feeds back into the beliefs (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). In dealing with the problem of the attitude-behaviour link, this theory states that attitudes relate to specific behaviours as opposed to a generalized object, therefore increasing the specificity of the link. The model proposes that 'normative social pressure' must be taken into account to establish the way in which a person will behave. A person may not act on his/her attitudes because of social pressure.

External variables are seen as playing an important role in influencing behavioural outcome. For example, demographic variables, attitudes towards attitude objects and personality traits all influence the performance/non-performance of the behaviour (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992).

According to Bagozzi (1992), this theory has many advantages. It has been described as being insightful and intuitive in its capacity to explain behaviour, it has been successfully applied in a number of settings and it is easily operationalized. In conclusion, the above theory is based on the premise of the expectancy-value approach, which is "the value of the criterion measure (here: the attitude measure) is derived from the summed products of expectancies and values" (Sparks et al, 1991, p.262).

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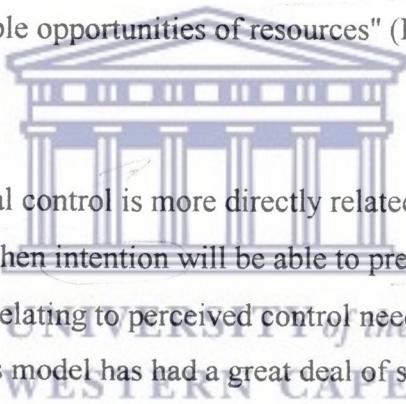
The theory of reasoned action is an evolutionary theory in that it has sustained many adaptations during the years and has shown a great deal of resistance as a theory of social action. In the evolution of this theory, two major changes have taken place. Ajzen (1991, cited in Bagozzi, 1992), expanded the theory to the theory of planned behaviour, where perceived behavioural control is added to the theory as a determinant of intentions. Secondly, changes have taken place in the internal structure of the theory, where new interaction between the existing variables are considered (Bagozzi, 1992).

* 3.4.3.3 Theory of planned behaviour *

(perceived behavioural control)

As mentioned above this model is almost identical to the theory of reasoned action, but it adds another component known as "perceived behavioural control". This can be defined as "the person's belief as to how easy or difficult performance of the behaviour is likely to be" (Ajzen & Madden, 1986, p.457, cited in Bagozzi, 1992, p.180).

Perceived behavioural control relates to the perceived ease or difficulty of performing a particular behaviour. Internal factors (such as personal deficiencies) and external factors which might prevent the performance of the behaviour are taken into account. Past experiences as well as perceived obstacles are important in determining whether behaviour is performed or not. This theory includes the idea of "control beliefs", which are "derived from past experience with the behaviour, from second-hand information, from observing others and from knowledge of available opportunities of resources" (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992, p.133).



Thus perceived behavioural control is more directly related to behaviour than is an attitude. If acts are purely volitional, then intention will be able to predict behaviour. With many human actions additional factors relating to perceived control need to be taken into account when predicting behaviour. This model has had a great deal of success with many studies and has helped to clarify the link between attitudes and behaviour (Bagozzi, 1992). The theory of trying, proposed by Bagozzi (1992), integrates the expectations of success and failure into the perceived behavioural control approach. Perceived behavioural control relates to the belief that one can perform a particular behaviour, whereas expectations of success or failure refer to predictions about success or failure if one performs a particular behaviour.

The above economic approaches give a clear conceptualization of attitudes and of the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. The expectancy-value model and the subsequent modifications of this model, the theory of reasoned action and perceived behavioural control, give a clear understanding of the relationship between masculine and

NB!

feminine orientation on attitudes towards sexual coercion and of some of the factors which determine sexually coercive behaviour. This approach takes into account the importance of multi-variables, such as demographic details and personality factors, such as masculine and feminine orientation in influencing attitudes towards sexual coercion. According to this approach, sexually coercive behaviour is influenced by the person's intention to behave in such a manner, which is dependant upon their evaluation of such behaviour (i.e. whether their evaluation is positive or negative) and on the social desirability of behaving in such a manner. It takes into account the many variables which interact to make up an attitude and explains the attitude-behaviour link in a clear way.

The above economic approaches can be seen as giving a clear understanding of the structure and functioning of attitudes. They can be regarded as an expansion of the original consistency theories which gave a more simplistic understanding of attitudes, attitude change and the link between attitudes and behaviour. Many factors intervene and mediate between the attitude-behaviour link. In order to determine whether a behaviour is likely to be performed these many variables need to be taken into account and explored to the fullest. A complete understanding of attitudes needs to take into account group and social factors. Attitudes are not simply the domain of the individual person, social factors and social dynamics play an important role in understanding attitudes. The functionalist approach attempts to combine the individual economic approach with a more social understanding.

3.4.3 Functionalist approach

The functionalist approach can be seen as being dominated by Tajfel (1981). Tajfel focused on the impact of social stereotypes on behaviour. Social stereotypes are seen as being shared and widely held views of larger groups in society.

A social stereotype can be defined as

an over-simplified mental image of (usually) some category of person, institution or even which is shared, in essential features, by large numbers of people.....Stereotypes are commonly, but not necessarily, accompanied by prejudice... (Stallybrass, 1977, cited in Tajfel, 1981).

* They enable people to systematize and order their social world, as well as providing the function of maintaining a group based ideology and a basis for group identity (Foster & Louw-Potgieter, 1992). NB!

The point is that we shall never be able to formulate adequate guidelines for research on collective social behaviour if we do not go beyond constructing sets of independent variables seen as functioning in a social environment which is assumed to be psychologically unstructured in its homogenous and all embracing 'inter-individuality' (Tajfel, 1981, p.167). ?

This approach can be seen as an attempt to combine the more individualistic classical approach to attitudes with a more social group based approach. It is essential to realize that one cannot study the attitude construct without taking into account the fact that attitudes are widely shared and often rooted in social groupings. *

3.5 Evaluation of the theoretical approaches to the attitude construct:

It is clear from the above exploration that defining and understanding the attitude construct is a complex process. The classical individualistic approach has focused much of its research on attitude change and on the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. It is clear that the link between attitudes and behaviour is not a simple linear connection. Many intervening variables mediate and interact in a complex manner, determining whether a link between attitudes and behaviour exists. Thus there has been a movement from the simplistic linear

formulation of the attitude-behaviour consistency hypothesis to a more complex and multi-variate approach to this relationship. For the purpose of this study, the economic structural approaches in combination with a more social perspective has been used to understand the attitude construct. The importance of social and group functions of the attitude construct is essential in order to gain an understanding of the pervasiveness of certain attitudes. It is important to see that attitudes provide a way in which people can categorize and order their social world as well as allowing for group identity. This approach allows for an understanding of why attitudes may be difficult to change, as they perform not only individual functions, but also important social functions. NB/

An understanding of attitude change and of the complexities involved in the relationship between attitudes and behaviour are of importance to this research. The purpose of this study is to examine the impact of masculine and feminine orientation on attitudes towards sexual coercion. An understanding of this relationship may enable future researchers to institute various educational programmes in an attempt to modify sexually coercive attitudes and thus ultimately to bring about a decrease in sexually coercive behaviour. Such a project would be extremely complex, in that many attitudes form a basis for group identity and are strongly supported by society.

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3.6 Relationship between attitudes and sexual coercion

Attitudes towards sexual coercion need to be looked at both in the context of underlying psychological factors and power relationships that exist between men and women. Power relationships operate to privilege men and subordinate women in the social realm (Vogelman, 1990). It is argued by many that women's subordinate position in society is ensured through a state of economic and gender inequality (Vogelman, 1990). It is further argued that we live in a "rape culture", which is supportive of rape through stereotypes and myths regarding the behaviour of men and women and the relations between them (Brownmillier, 1975, Quackenbush, 1991). These power relationships are also reflected in women's fear of rape which often impacts on their behaviour, for example being afraid to walk around alone. This

restricts women's freedom and many see rape or fear of rape as subordinating women and maintaining gender inequality (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). This gender based distribution of power is regarded by many as being reflected in the attitudes of people to sexually coercive behaviours (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992).

Definitions of masculinity and femininity can be seen from an ideological point of view as supporting this structural inequality outlined above and hence influencing people's attitudes to sexual coercion. Masculinity is associated with aggression, rationality, independence, strength and dominance. Sexual coercion of any form tends to be associated with masculine attributes. Femininity is associated with passivity, irrationality, dependency and weakness. Many myths which exist about sex and rape are influenced by these above definitions of masculinity and femininity. These myths in turn influence men and women's attitudes to sexually coercive behaviours and help to maintain men's dominant position in society. For example, men's sexuality is defined as 'powerful', 'genital', and 'biological', demanding release and satisfaction. Such a belief almost justifies sexually coercive behaviours by saying that men have no control over their sexual impulses. Women are often portrayed as secretly enjoying rape (Donat & D'Emilio, 1992). Some women may perceive their role as satisfying men sexually, thus objectifying themselves.

Feminist theory has incorporated a social learning focus into its broader framework to explain sex role socialization.

Men are socialized to perpetrate violence and to view sexual exploitation as part of the masculine sex role, whereas women are socialized to accept rape-supportive beliefs and blame themselves for their victimization (Sorenson & White, 1992, p.3).

Such explanations do not account for the 'individual' differences in attitudes and behaviours regarding sexually coercive behaviours. For example, it does not explain why all men are not rapists. Although social factors are important in understanding attitudes to sexually coercive

behaviour, they cannot be divorced from psychological factors, such as masculine and feminine orientation, self-esteem and personality variables.

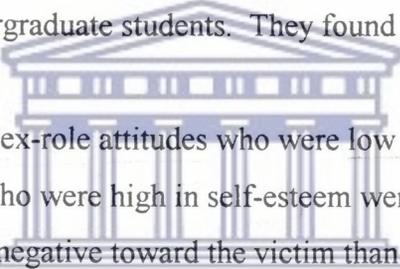
Women are more threatened in terms of sexual coercion than men, thus one would expect sex differences to be found in their attitudes towards rape. Findings in the area of gender differences have been inconsistent. For example, Selby Calhoun and Brock (1977), conducted a study to examine sex differences in the way rape victims are perceived. Sex differences were found with males regarding the victim as "playing a greater causal role in the rape episode than females" (p.412).

Rumsey and Rumsey (1977), by contrast in a similar study, found that females attributed greater responsibility for the rape to the victim than did male subjects. Other studies have found that women are more likely to view rape as a more serious and violent crime than men. Men have been found to minimize or justify the assault and to be more likely to attribute blame to the victim for the assault because of her behaviour, appearance or own carelessness (Feild, 1978; Tieger, 1991; Smith, Keating, Hester & Mitchell, 1976). Uitgard, Thalberg and Wheeler (1986), found women to be significantly more disapproving of rape than men. Other studies have also found that women attribute more blame to the victim than men, whilst still others have found no sex differences (Davis, Kerr, Atkin, Holt & Meek, 1975, Schmitt & Colligan, 1974, cited in Rumsey & Rumsey, 1977).

Other factors besides gender are important in determining men and women's attitudes to sexual coercion. Levett (1991), states that certain attitudes towards women, namely conservative or anti-feminist tendencies, which are associated with high levels of victim blaming, are highly predictive of rape attitudes. Studies examining the relationships between sex role stereotyping or attitudes to women and attitudes to rape, have found that "sex role stereotyping varies directly with rape myth acceptance" (Burt, 1980, p.218).

Feild (1978), for example, examined adherence to rape myths and other attitudes to rape and found that attitudes towards rape were related to attitudes towards women's roles. "...person's who endorsed traditional roles for women were more likely to attribute rape responsibility to women" (Uitigard et al, 1986, p.100).

Burt (1980) found that sex role stereotyping, adversarial sexual beliefs (i.e. a belief that sexual relationships are fundamentally exploitative) and acceptance of interpersonal violence, regardless of gender, were associated with the acceptance of rape myths. Uitigard, Thalberg and Wheeler (1986), found that although women were significantly stronger in their disapproval of rape than men, people who were rejecting of common stereotypes were the strongest in their disapproval of rape as opposed to those who were more accepting of common stereotypes. Malovich and Stake (1990) conducted a study looking at sexual harassment using 224 undergraduate students. They found that



men with traditional sex-role attitudes who were low in self-esteem and women with traditional attitudes who were high in self-esteem were more tolerant of harassment behaviours and more negative toward the victim than were other participants (p.80).

They concluded that other personality factors are more important in determining sexual harassment attitudes than gender. Blumberg & Lester (1991), found a relationship between attribution of blame and acceptance of rape myths amongst university and high school students. From the above examples, it is apparent that many mediating factors influence women's and men's attitudes towards sexual coercion and thus gender differences in attitudes are not simply polarized.

3.7 Conclusion

From the above it may be argued that many variables intervene to determine whether a person will hold a sexually coercive attitude or not and the degree to which this is so. It appears that psychological variables play an important role in determining attitudes to sexual coercion. For example masculine and feminine orientation can be seen as playing an important role in determining sexually coercive attitudes. The impact of masculine and feminine orientation on attitudes to sexual coercion will be explored in the following chapter.

The above overview of the theoretical approaches to attitudes has important implications for this particular research project. It can be seen that many components may interact to determine whether an attitude held will be sexually coercive or not. This offers support for the structural functional understanding of the attitude construct. *

Attitude theory can be seen as having provided useful tools for understanding individual differences in attitudes held. However, while it helps us to understand individual differences, it does not account for internal psychological differences. The next chapter will explore the impact of internal psychological factors, such as masculine and feminine orientation, in an attempt to show their impact on attitudes towards sexual coercion. In order to understand differences in attitudes to sexually coercive behaviours, Jung's notion of the 'bisexuality' of the psyche will be explored. (Jung, 1977).

CHAPTER FOUR - THE EFFECT OF PSYCHOLOGICAL VARIABLES ON ATTITUDES TO SEXUAL COERCION

4.1 Introduction

Psychological variables can be seen as playing an important role in influencing attitudes in general and attitudes to sexual coercion in particular. In an attempt to explain the relationship between sex-role orientation and attitudes towards sexual coercion the psychological theory of Jung will be explored. Jungian theory can be seen as giving an understanding of masculinity and femininity as it functions in the psyche of males and females respectively. Such an understanding can be shown to assist in our knowledge of the relationship between sex-role orientation and attitudes to sexual coercion. This chapter will look at Jungian theory in general, finally focusing on the Jungian notions of masculinity and femininity. It is important to understand Jung's theory of the personality so that a clear conceptualization can be achieved of his notions of the masculine and feminine archetypes as they function within the psyche. This chapter will attempt to show the importance of the impact of unconscious, irrational psychological processes on the functioning of the psyche.

4.2 Jungian theory

According to Jung, the structure of the psyche is made up of a number of differentiated and interacting systems such as: the ego, the personal unconscious and its complexes, the collective unconscious and the archetypes, the persona, the anima and animus and the shadow. In addition, there are the attitudes of introversion and extraversion, the functions of feeling, thinking sensing and intuiting and finally the self, which is regarded as being the centre of the entire personality (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). Each one of these will be discussed in an attempt to gain a clear understanding of Jung's theory of the personality. Emphasis will be given to his notion of the anima and animus.

Once a brief understanding of Jung's analytical psychology has been gained, this chapter will explore the relationship between masculinity, femininity and androgyny on attitudes to sexual

coercion.

In Jungian psychology, the main emphasis appears to be placed on the unconscious and its impact on the psyche as a whole. As such, the unconscious and its related components will be explored in detail. The ego is the centre of consciousness in Jungian psychology and includes conscious perceptions, memories, thoughts and feelings (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). Jung regarded the ego as being influenced by external events and internal unconscious processes. An understanding of the unconscious and its functioning within the human psyche can be seen as being essential to an understanding of the relationship between masculinity, femininity and attitudes to sexual coercion.

4.2.1 The unconscious

According to Jung (1977), the unconscious consists of two layers, a personal unconscious and a collective unconscious. Jung's notion of the personal unconscious fits in with Freud's understanding. The personal unconscious is made up of experiences which were once conscious but have been forgotten, suppressed, ignored or have failed to make an impression on consciousness (Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Hopcke, 1989). The personal unconscious also consists of material which has been repressed, that is, has been pushed into the unconscious because it is unpleasant, painful and disagreeable (Jung, 1978).

The materials contained in this layer are of a personal nature in so far as they have the character partly of acquisitions derived from the individual's life and partly of psychological factors which could just as well be conscious (Jung, 1977, p.133).

The personal unconscious consists of personal contents which have been repressed, but are able to become conscious. It continues to influence an individual's everyday life. The personal unconscious is made up of what Jung termed 'complexes', which may be defined as an "organized group or constellation of feelings, thoughts, perceptions, and memories that exist in the personal unconscious" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p.118).

Although the 'complexes' form the domain of the personal unconscious, they are also influenced by what Jung termed the collective unconscious (Symington, 1986). One can only understand the complexes when one has an understanding of the nature of the collective unconscious and its archetypes.

The collective unconscious is made up of material which has not yet reached consciousness and in that sense goes beyond the personal sphere.

The unconscious contains not only personal, but also impersonal, collective components in the form of inherited categories or archetypes. I have therefore advanced the hypothesis that at its deeper levels the unconscious possesses collective contents in a relatively active state. That is why I speak of the collective unconscious (Jung, 1977, p.135).

The collective unconscious is regarded as a deeper and more significant layer than the personal unconscious. It is regarded as the "ultimate source of psychic power and wholeness" (Hopcke, 1989, p.14). The collective unconscious is made up of peoples' shared 'mythological and symbolic past' (Kaplan & Saddock, 1991). It consists of what has been inherited from one's racial and animal ancestral past and is thus similar in all human beings. The collective unconscious consists of a 'common psychic substrate' which is inherited (Symington, 1988). The contents of the collective unconscious can be seen as predisposing individuals to react in a certain fashion. *

The collective unconscious is the inherited, racial foundation of the whole structure of personality. Upon it are erected the ego, personal unconscious, and all other individual acquisitions (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p.120).

Therefore, what the individual learns in life from experience is influenced from the time of birth by the collective unconscious, which is seen as having a guiding and selective influence

on all human behaviour. The manner in which an individual experiences the world is largely shaped by the collective unconscious. It is made up of "unconscious images of the instincts, and Jung named these the 'archetypes'" (Symington, 1988, p.220). The archetypes form the structural component of the collective unconscious. They are inherited, inborn and universally present factors which influence all of human existence. These 'archetypes' become engraved within the human psyche due to their continuous repetition throughout the ages. In understanding the archetypes, it is important to see that, "These experiences are not inherited as images, however, but as forms without content, representing the possibility of a certain type of perception and action" (Symington, 1988, p.220).

Numerous archetypes exist in the collective unconscious, some examples are, birth, death, the earth mother, the hero, the father, and the child (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). The archetypes of the anima and animus will be discussed in detail below, as they are seen as having a pervasive impact on the functioning of the human psyche. The archetypes are seen as having their own energy and are able to manifest themselves in a variety of ways. They can modify and obstruct conscious intentions. They are able to organize human experience. The archetypes "contribute to complexes, which are feeling-toned ideas that develop as a result of personal experience interacting with archetypal imagery" (Kaplan & Sadock, 1991, p.188).

Take for example the 'mother complex', which is made up of a group of conscious and unconscious representations of the mother, which have particular emotional contents attached to the image of 'mother' (Hopcke, 1988). The core of the complex is derived from people's inherited ancestral experiences with mothers in the past as well as their own actual experiences with their real mothers (Hall et al., 1978). Thus the archetype of mother in the collective unconscious is common to all human experience and can influence the impact of the mother complex within the human psyche. A person who is dominated by a 'mother' complex, will allow their ideas, thoughts, beliefs and feelings to be guided by their perception of 'mother'. What the mother thinks, feels and believes will therefore be of great relevance to that particular person (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). Thus a mother complex is determined by the

actual interaction between the mother and child, as well as by the conflict which exists between the archetypal expectation of mother, and the persons actual interactions with the real person of the mother. "Myths, dreams, visions, ritual, neurotic and psychotic symptoms, and works of art contain a great deal of archetypal material" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p.122). The archetypes of the persona, anima and animus and the shadow are so well developed within the psyche that they can almost be regarded as separate systems.

In conclusion, the archetypes have an energy of their own and function autonomously. They are able to organize human experience without regard to the consequences of their influence, which may be both destructive and constructive. The personal and collective unconscious can be of service to the individual, in that they contain much that has been repressed, as well as possessing the wisdom and experience of generations, which is laid down in the form of the archetypes. If the ego ignores the contents of the unconscious, it will overtake consciousness and represent itself in the form of symptoms, this is a sign of a neglected unconscious.

4.2.2 The persona

The persona can be regarded as a part of the personal and collective psyche (Hopcke, 1989).

The persona originally meant "the mask worn by an actor, signifying the role he played" (Jung, 1977, p.155).

Psychologically, the persona is the mask adopted by the individual in response to the demands of society and to inner archetypal needs (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). The persona is a compromise between the individual and society as to what a person should be. The purpose of the persona is thus to make an impression on others, or to hide aspects of one's true self. ✖

If the ego identifies completely with the persona, then the person will remain unconscious of their real self and real feelings, resulting in an alienation of the self (Jung, 1977). The person will then become a reflection of society, as opposed to being their true autonomous self. For example, a man who adopts the masculine role as defined by society, can be seen as being out of touch with his own inner femininity and thus out of touch with aspects of his real self.

The persona acts as a mediator between the ego and the outer world. It is an important part of the psyche, in that it can protect the individual's inner self. A balance is achieved when the persona represents a true reflection of the person's inner individuality as well the person's outward sense of self (Hopcke, 1989).

4.2.3 The shadow

The shadow is an aspect of the unconscious. It is made up of the unpleasant and immoral aspects of the self, which many people would like to deny exist. It represents the unpleasant and socially reprehensible thoughts, feelings and actions (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). This shadow side of the psyche is often repressed or denied, resulting in neurotic or obsessional behaviour, or it is projected onto others, resulting in suspicion and paranoia (Hopcke, 1989). In this sense, the shadow can be regarded as being similar to Freud's notion of the id. For psychic health, it is essential that the shadow side of the self is integrated into the psyche, rather than letting it dominate the psyche from the unconscious realms.

4.2.4 The self

The self is regarded as an archetype of wholeness, around which all other systems of the psyche are organized (Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Hopcke, 1989). Jung discovered the symbols of the archetypal self in many of the religions in the world, "the paradisiacal past of unbroken unity symbolized by the Garden of Eden..... the mandalas of Asian religious practice" (Hopcke, 1989, p.95).

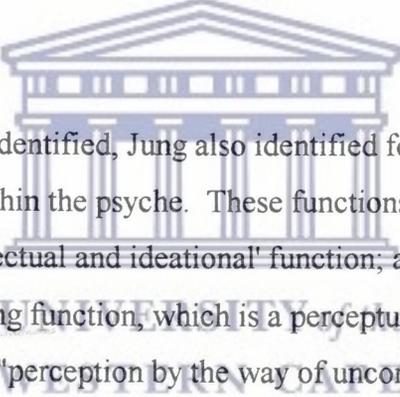
Thus the archetype of the self represents totality and unity which is the life goal of the self. It can be seen as motivating human behaviour and causing the individual to search for wholeness. Before the self of the individual can emerge, it is essential that the other systems of the psyche have become fully developed and individuated (Hall & Lindzey, 1978).

This chapter will attempt to explore the personality types and the functioning of the psyche in some detail, before investigating Jung's notion of the anima and animus, which are central to

an understanding of how these archetypes operate within the psyche. Such an understanding should assist in gaining insight into the importance of masculine and feminine factors as they operate within sex to influence not only attitudes, but also behaviour in relation to sexual coercion.

4.2.5 Personality types

According to Jung, it is essential to have an understanding of the personality types which exist, in order to assist us in our understanding of people. Jung identified two main personality types represented by the constructs of introversion and extraversion (Jung, 1978). An introverted person would focus more exclusively on their inner, subjective world, whereas a more extraverted person would focus on the external objective world (Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Kaplan & Saddock, 1991). Both attitudes are seen to exist in all individuals, with one being dominant.



In addition to the attitudes identified, Jung also identified four fundamental psychological functions which operate within the psyche. These functions are as follows: a thinking function, which is an 'intellectual and ideational' function; a feeling function, which is an evaluative function; a sensing function, which is a perceptual and reality function; and an intuiting function, which is "perception by the way of unconscious processes and subliminal contents" (Hall & Lindzey, 1978, p.125). In the psyche of the individual it is natural for one function to predominate over another, with another playing an auxiliary role (Jung, 1978). The repressed functions usually express themselves in the form of fantasies and dreams. When all four functions are of equal importance, it can be said that the self has become fully actualized, which is a life-time ideal goal (Hall & Lindzey, 1978).

The systems of the psyche, the attitudes and functions, all interact within the personality. They can either compensate for one another, oppose one another or unite to form a synthesis (Hall & Lindzey, 1978).

4.2.6 The functioning of the unconscious

Jung stressed that within each individual, there exists a collective and an individual element (Symington, 1986). The purpose or aim of the unconscious is to bring about a state of balance within the psyche, whereby the collective and individual are integrated (Jung, 1977; Symington, 1986). This process is known as individuation, which

means becoming a single, homogeneous being, and, in so far as "individuality" embraces our innermost, last, and incomparable uniqueness, it also implies becoming one's own self. We could therefore translate individuation as "coming to selfhood" or "self-realization" (Jung, 1977).

A force exists within the personality which works toward stable unity. For individuation to occur it is essential that all the systems within the psyche are in a differentiated and fully developed state (Hall & Lindzey, 1978). If any system within the psyche is neglected, then energy will flow from a stronger system into the neglected system and will therefore act as a resistance to a fully integrated state. Total unity is an ideal, life-time goal, which in itself is unattainable, as the psyche is not a completely closed system and as such external influences continue to upset the possibility of perfect balance and thus of total self-realization. According to Jung (1977), the more a person becomes conscious of themselves through a process of self-knowledge and acts accordingly, the more the layer of the personal unconscious will decrease. The person will then be able to participate freely in the world, without symptoms or neuroses.

If the unconscious is assimilated into the conscious, it can result in a state of 'inflation' or 'depression'. By inflation, Jung (1977), was referring to a process whereby the individual tries to take total control of the unconscious,

...accentuation of ego-consciousness, a heightened self-confidence; they know everything, they are completely au fait, with their unconscious, and they believe

themselves to be fully acquainted with everything that comes out of it (p.136).

The other response is that of depression, which is when an individual is,

depressed, even crushed by the contents of the unconscious. Their self-confidence dwindles, and they look on with resignation at all the extraordinary things the unconscious produces (p.136).

The unconscious in the above two instances is seen as overpowering the personal psychic functions and the personality itself can be seen as dissolving. In its extreme form, if the consciousness of the individual completely collapses and the collective unconscious dominates the psyche, a state of psychosis will be the result. It results in a dissolution of the individual into the collective and the person loses his/her individuality (Jung, 1977). It is thus essential that strict differentiation from the collective is maintained within the individual psyche (Jung, 1977). It is important that the individual keeps a perspective on what forms part of the personal and what forms part of the collective.

Another response is for the individual to deny the existence of the unconscious and to totally identify him/herself with the persona, the neurotic response referred to above. In this instance, the individuality of the person is once again sacrificed in favour of the social collective and the person is divorced from his true and real self. Thus, according to Jung (1977), two possibilities exist, that is the collective can dominate and destroy consciousness, this is known as a psychotic condition, or, the collective can be denied, resulting in a neurotic condition (Symington, 1986). In the above-mentioned scenarios, the individuality of the person is lost to the collective.

The unconscious is always at work, and if denied or repressed it will attempt to restore the balance by expressing itself in the form of dreams, fantasies and symptoms. The ultimate goal is the achievement of individuation, which is an ongoing life process and a means by which

the person develops their own sense of identity (Kaplan & Saddock, 1991). It is the task of the ego to integrate the unconscious, not to be overwhelmed by it or to deny it. In conclusion, the state of individuation can be described as when "the person is in relation to the archetypes rather than being submerged by them" (Symington, 1986, p.223).

4.2.7 Anima and animus

The anima and animus are archetypes which exist in the collective unconscious of the male and female psyche respectively. The anima represents the feminine archetype of the male psyche, whilst the animus represents the masculine archetype of the female psyche (Hall & Lindzey, 1978; Hopcke, 1989; Jung, 1977 & 1983; von Franz, 1978). This essentially corresponds with Jung's notion of the bisexuality of the psyche. Each biological sex is seen as manifesting characteristics of the other sex. "The anima and animus are symbolic modes of perception and behaviour which are represented by figures of the opposite sex within an individual's psyche (Hopcke, 1989, p.91).

The anima and animus are regarded by Jung (1977) as being a mediators between the ego and the unconscious and as such allowing an individual to gain a deeper understanding of his/her unconscious life (Hopcke, 1989).

The first evidence of the existence of the above two archetypes was found in Jung's analysis of the dreams and fantasies of his patients (von Franz, 1978). Just as the shadow can be repressed, denied and projected, so can the archetypes of the anima and animus. It can therefore be assumed that if these archetypes are denied or repressed, that they will continue to operate on an unconscious level, presenting themselves in dreams, fantasies, symptoms, attitudes and behaviours. Thus integration of the anima and animus in the psyche of men and women respectively is regarded by Jungian psychology as a sign of mental health. This chapter will discuss the anima and animus separately, looking at the impact of these archetypes on the psyche of the individual.

4.2.8 The anima

The anima is regarded as the 'woman within' the male psyche (von Franz, 1978). "This inner feminine figure plays a typical, or archetypical, role within the unconsciousness of a man, and I called her the "anima"" (Jung, 1983, p.210).

This inner feminine side of the male psyche is seen as bringing a man into contact with his unconscious side, his inner self. The anima is seen as representing "...vague feelings and moods, prophetic hunches, receptiveness to the irrational, capacity for love, feeling for nature, and - last but not least - his relation to the unconscious" (von Franz, 1978, p.186).

The anima is thus seen as putting the man into touch with other aspects of his psyche and for mental health the anima needs to be integrated into the personality of the man.

The anima is shaped by the mother of the man, and thus the influence that a mother has on her son will determine the nature of his anima (Jung, 1977; von Franz, 1978). The anima can be seen as being made up of men's inherited ancestral experiences with 'mothers' in the past, and their own experiences with their real mother's in the present. The man's interaction with his mother, can therefore be seen as determining whether the anima takes on a positive or negative form in the male psyche (Jung, 1977; von Franz, 1978).

Some of the negative manifestations of the anima are a negative self image, feelings of worthlessness, fear, effeminacy, an inability to make decisions, a development of erotic fantasy in the form of pornography, and a cold and aloof manner (von Franz, 1978).

The anima has a personality of its own and can be projected onto another woman, so that it is not regarded as being part of the masculine psyche (Jung, 1977; von Franz, 1978). According to Jung (1977), if the anima remains unconscious, it will be projected because "everything unconscious is projected" (p.195). According to von Franz (1978), "it is the presence of the anima that causes a man to fall suddenly in love when he sees a woman for the first time and

knows at once that this is "she"" (p.193).

The anima can be seen as being responsible for the kind of partner that a man chooses, in that the man projects his anima onto another woman. The anima as mentioned above, plays a vital role as a guide to the unconscious and as a mediator between the unconscious and the ego. It is vital that a man come into contact with his anima, because if it is denied or projected he will not be able to distinguish himself from his anima. For example, a negative projection of the anima, could result in sexually coercive attitudes, in that all that is feminine is abhorred and projected, in an attempt by the man to protect his fragile masculinity. Whereas,

The positive function occurs when a man takes seriously the feelings, moods, expectation, and fantasies sent by his anima and when he fixes them in some form - for example, in writing, painting, sculpture, musical composition, or dancing (von Franz, 1978, p.195).

The anima thus performs the vital role of keeping a man in touch with his inner world, inner feelings and emotions and prevents stagnation, allowing for greater growth and development. The anima, if integrated into the male psyche, allows a man to have empathy, understanding and sensitivity to the feelings of others. If the anima is denied or repressed, it will continue to operate at an unconscious level in the psyche of the man being projected onto other women. The anima can thus be seen as influencing the attitudes and behaviours of men.

4.2.9 The animus

The animus is regarded as the 'man within' the female psyche (Franz, 1978). The animus is seen as representing "commerce, politics, technology and science" (Jung, 1977), which were regarded as being outside of the female role in the time that Jung distinguished between the anima and animus. The feminine role was regarded as being dominated by relationships and emotionality. The anima is seen as producing "moods", whilst the animus is seen as producing "opinions" (Jung, 1977, p.205). The manifestation of the animus is influenced by

the girl's relationship with her father (von Franz, 1978).

The father endows his daughter's animus with the special colouring of unarguable, incontestably 'true' convictions - convictions that never include the personal reality of the woman herself as she actually is (von Franz, 1978, p.199).

It is important to note that the animus is regarded by Jung as having a more collective nature, it is often represented in dreams by groups of men as opposed to the personal nature of the anima (Jung, 1977). The animus in its negativity can manifest itself in a loss of femininity, obstinacy and recklessness (von Franz, 1978). Furthermore, the animus can also be denied and projected, resulting for example in the woman seeing the negative aspects of her animus in other men. It can also determine the partner that the woman chooses, which in itself can be a projection of her own animus. "The animus, is the deposit, as it were, of all of woman's ancestral experiences of man" (Jung, 1977, p.207).

The animus is regarded as consisting of the qualities of "initiative, courage, objectivity, and spiritual wisdom" (von Franz, 1978, p.206). The animus of the woman in its positive form, is seen as being able to connect a woman to the 'spiritual evolution of her age' (Franz, 1978), allowing her a greater openness to creative ideas. As opposed to the anima, the animus can be seen as connecting the woman to the objective, rational and 'so-called' masculine world. If a woman denies the existence of her animus, she will project it onto men in her surroundings, resulting in her adopting a purely feminine persona and being out of contact with the more rational and decision making abilities which she possesses. This could result in the woman allowing herself to be dominated by men, by not asserting her feelings and beliefs. An extension of this argument could be that women who adopt a purely feminine persona, may in fact adopt attitudes which are supportive of sexual coercion, in that they have defined their sexuality purely in terms of the female sex-role.

4.3 The theory of psychological androgyny

The theory of psychological androgyny as proposed by Bem (1974), can be seen as an attempt to apply and measure Jung's archetypal notions of anima and animus practically. Masculinity and femininity have conventionally been conceived of as opposite ends of a continuum (Bem, 1974; Bem, Martyna & Watson, 1976; Bem, 1977; Coan, 1989). Conventionally, masculinity has been associated with the 'instrumental' domain, including such behaviours as problem solving, concern for the self, assertiveness, power and independence; whereas femininity has been associated with the 'expressive' domain, including such behaviours as affective concern for others, greater concern for others than for the self and nurturing behaviours (Bem et al. 1976; Coan, 1989; Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993).

Neither masculinity or femininity are unitary traits and therefore cannot easily be conceptualized as opposite poles of a continuum (Coan, 1989). The theory of psychological androgyny proposes that masculinity and femininity form part of a continuum and persons who have integrated both their masculine and feminine attributes, i.e. are androgynous, will enjoy the maximum psychological health (Bem, 1974; Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993; Jung, 1977). The notion of psychological androgyny can be seen as an attempt to bring together the 'instrumental' and 'expressive' domains into one, i.e. as existing in an individual. The idea being that a person is able to be both assertive and compassionate, instrumental and expressive and masculine and feminine (Bem et al., 1976; Bem, 1977). According to this theory, individuals can be masculine sex-typed (high in masculinity and low in femininity), feminine sex-typed (low in masculinity and high in femininity), androgynous (high in masculinity and high in femininity) and undifferentiated (low in masculinity and low in femininity) (Bem et al., 1976).

The highly sex-typed individual is motivated to keep his behaviour consistent with an internalized sex-role standard, a goal that he presumably accomplishes by suppressing any behaviour that might be considered undesirable or inappropriate for his sex (Bem, 1974, p.155).

A sex-role orientation which is purely masculine or feminine will inhibit behaviour that is regarded as the exclusive domain of the other identity. Masculine and feminine sex-typed individual's can be seen as having internalized societal standards as to what is applicable behaviour for men and women (Bem, 1974; Coan, 1989). An androgynous identity is seen as enabling the individual to utilize both his/her masculine and feminine attributes in a balanced manner. This can be seen as fitting in with the Jungian notion of the archetypes of the anima and the animus, which need to be integrated within the psyche of males and females respectively. If they are not integrated they will continue to exert an influence at an unconscious level, either being denied or projected onto an individual of the corresponding sex.

Masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals have been shown to adopt the conventional gender rules which designate culturally acceptable behaviour for men and women, whereas androgynous individuals have been shown to be more flexible, integrated and adaptable in their behaviour. For example, Bem et al. (1976), found that masculine men and women are high in independence and low in nurturance, feminine men and women are high in nurturance and low in independence, whereas androgynous men and women are high in both independence and nurturance. Anderson and Bem (1981) found that sex-typed subjects were friendly to people who conform to the cultural standards of physical attractiveness, this was not the case with the androgynous individuals. Frable (1989), found that sex-typed individuals were more likely than androgynous, undifferentiated and cross-sex typed (feminine men and masculine women) individuals to accept gender rules designating culturally acceptable behaviour for men and women, sex-typed individuals spontaneously took more notice of the biological sex of job applicants, devalued the performance of women and that sex-typed men endorsed sexist language. This research has attempted to show that gender ideology and sex-typing go together. From the above it can be surmised that gendered personality dispositions predict gender ideology.

Furthermore, proponents of the theory of psychological androgyny have proposed that androgynous individuals will possess more self-esteem than sex-typed or undifferentiated individuals. They will thus be regarded as possessing greater mental health, which is in support of the Jungian notion of the integration of the anima or animus within the whole psyche. Spence et al. (1975, cited in Bem et al., 1976), found that androgynous people possess the highest self-esteem, with undifferentiated people being the lowest in self-esteem (Spence et al., 1975, cited in Bem et al., 1976). The notion that androgynous people are the highest in self-esteem has been challenged by the masculinity model which states that "it is masculinity alone, not femininity or (by implication) androgyny, that can predict psychological well-being" (Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993).

Masculinity is thus seen as the deciding variable in the mental health of the individual. The theory argues, that masculine attributes (i.e. the instrumental characteristics) are more valued by society than feminine attributes (i.e. the expressive characteristics) and that therefore the masculine person will be more rewarded by society for his/her behaviour and will thus have a greater self-esteem than others (Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993). Thus masculinity has been associated with mental health by its relation to self-esteem. Although masculinity may promote subjective well being, femininity can be seen as promoting the well being of others or of society in general. Masculine individuals have been found to have drinking problems, to possess greater narcissism than feminine and undifferentiated people, to display higher rates of disruptive behaviour at school, to be involved in aggressive crimes, drug abuse and alcohol abuse (Corall, 1989; Mey & Salman, 1984, cited in Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993). As such masculinity can be seen as not being necessarily good for the self and the above-mentioned behaviours can be seen as an attempt to prevent the masculine individual from experiencing pain by inflicting pain onto others (Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993). This fits in with the Jungian notion of projection, where anything feminine may be regarded as being weak and is therefore projected onto others and is seen as needing to be degraded and destroyed. The masculinity model can be regarded as an oversimplification of the human psyche, as masculinity is not the only factor related to self-esteem and self-esteem is not the only component of mental health.

Androgynous individuals have been shown to exhibit greater flexibility and adaptability in behaviour and to display greater levels of ego development than undifferentiated, masculine and feminine subjects (Schiff & Koopman, 1978, cited in Forshaw & Shmukler, 1993).

From the above, it may be surmised that masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals have adopted the conventional gender rules which determine what are the culturally acceptable behaviours for men and women within society. Such individuals can be seen as identifying with either a 'masculine' or 'feminine' persona and denying or projecting the attributes associated with the opposing sex-role. As such, it can be assumed that they will be more intolerant of the behaviours as represented by the opposing sex-role and more likely to act in a stereotypically masculine or feminine fashion. This could also account for the adoption of sexually coercive attitudes by men and women who have purely taken on their prescribed sex role as conventionally defined by society.

...the increased freedom from culturally prescribed sex roles presents young adults with more opportunity to establish a sex-role identity and behavioural repertoire that are not necessarily stereotypic (Stevens, Pfof, Potts, 1990).

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The above information will now be used to look at the relationship between personality variables, such as, self-esteem and masculine, feminine and androgynous sex-typed orientation and attitudes to sexual coercion. As has been mentioned above, sex-role stereotyping has been found to be associated with acceptance of rape (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978; Tieger, 1981). For example, Feild (1978), found that people who attribute the stereotypically traditional roles to women, were more likely to attribute rape responsibility to the women. Tieger (1981), found that androgynous people were more likely to believe rape victims and to view rape as a more serious and violent crime than the other sex-typed individuals. Malamuth (1981a), found that male rapists held callous attitudes about women and showed support for rape myths. Uitgard, Thalberg and Wheeler (1986), found that females were significantly stronger in their disapproval of rape than males, but that the intensity of the disapproval was

associated with the degree to which the respondent was accepting of gender stereotypes. They found that those who were the strongest in their rejection of gender stereotypes were strongest in their rejection of rape-permissive attributions. Whereas, those who were the least rejecting of gender stereotypes were the least rejecting of rape permissive attributions. The above-mentioned research has shown an association between sex-role orientation and attitudes towards rape, with people who are more supportive of traditional gender stereotypes being more supportive of sexual coercion.

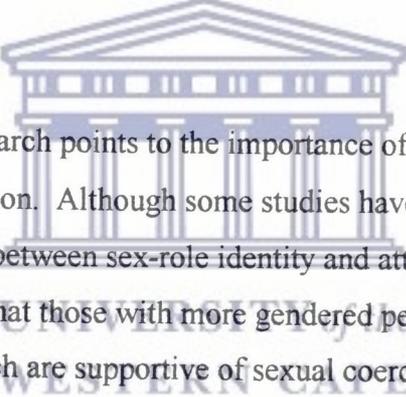
Burke, Stets and Pirog-Good (1988), found that males and females with more feminine gender identities were more likely to inflict and sustain both physical and sexual abuse. Thus the more feminine the persons identity, the greater the likelihood of abuse, both directly or indirectly. This is to some extent supportive of the notion that the more gender stereotyped the individual the more likely he/she is to be supportive of sexual coercion and to behave in a sexually coercive manner. It is not certain as to why the masculine sex-typed individuals were not found to be more likely to behave in a sexually coercive manner and this finding warrants further research in this area.

Malovich and Stake (1990), found that men with traditional sex-role attitudes who were low in self-esteem and women with traditional sex-role attitudes who were high in self-esteem were more tolerant of sexual harassment behaviours and held a more negative perception of the victim than did other participants in their study. Therefore, traditional students (i.e. those supportive of masculine and feminine stereotypes), held more tolerant attitudes towards sexual coercion than did the non-traditional (by implication), androgynous students. In conclusion of their study, they stated that personality factors are more important determinants of attitudes towards sexual coercion than is sex of the subject, even though the female subjects were more likely than the males to label sexually toned behaviour as harassment.

Other research has shown conflicting results. For example, Powell (1986), found that there was little relationship between sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual harassment with

there being no effect for masculinity and only a weak effect for femininity. Rapaport and Burkhart (1984), found that involvement in sexually coercive behaviour covaried with "the personality measures of irresponsibility, a lack of social conscience, and a value orientation legitimizing aggression, particularly aggression against women" (p.216).

The research only used male subjects and was looking at the range of coercive behaviours, from kissing to forced sexual intercourse. The more sexually coercive the behaviours, the less likely they were to be endorsed by the male subjects, which is consistent with other findings (Rapaport & Burkhart, 1984). They found that personality and endorsement of aggression were important predictors of self-reported sexually coercive behaviour. In contrast to other findings (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978; Tieger, 1981; Quackenbush, 1989), Rapaport and Burkhart (1984), found that traditional attitudes towards women were not useful in predicting sexually coercive behaviour.



In general, most of the research points to the importance of personality factors in the prediction of attitudes to sexual coercion. Although some studies have shown conflicting results when looking at the relationship between sex-role identity and attitudes to sexual coercion, in general it can be assumed that those with more gendered personality dispositions are more likely to hold attitudes which are supportive of sexual coercion. Quackenbush (1989), explored the relationship between male sex-role orientation and the perception of rape, acceptance of rape supportive attitudes and the self-reported likelihood of acquaintance and stranger rape. It was found that males considered stranger rape to be a more serious crime than date rape and that masculine and undifferentiated males repeatedly responded in a more rape-supportive manner than did the androgynous males. This research offers support for the other findings which have shown stereotyping, or acceptance of sex-role orientation to be related to greater support of rape myths and attitudes of sexual coercion. However, the findings are not altogether consistent, with some showing that feminine orientation is linked to sexually coercive behaviours, whilst others show that masculine orientation is linked to sexually coercive behaviours. Most of the research has focused on male subjects and the

findings when female subjects have been included has been less conclusive. It can be concluded that the research has shown that the personality variables of masculinity and femininity are important predictors in attitudes to sexual coercion. Other variables, such as self-esteem do interact to at times complicate the picture and would also need a further assessment of their impact on attitudes to sexual coercion.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to show that the adoption of masculine and feminine sex-roles has important implications for the attitudes that men and women hold towards sexual coercion, with masculine and feminine sex-typing being one index of the proclivity to hold sexually coercive attitudes and to behave in a sexually coercive manner. It appears as if a multifactorial approach is necessary to explain sexual coercion. Psychological factors, including, poor self-esteem, adoption of a purely masculine or feminine sex-type, the need for dominance and control, an antisocial personality predisposition and the linking of sexual arousal with aggression and socio-cultural factors, including, hostile attitudes towards women, acceptance of interpersonal violence, acceptance of rape myths have been shown to account for sexually coercive attitudes and behaviours. It may be assumed that the interaction between the above-mentioned psychological and sociocultural variables plays a vital role in the development and maintenance of sexually coercive attitudes.

This chapter has explored the importance of psychological variables, such as masculinity and femininity, in affecting attitudes towards sexual coercion. This was done in an attempt to explore the reasons for individual differences in attitudes held. The following chapters present the actual study and attempt to pull together and interpret the theoretical constructs examined in the literature review sections of this thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE - THE PRESENT STUDY

5.1 Aims

The purpose of this study was to conduct a psychometric investigation of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale, developed by the author and to conduct a preliminary test of some hypotheses pertaining to this study. Another aim was to investigate the influence of masculine and feminine orientation on attitudes to sexual coercion. In addition, the influence of sex on attitudes to sexual coercion would also be explored.

The hypotheses are as follows: masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals will hold more sexually coercive attitudes than people who are androgynous i.e. integrated in terms of their masculinity and femininity and males will hold more sexually coercive attitudes than females.

5.2 Procedure

Participants for this study were chosen on the basis of their availability to the researcher and their willingness to undertake the consuming task of completing the questionnaire package. Subjects willing to partake in the study were given the questionnaire package and were asked to return the questionnaires to the Psychology Department of the University of the Western Cape. The subjects were told the procedure for completing the questionnaires and encouraged to complete them in approximately 45 minutes.

5.3 Subjects

The respondents for this study were drawn from the undergraduate and post-graduate student population from the Psychology Department of the University of the Western Cape during September and October 1994. In all, one-hundred surveys were collected over a four week period. The questionnaire package included The Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1981a), the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale, an introductory statement, demographic questions and instructions for the completion of each scale (Appendix A).

The scales were completed in the subjects own time and returned to a central point at the Psychology Department of the University of the Western Cape. To ensure anonymity, subjects were not required to fill in their names. Twenty-eight of the surveys collected were incomplete, and were subsequently dropped from the sample, realising a usable sample of seventy-two.

Of the seventy-two respondents, 38 (52.7%) were male and 34 (47.2%) were female. Their ages were 18 years to 40 years, with a mean age of 23 years. Language distribution included English (69.4%), Afrikaans (16.6%), Xhosa (9.7%) and "other" (4.1%). The level of study was not included, as many respondents registered the number of years they had been at university rather than their current level of study. Religious distribution included Christian (63%), Muslim (18%), Atheists (13.8%) and "other" (2.7%). Most subjects were single (81.9%), with 13.8% being married, 2.7% divorced and 1.3% separated (Appendix B).

5.4 Instruments

5.4.1 Sexual coercion attitude scale - Scale construction

Individual items were generated on the basis of psychological and sociological theory on sexual coercion and a review of constructs that have surfaced in the literature and were identified as important. The five sexual coercion constructs included consisted of 1. rape myths (Brownmiller, 1975; Burt, 1980; Ward, 1988), 2. sexual petting (Feild, 1978a; Holcomb, Holcomb, Sondag & Williams, 1990), 3. forced sexual intercourse or conventional rape (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978a; Holcomb et al., 1990; Uitgard, Thalberg & Wheeler, 1986; Vogelman, 1990; Ward, 1988), 4. attitudes towards women (Burt, 1980; Feild, 1978a; Levett & Kuhn, 1991; Nelson, 1988; Ward, 1988), and 5. benign sexual behaviours (Fitzgerald & Hesson-McInnis, 1989; Holcomb et al., 1990; Muehlenhard, Powch, Phelps & Giusti, 1992).

The 66 individual items were randomly distributed within the scale and were scored on a seven point Likert format ranging from 1 ("Strongly Disagree") to 7 ("Strongly Agree") (Appendix A). Ten of the total number of items were negatively scored with the remaining

items being positively scored. The scale was then administered.

5.4.1.1 Factor analysis

All data entries were coded so that all the items for each subscale were scored in one direction. Higher scores on the Likert scale thus represented more sexually coercive attitudes for each of the five subscales (rape myths, sexual petting, forced intercourse, attitudes towards women and benign sexual behaviour).

Using the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS, 1988) a factor analysis was conducted within each of the identified conceptual categories of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale to determine whether the theorised factors were empirically supported. All items with loadings of 0.5 or less were excluded from each of the subscales. As a result, the final items comprising the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale consisted of 23 (Appendix C).

Examination of the results of the factor analysis revealed that all five dimensions of sexual coercion did emerge clearly. The factor analysis confirmed the validity of each of the five subscales. The Sexual Coercion Attitude subscales and their manifest items will be discussed separately below.



5.4.1.2 Scale one - Rape myths scale

The Rape myths subscale looked at the belief that some women asked to be "raped" by behaving in certain ways. It examines the victim precipitation model of rape. The scale was scored so that high scores indicated greater support of the myths surrounding rape and vice versa. The subscale comprised the items (18, 4, 23, 5, 11). Some of the representative items from this scale are as follows:

After a date a woman who goes back to the mans' home is implying that she wants to have sex with him.

If a woman says no to sex, she means maybe or yes.

As can be seen from table 5.1., a test for reliability revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.78.

5.4.1.3 Scale two - Sexual petting scale

Petting was defined as involving behaviours such as fondling, caressing and touching. Petting was conceptualized as being forced and unwanted. Sexual behaviour was the focus of this subscale. The scale was scored so that high scores indicated greater support for forced unwanted petting behaviour and vice versa. The subscale comprised the items (62, 59, 54, 31). Some of the representative items of this subscale are as follows:

In some circumstances it is okay for a man to use some degree of physical force (twisting a woman's arm or holding her down) to try and get her to engage in kissing or petting when she is unwilling.

Men are the dominant sex and have the right to force a woman to touch their genitals.

As can be seen from table 5.1., a test for reliability revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.83.

5.4.1.4 Scale three - Forced intercourse scale

Forced Intercourse was defined as any unwanted and forced penile-vaginal, oral and anal sex. Sexual behaviours, which are traditionally regarded as rape, were examined. The subscale comprised the items (56, 29, 12, 39, 25). The scale was scored so that high scores indicated greater support for attitudes supportive of rape and vice versa. Some of the representative items of this subscale are as follows:

A woman should be forced to give a man oral sex, even if it is not what she wants to do.

It is okay for a man to force a woman to have sex with him.

As can be seen from table 5.1., a test for reliability revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.87.

5.4.1.5 Scale four - Attitudes towards women scale

Attitudes towards women's behaviour and some traditional sex-role beliefs were the focus of this subscale. Thus attitudes as opposed to behaviours were the focus of this subscale. The subscale comprised the items (27, 45, 14, 37). The scale was scored so that high scores indicated greater support for the traditional beliefs that prevail around a woman's sex-role, and vice versa. Some of the representative items of this subscale are as follows:

Women prefer men who dominate them when they are sexually involved.

A woman will often pretend she does not want to have sexual intercourse, when she really does, as she does not want to appear easy.

As can be seen from table 5.1., a test for reliability revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.84.

5.4.1.6 Scale five - Benign sexual behaviours scale

Benign Sexual Behaviours were defined as subtle sexual coercive acts, which do not necessarily involve physical force and excludes acts such as forced intercourse or oral/anal sex. Examples of such behaviours includes, bum pinching, whistling and cat calling. The scale was scored so that high scores indicated greater support for benign sexual behaviour and low scores indicated less support for benign sexual behaviour. The subscale comprised the items (47, 38, 63, 53, 15). Some of the representative items of this subscale are as follows:

It is okay to pat a woman's bottom.

It is okay to talk to a strange woman in a sexual manner.

As can be seen from table 5.1., a test for reliability revealed a Cronbach alpha coefficient of 0.83.

TABLE 5.1. Internal Reliability of the Subscales Employing Cronbach Alpha (N = 72)

Scale Items Cronbach Alpha

Rape Myths 18, 4, 23, 5, 110.78

Sexual Petting 62, 59, 54, 310.83

Forced Intercourse 56, 29, 12, 39, 250.87

Attitudes to Women 27, 45, 14, 370.84

Benign Sexual Behaviour 47, 38, 63, 53, 150.83

Subsequent to the factor and reliability analyses of each of the 5 subscales a reliability analysis was conducted on the total 23 items of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale. Cronbach alpha revealed a coefficient of 0.94 (N = 72), which is a very satisfactory reliability. The complete Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale utilized in the analysis of the data is found in Appendix C.

5.4.2 Sex role

Sex role orientation was assessed using the Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974). The purpose of this instrument is to measure masculinity, femininity and androgyny. The instrument consists of 60 adjectives/personality characteristics: 20 feminine, 20 masculine and 20 neutral. The person has to identify on a 7 point scale, which of the 60 masculine, feminine and neutral adjectives best describes him/herself. The scale ranges from 1 ("Never or almost never true") to 7 ("Always or almost always true") and is labelled at each point (Bem, 1981a, p.4).

5.4.2.1 The development of the Bem Sex Role Inventory

The Bem Sex Role Inventory was developed by Bem (1974) as an instrument to measure psychological 'androgyny' in response to previous sex role inventories which conceptualized masculinity and femininity as being on bipolar sides of a single continuum (Bem, 1974). The instrument was validated at Stanford University, USA (Bem, 1974). One-hundred undergraduate students were given 200 personality characteristics which were "positive in value and either masculine or feminine in tone" (Bem, 1974, p.156).

The subjects were required to judge which of the items were regarded as being desirable for men and women in American society.

A personality characteristic was defined as feminine or masculine if it was judged to be significantly more desirable in American society for one sex than for the other (Bem, 1981a, p.11).

Each judge rated the characteristics for one sex only. If the male and female subjects judged an item independently to be more desirable for the one sex than for the other, it formed part of the final Bem Sex Role Inventory (Bem, 1974).

The Bem Sex Role Inventory was validated in the USA. Results showed reliability on the 3 subscales to have alpha ranges from 0.70 to 0.86 in one sample and from 0.75 and 0.86 in another sample. This indicates that the instrument has internal consistency. In terms of test-retest reliability, the correlational scores ranged from $r = 0.89$ to $r = 0.93$ (Bem, 1974). This indicates that this instrument is highly reliable.

5.4.2.2 Scoring

Originally the Bem Sex Role Inventory was scored by obtaining the subjects t-test for the difference between masculine and feminine endorsements. This scoring procedure was changed to include people who scored both low on masculinity and femininity and were thus

classified as being undifferentiated (Bem,1977). The Bem now includes four categories according to which subjects can be classified, namely: masculine (high on masculinity, low on femininity), feminine (low on masculinity, high on femininity), androgynous (high on masculinity, high on femininity), and undifferentiated (low on masculinity and low on femininity).

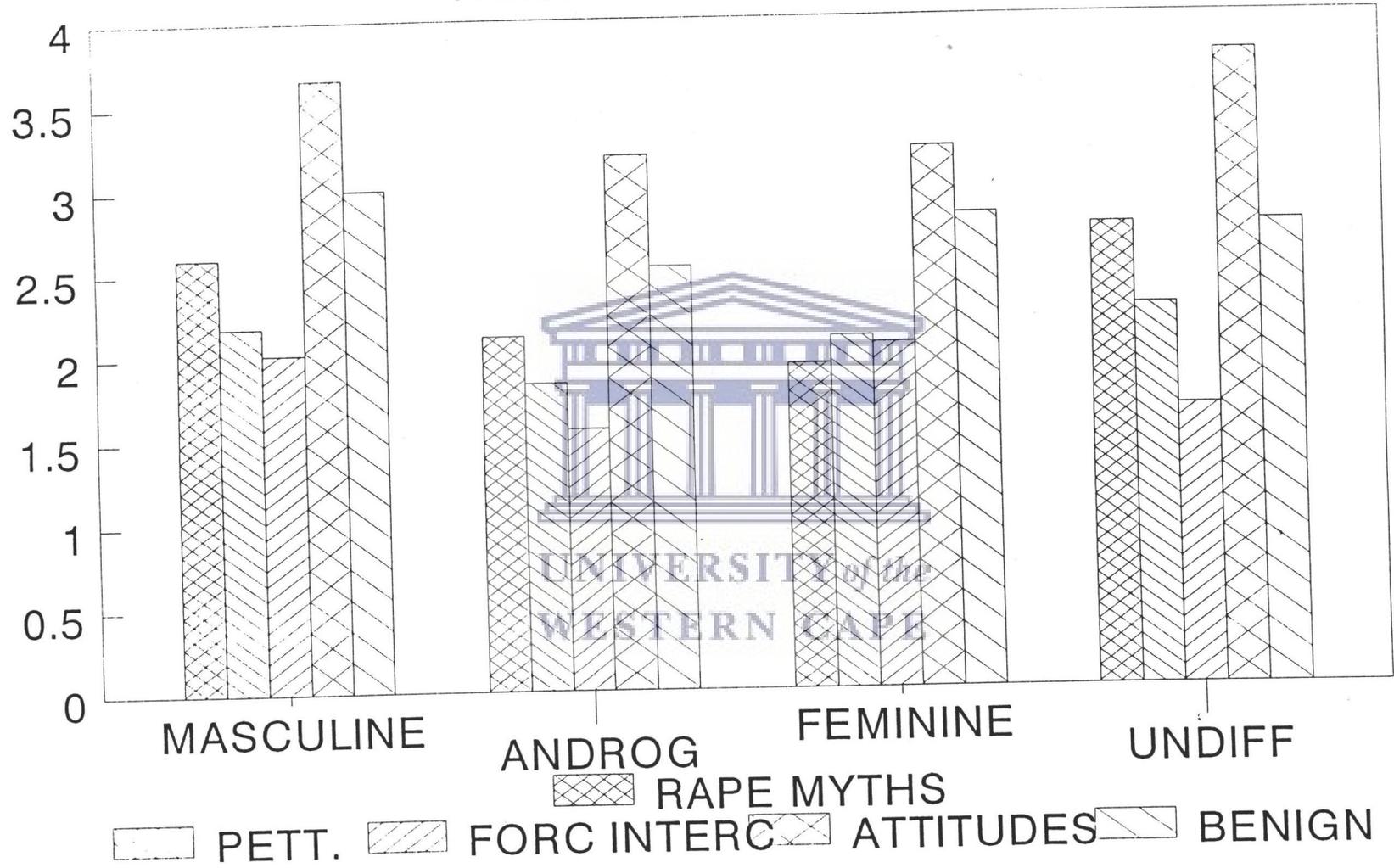
Currently, the Bem Sex role Inventory is scored by obtaining mean scores of the masculinity and femininity scales. The femininity score is the mean of a subject's rating on the feminine adjectives and that same subjects masculinity score is the mean of his/her rating on the masculinity adjectives. Both can range from 1 - 7. Sex role classification is based on the median splits of both the masculinity and femininity scales.

5.4.2.3 Current study

The 20 masculinity and the 20 femininity adjectives were used in this study. The median scores obtained for the masculinity scale was 4.35 and the median score obtained for the femininity scale was 4.25. Subjects who scored above the median on the masculinity and femininity scales were classified as androgynous. Subjects who scored below the median on both scales were classified as undifferentiated. Subjects who scored above the median on masculinity and below the median on femininity were classified as masculine sex-typed. Subjects who scored above the median on femininity and below the median on masculinity were classified as feminine sex-typed.

Reliability analysis revealed a Cronbach alpha of 0.89 for the masculinity scale and 0.91 for the femininity scale. The reliability analysis revealed a very satisfactory reliability.

MEAN VALUES FOR FIVE FACTORS ACROSS TOTAL SAMPLE



GRAPH 6.1

83

The results indicate that masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, androgynous and undifferentiated subjects are not significantly different in their attitudes towards sexual coercion, as measured across the five subscales (rape myths, petting, forced intercourse, attitudes to women and benign sexual behaviour). The F-ratio values range from 0.35 to 1.44, which indicates that there is greater variation within the groups (masculine, feminine, androgynous and undifferentiated), than there is between the groups. Furthermore, the P values are all greater than 0.05, further indicating that the results are not significant. The results indicate that there are no significant differences in the attitudes held by masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, androgynous and undifferentiated subjects. This finding contradicts theoretical research, which has shown masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed and undifferentiated individuals to hold more sexually coercive attitudes than androgynous individuals.

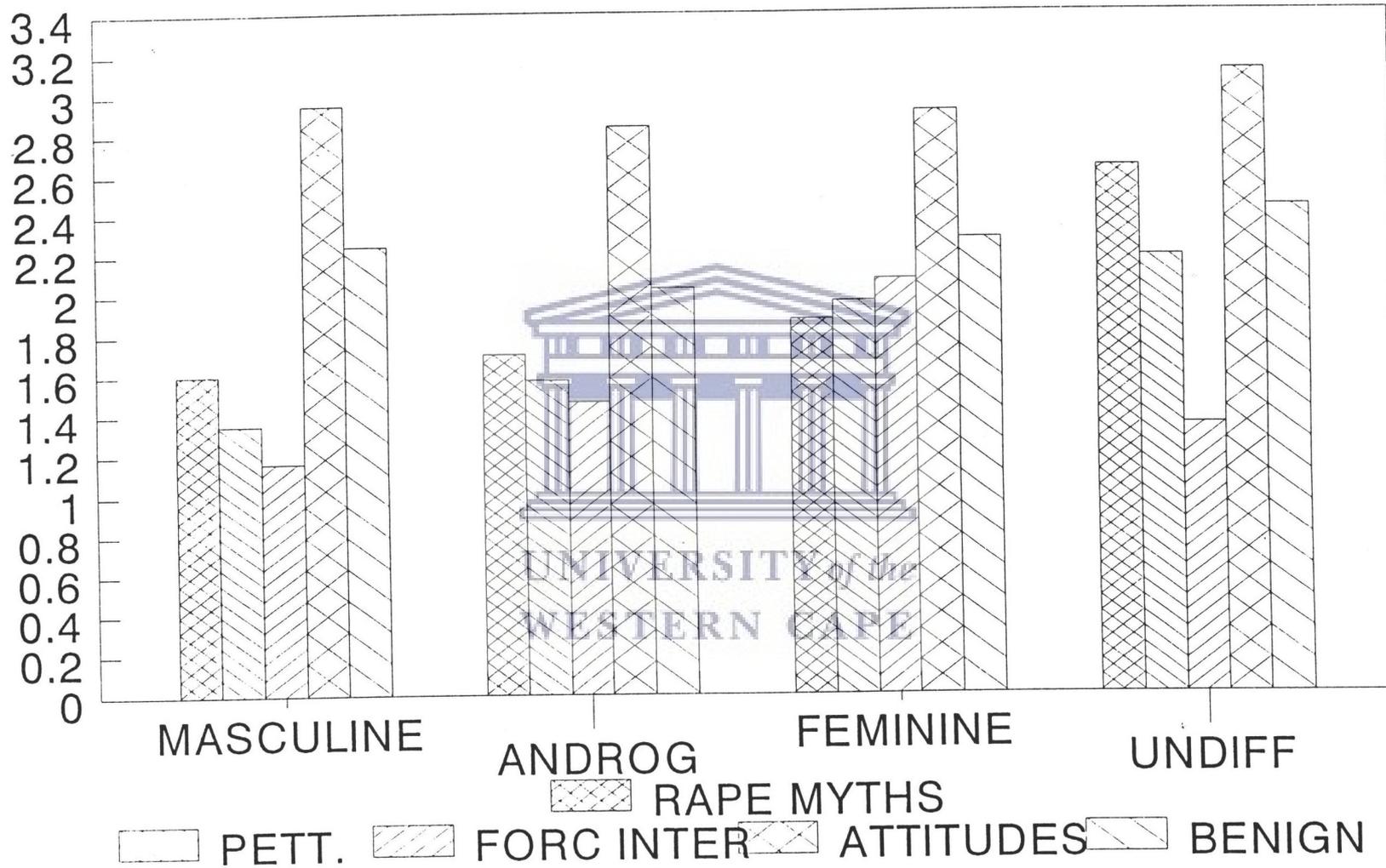
Although the results are not significant, various trends can be identified by looking at Table 6.1. and graph 6.1. Firstly, there is an indication that masculine sex-typed subjects are consistently more sexually coercive in their attitudes across each of the five scales (rape myths, petting, forced intercourse, attitudes to women and benign sexual behaviour), than any of the other groups (androgynous, feminine and undifferentiated). These trends are supportive of theoretical and research findings, but are not significant and therefore do not warrant further interpretation.

Secondly, the mean score values obtained on scale 4 (attitudes to women scale) are consistently higher across all the groups, indicating that the subjects expressed more sexually coercive attitudes in response to the items on this scale.

6.2 Differences between the four Bem categories across five sexual coercion factors using the female subjects

An analysis of variance was then conducted using the 34 female subjects from the sample, to assess the relationship between sex-type and attitudes to sexual coercion with only female

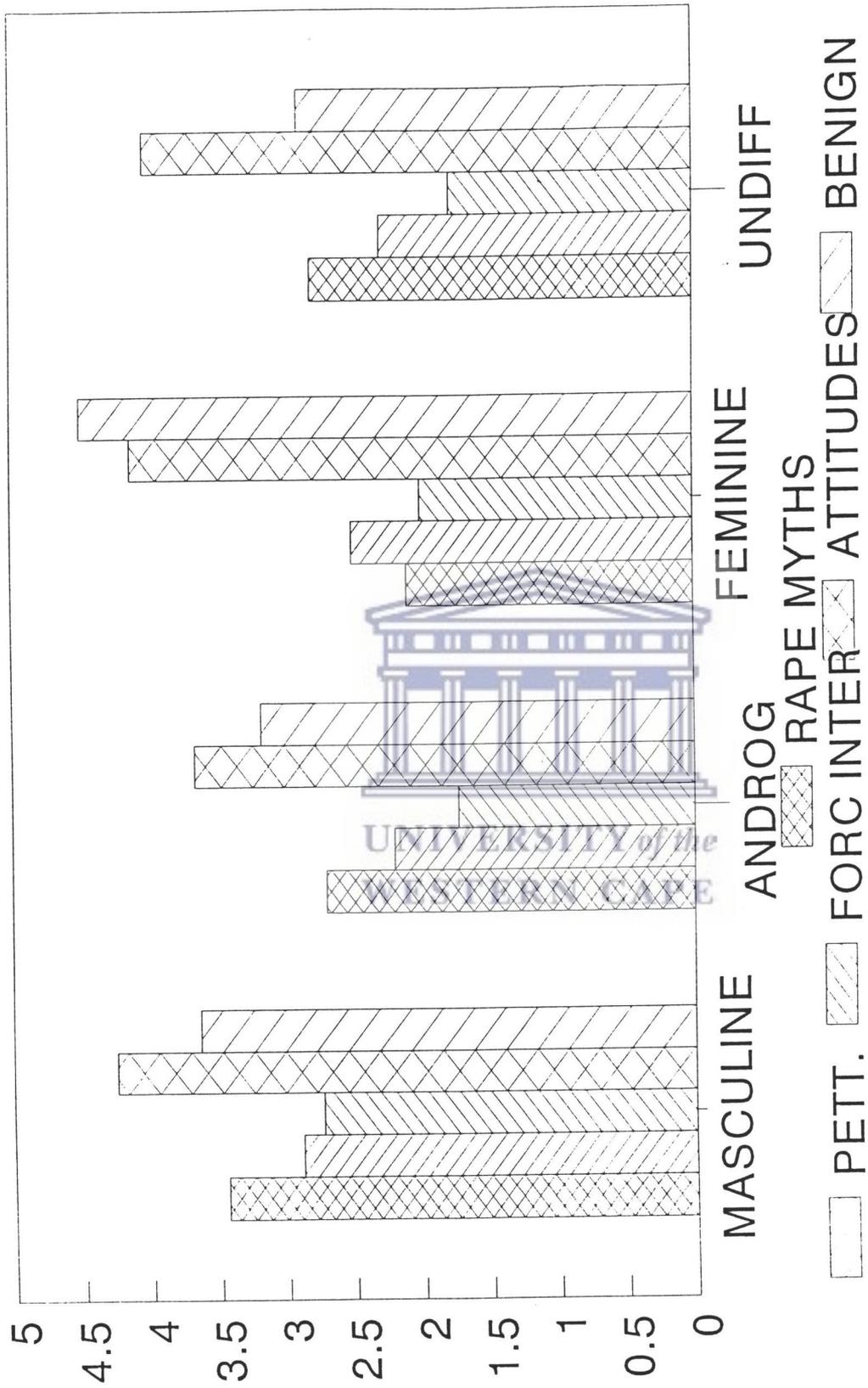
MEAN VALUES FOR FIVE FACTORS ACROSS FEMALE SAMPLE



GRAPH 6-2

GRAPH 6.3

MEAN VALUES FOR FIVE FACTORS
ACROSS MALE SAMPLE

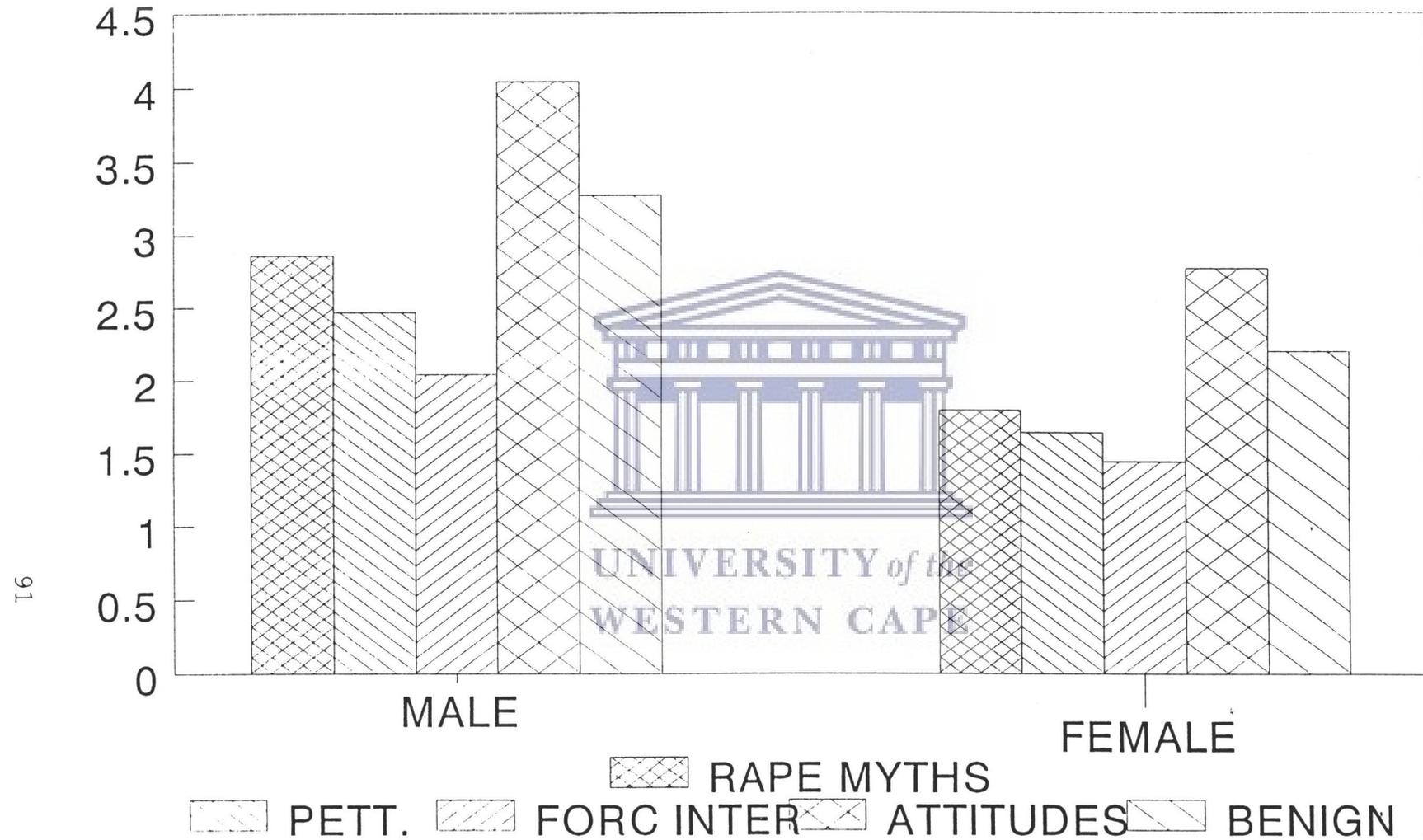


As can be seen from table 6.3 and graph 6.3., masculine sex-typed, feminine sex-typed, androgynous and undifferentiated male subjects do not differ significantly in their attitudes to sexual coercion across the five subscales of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale. Once again, all the male subjects appear to hold equally sexually coercive attitudes, whether classified as masculine, feminine, androgynous or undifferentiated.

Taking cognisance of the nonsignificance of the results, the following trends can be identified. Firstly, there is an indication that the masculine sex-typed male subjects hold consistently more sexually coercive attitudes across each of the 5 scales than any of the other groups. This interpretation is supportive of findings which show masculine sex-typed individuals to hold more sexually coercive attitudes (Quackenbush, 1989). Secondly, the mean value scores obtained on scale 4 (attitudes to women) are again consistently higher than the mean value scores achieved on any of the other scales.

In conclusion, given the nonsignificance of the results, we cannot conclude that significant differences exist between the groups in terms of their sexually coercive attitudes. The results remained consistent, whether the entire sample of 72 subjects, or the male subjects (N=38) and female subjects (N=34) comprised the sample being analyzed. Two main trends can be identified from the results, namely: the masculine sex-typed subjects indicated more sexually coercive attitudes across the 5 scales than did the other groups and all subjects appeared to respond in a more sexually coercive manner to the items contained in scale 4 (attitudes to women scale). The latter trend can be interpreted as follows: The subjects were more likely to respond in an honest manner to the items comprising this scale, as the items explored were more subtle and less threatening in that they looked at attitudes as opposed to blatant sexual behaviours. Thus the responses given on this scale may be a truer reflection of the subjects actual sexual coercive attitudes.

MEAN VALUES FOR FIVE FACTORS MALE VS FEMALE



GRAPH 6.4

In conclusion, significance was found only for sex differences and not for sex-typed differences. Some possible explanations for the nonsignificance of the sex-typed differences are as follows:

1. The Bem Sex Role Inventory was standardized using an American sample and may therefore be a culture specific measure and not appropriate for use on a Black South African sample. This may account for the failure of the measures to link sex-typed identity with sexually coercive attitudes. To this author's knowledge, the Bem Sex Role Inventory has not been validated using a South African sample and perhaps further validation is required, using a South African sample, which may improve its appropriateness as a measure of sex-role identity in this context.
2. The crudeness of the measures used may in part be responsible for the nonsignificance of the sex-typed differences. It appears as if these instruments were unable to identify the underlying ambiguities and ambivalences which can be seen as existing in relation to attitudes towards sexual coercion. Perhaps a qualitative measure would have more adequately tapped into the ambiguities and ambivalences which may surround attitudes towards sexual coercion.
3. The presence of greater within groups differences implies that within the masculine group for example, there is a great deal of variation in their attitudes towards sexual coercion. This offers support for the argument that intrapsychic, individual differences may be more useful as predictors of sexual coercion as opposed to categorizing people into groups and then analysing their attitudes and behaviours.

The above points are only a few of the possibilities which exist to explain the nonsignificance of the sex-typed differences. The following discussion chapter will explore in detail the possible reasons for the results which were obtained in this study.

CHAPTER SEVEN - DISCUSSION

7.1 The relationship between sex-type identity and attitudes towards sexual coercion.

The finding that masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals, and androgynous and undifferentiated individuals do not differ significantly in terms of their attitudes towards sexual coercion, is inconsistent with most of the research in this area.

For example, some research has shown an association between gender stereotyping and acceptance of rape or sexual coercion, with those who hold traditional sex-role attitudes being more supportive of rape regardless of their sex (Burt, 1980; Malovich & Stake, 1990; Uitgard, Thalberg & Wheeler, 1988). Other research has also shown that attitudes towards women for example, conservative or antifeminist tendencies, are also associated with attitudes which are supportive of sexual coercion (Feild, 1978; Levett & Kuhn, 1991). Tieger (1981), found that androgynous people were more likely to believe rape victims and to view rape as a more serious and violent crime than sex-typed individuals. Pirog-Good (1981), found that people with a feminine gender identity were more likely to inflict and sustain both physical and sexual abuse than other subjects, and Quackenbush (1989), found that masculine and undifferentiated male subjects were more supportive of attitudes towards rape than were undifferentiated male subjects.

In this research, in spite of the non-significance of the sex-typed differences, certain trends were found in the results which are supportive of other findings. For example, the masculine sex-typed subjects indicated consistently more sexually coercive attitudes than did the other subjects. In terms of psychological theory, it seems possible that people who have adopted the masculine sex-role identity are likely to take on the conventional attributes associated with this role, including aggression, power, control and rationality and to deny and project their own inner femininity, which may according to conventional definitions be associated with weakness and inferiority. Sexually coercive attitudes and behaviour can thus be understood as an attempt by masculine sex-typed individuals to assert their masculinity by degrading and

devaluing any behaviour that is regarded as feminine. This finding can be understood by making reference to Jungian theory, which sees people who have adopted a purely masculine persona, as denying and projecting their own inner femininity and thus for intrapsychic reasons, may hold attitudes which are more supportive of sexual coercion than individuals' who have integrated their femininity (Jung, 1977).

Most research appears to show a definite relationship between sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual coercion. Of interest, no main trends were found with feminine sex-typed, androgynous and undifferentiated individuals. This goes against most of the research, which shows androgynous people to be less coercive than sex-typed or undifferentiated individuals. The possible reasons for this finding will be discussed below.

Other research has found that there is a weak relationship between sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual coercion or harassment. For example, Powell (1986), found that there was only a weak effect for femininity and no effect for masculinity, and Rapport and Burkhart (1984), found that traditional attitudes towards women were not useful in predicting sexually coercive behaviour. This indicates that in general, sex-role identity may be useful in helping to predict attitudes towards sexual coercion, but that other factors may intervene with sex-role identity to determine whether a person will hold sexually coercive attitudes or not.

Malovich and Stake, (1990), looked at the interaction between self-esteem, sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual harassment. Self-esteem was seen as playing a vital role in the results, with men with traditional sex-role attitudes and a low self-esteem and women with traditional sex-role attitudes and a high self-esteem, being significantly more supportive of sexual harassment than the other subjects in the study. This indicates that self-esteem may be an important predictor of the attitudes held.

It appears that some research has shown that self-esteem, acceptance of aggression, especially against women, acceptance of interpersonal violence and adversarial beliefs, as well as

traditional sex-role attitudes, have been associated with attitudes supportive of sexual coercion. This may account for the non-significance of the sex-typed differences found in this research. These other factors may be more important predictors of sexual coercion than for example masculine and feminine sex-typed identity. It may be necessary to identify the interrelationships between sex-role identity, adversarial beliefs and acceptance of aggression and attitudes to sexual coercion.

The different theories of sexual coercion, namely: psychopathological, motivational, biosocial, physiological, social learning and sociocultural approaches, offer an understanding of sexual coercion. However, in isolation they appear to be inadequate in comprehensively explaining attitudes towards sexual coercion. For example, although sociocultural factors, such as sex-role socialization and gender stereotyping, may explain why certain individuals hold more sexually coercive attitudes than others in isolation, they appear to be unable to explain why individual differences exist even within particular group categorizations. Through a more indepth look at attitude theory, one is able to more clearly account for individual differences in attitudes held. This relates to the particular structure of the attitude construct. Even attitude theory appears to be inadequate in explaining the existence of individual intrapsychic differences. Thus attitude theory in isolation does not adequately account for differences in sexually coercive attitudes.

It appears as if individual intrapsychic dynamics account for individual differences in attitudes held and that these dynamics may reveal themselves in social variants. For example, it seems viable to argue that psychological triggers are necessary to motivate a person to behave in a sexually coercive manner.

Jungian theory, which focuses on intrapsychic dynamics, appears to be the most useful tool for predicting sexual coercion. The nonsignificance of the sex-typed differences implies that individual psychological factors may be more important determinants of sexual coercion than is a categorization of individuals into various groupings.

Furthermore, it may be argued, that the Bem Sex Role Inventory does not adequately tap into the Jungian notions of the anima and the animus and may therefore not have been the most appropriate measure of the Jungian concepts as they relate to attitude theory.

It appears as if this study was not able to identify the subtleties and complexities involved in the interrelationships between sex-typing and attitudes towards sexual coercion. This study did not distinguish between masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals, androgynous and undifferentiated subjects in terms of their attitudes towards sexual coercion. It thus appears that it is not picking up a significant relationship between gender traits and attitudes. Once again, this finding can be seen as offering support for an understanding of attitudes which focuses on personal psychological dynamics, as opposed to an approach which places individuals into categories and then attempts to interpret their attitudes.

Furthermore, these findings could be due to the limitations of the measuring instruments used. The Bem Sex Role Inventory was standardized in the U.S.A., and to this authors knowledge, it has not been standardized on a Black South African sample. It may thus be a culture specific measure and therefore unable to pick up the culturally defined categories of masculinity and femininity. It is thus possible to query the appropriateness of the definitions of masculinity and femininity as used by the Bem Sex Role Inventory. According to Locksley and Colten (1979), the theory of psychological androgyny

makes specifically psychological assertions about the nature of sex identity, definitions of masculinity and femininity, and appropriate means of measuring these phenomena (p.1017).

They thus query the validity of the measure in terms of the definitions used for defining masculine and feminine behaviours. The items of the Bem Sex Role Inventory were selected with regard to what was regarded as characteristically masculine and feminine behaviour for males and females respectively. This is not only dependent upon current societal definitions,

but is also based on the specific cultures definition of masculinity and femininity. It is questionable whether the items have been correctly classified as masculine, feminine and neutral (Brems & Johnson, 1990). If this is the case, then the Bem Sex Role Inventory would not have adequately distinguished between the masculine, feminine, androgynous and undifferentiated individuals in this study as the definitions of masculine and feminine can be regarded as being inappropriate.

Furthermore, the Bem Sex Role has been criticized in terms of the extent to which the "two categorizations of items (masculine and feminine) are unidimensional and independent" (Brems & Johnson, 1990, p.484). Archer (1989), in a review on the literature on the Bem Sex Role Inventory found support for the need for a multifactorial as opposed to unitary view of masculinity and femininity. From a review of the literature it was found that a dissociation exists between judgements which subjects apply to themselves and to others. This has important implications for findings that there is a weak relationship between attitudes and gender trait measures (Archer, 1989). This could account for the non-significance of the sex-typed differences results in this study. It appears as if a reconceptualization of the Bem Sex Role Inventory is necessary to assess whether it measures what it proclaims to measure and whether in fact the definitions of masculinity and femininity are appropriate for use on a Black South African sample.

Another important trend that was identified, was that all subjects expressed consistently more coercive attitudes when responding to the subscale of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale, which looked at attitudes towards women. This is consistent with other research findings (Quackenbush, 1991). The reason for this could be that the subjects were more willing to be honest when dealing with the less threatening than with the blatantly obvious coercive questions. This could indicate therefore, that the overall responses to the questionnaire could have been dampened and that the subjects attitudes were in fact more coercive than they were willing to admit.

7.2 The relationship between biological sex and attitudes towards sexual coercion

The finding that men and women differ significantly in terms of their attitudes towards sexual coercion, with men holding significantly more sexually coercive attitudes than women, is consistent with the findings of some research in this area. For example, Selby, Calhoun and Brock (1977), found that men regarded rape victims as playing a greater casual role in the rape than did the female subjects. Other studies have found women to view rape as a more serious and violent crime than men, with men being more likely to blame the victim for the assault because of her behaviour, dress or appearance (Feild, 1978; Tieger, 1991; Smith, Keating, Hester & Mitchell, 1976). Women have been found to be more disapproving of rape than men (Uitigard, Thalberg & Wheeler, 1986). Overall, the general trend appears to be that men are more likely to blame the victims for their assault and to be more accepting of rape, than women (Quackenbush, 1991). The results are inconsistent, though, with some studies finding that females attributed greater responsibility to the victim of the rape than did the male subjects (Rumsey & Rumsey, 1977). In conclusion, some studies have found gender differences with regard to rape, whereas other have found none (Davis, Kerr, Atkins, Holt & Meek, 1975, Schmitt & Colligan, 1974, cited in Rumsey et al., 1977). The results from other research, thus appear to indicate that other factors besides sex, play an important role in distinguishing between people who are likely to hold sexually coercive attitudes and those who are not. Individual psychological dynamics may assist in distinguishing between individuals who are sexually coercive and those who are not sexually coercive.

The fact that the men were more coercive than the women in their attitudes, seems to imply that they have adopted a masculine stereotype, which has not been identified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory. It is possible that the subjects in this study have closely associated their gender identity with their biological sex, resulting in there being very little distinction between gender identity and sex.

Furthermore, the items on the Bem Sex Role Inventory may be interpreted in different ways by different individuals. For example one person's definition of assertiveness, may differ from

another person's understanding of this concept. This could affect the placement of people into the masculine and feminine sex-typed categories. The understanding of the concepts are further confounded by the fact that the items are broad and are not situation specific, meaning that although a person may be assertive in one situation, it does not necessarily mean that he or she will be assertive in another situation. The globalness of the items used may detract from the complexities of individual behaviour which is not necessarily fixed and rigid. This has implications for the appropriateness of the masculine and feminine categories of the Bem Sex Role Inventory.

The finding that men are significantly more sexually coercive in their attitudes than women points to the fact that the Bem Sex Role Inventory is not picking up on appropriate definitions of masculinity and femininity in the South African context. In contemporary South Africa, one can assume that there would be very definite masculine and feminine identifications. By looking into sex-role identity, this thesis was attempting at moving away from a biologically reductionist approach which sees all men as being innately violent and unable to control their sexual urges. There appear to be subtleties in terms of gender identity which this study has not clearly identified.

It appears that an inventory or measuring instrument needs to be standardized on a black South African sample which is able to pick up the definitions of masculinity and femininity in this context. The fact that men were more coercive than women, may allow one to conclude that the men and women in this sample have adopted clearly demarcated gender stereotypes, but this conclusion warrants further investigation. The question that needs to be answered is why the men in this study were more sexually coercive, but were not necessarily masculine sex-typed? It appears that other factors must intervene between gender and attitudes towards sexual coercion, to determine who is more likely to hold attitudes supportive of sexual coercion.

7.3. Limitations of this study and suggestions for further research

As mentioned above, the cultural specificity of the Bem Sex Role Inventory may have accounted for the non-significance of the sex-typed differences results. Furthermore, the length of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale may also have affected the results of this study. It may be surmised that the subjects gained an awareness of the purpose of the study and therefore responded in a manner which was not necessarily a true reflection of their attitudes, but which corresponded more with an awareness of the social desirability of the responses. This appears to be problematic when doing research on sexual coercion, as people are not likely to give their honest attitudes and beliefs if they feel they might be 'judged'. Although the responses were confidential, the social desirability factor may have dampened the overall responses of the subjects in this study, indicating that in general they may be more coercive in their attitudes than they are willing to admit.

Furthermore, it is possible that the wording of the questions may need to be more subtle in an attempt to tap the respondents true responses. This can be seen as a limitation of doing quantitative research, in that the subtleties and complexities of human behaviour cannot be adequately tapped. In such circumstances, it may be appropriate to use a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research in order to identify sexually coercive attitudes. For example, it may be appropriate to conduct interviews with the subjects to identify their beliefs and attitudes. More open-ended questions may have elicited different responses.

The inventory was given to subjects to return to a central point once completed. This may have resulted in the respondents spending too much time on the questionnaires and therefore not giving their immediate honest responses. In future, the questionnaire package should be administered in the presence of the researcher and handed in within a time-limited period. Due to the length of the questionnaires, it appears as if some of the respondents may have adopted a particular response pattern, without clearly reading the questions. This again would affect the results obtained in this study.

The questionnaire package was administered to a small convenience sample, which may have important implications for the results found and for the generalizability of the responses found. This may explain why certain investigations did not yield conclusive results. It may be that the results obtained are not truly representative of the attitudes of the students of the University of the Western Cape. This is especially so, seeing that part of the study involved a validation of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale. It seems necessary that the amended version of the Sexual Coercion Scale be administered to a new sample, to see if the results obtained support or refute the findings obtained in this study.

It appears that it is necessary to administer the amended version of the Sexual Coercion Attitude Scale to a larger sample of subjects, in conjunction with an instrument which measures sex-role identity which has been standardized on a South African Sample.

7.4 Conclusion

In conclusion, it appears as if psychological theories which focus on intrapsychic factors may be more useful in accounting for individual differences in attitudes held than approaches which attempt to purely categorized individuals and then analyze attitudes in relation to these particular categorizations. However, in understanding attitudes to sexual coercion it seems appropriate to adopt a multifactorial approach which takes into account the arguments explored through the different theories of sexual coercion, attitude theory and the Jungian theory of the personality.

CHAPTER EIGHT - CONCLUSION

The prevalence of sexual coercion or rape both locally and internationally generated an interest into the causes of sexual coercion and thus motivated the design of this particular study. The purpose of this study was to examine whether a relationship exists between sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual coercion. The question asked was whether masculine and feminine sex-typed and undifferentiated individuals would hold attitudes more supportive of sexual coercion than would androgynous individuals. It was of further interest to this research project as to whether sex differences would exist in terms of attitudes to sexual coercion. The question asked was whether men would hold significantly more coercive attitudes than women.

It was hoped that this study could ultimately give certain guidelines as to the content of educational programmes the purpose of which is to try and decrease the incidence of sexual coercion especially in the university context.

Theoretical explanations of the motivating factors for sexual coercion formed part of the theoretical basis of this study. It was assumed theoretically that both psychological and sociocultural variables would play an important role in understanding sexual coercion. Sexual coercion was seen as being motivated by underlying personality dynamics such as a poor self-esteem, masculine and feminine sex-role identity, a tendency towards impulsivity and as being a symptom of underlying anxiety or depression. This, in conjunction with sociocultural variables, such as sex-role socialization, conventional definitions of masculinity and femininity, was seen as forming part of a comprehensive basis for understanding sexual coercion.

Through a deconstruction of the attitude construct it was assumed that an understanding could be achieved of the structure and functioning of attitudes. It was felt that this would have important implications, not only for understanding the composition of attitudes, but also for

understanding the relationship between attitudes and behaviour. It was assumed that masculine and feminine orientation would affect the structure of attitudes towards sexual coercion, with sex-typed individuals being more coercive than androgynous persons.

The Jungian theory of the bisexuality of the psyche formed the basis of the psychological understanding of the interaction between attitudes towards sexual coercion and masculine and feminine orientation.

It was assumed that people who have integrated the masculine and feminine aspects of their psyches would hold attitudes less supportive of sexual coercion, than people who have not integrated these aspects of their personality. It was further assumed that the psychological factors of masculinity and femininity would intervene with various sociocultural variables to determine attitudes towards sexual coercion. It was felt essential to explore the more irrational and underlying personality dynamics of the human psyche when exploring attitudes in general and towards sexual coercion in particular. This was done in an attempt to show the interrelationships between psychological and social factors. Also, by exploring psychological variables, it was felt that one could identify factors which distinguish those who will hold sexually coercive attitudes from those who will not. It was felt that the Bem Sex Role Inventory may have not adequately tapped into Jung's notions of the anima and animus, and may therefore have failed to measure these concepts.

Contrary to expectations, this study showed that masculine, feminine, androgynous and undifferentiated individuals did not differ significantly in terms of the attitudes they held towards sexual coercion. The nonsignificance of sex-typed differences implies that there was greater variation within the masculine, feminine, androgynous and undifferentiated groups, than there was between these groupings. This could imply that individual intrapsychic dynamics may be more useful in examining attitudes towards sexual coercion, than categorizing people into groups and then examining their attitudes on the basis of their group membership. This finding emphasizes the importance of a multifactorial approach towards

sexual coercion, of which an approach which focuses on intrapersonal dynamics forms a part.

It may be surmised, that although no significant differences were found, masculine sex-typed individuals did show consistently more coercive attitudes than the other subjects in the study. This finding could imply that masculine sex-typed individuals are more coercive because they have adopted a purely masculine stereotype of behaviour and have through a process of denial and projection repressed their own inner femininity. This finding is not significant enough to warrant further interpretation.

Sex differences were found in relation to attitudes towards sexual coercion, with men being significantly more coercive than women in their attitudes. Thus it was only sex differences that appeared to distinguish between those who will hold sexually coercive attitudes and who will not. This finding is consistent with most other research. This finding could imply that the male subjects of this study have adopted a purely masculine identity, but that the definition of masculinity may differ in the South African context and was therefore not identified by the Bem Sex Role Inventory. Such an interpretation may allow one to conclude that masculine stereotyped males are likely to hold sexually coercive attitudes.

It was felt that the results of this study were not conclusive and that possibly this was due in part to the limitations of the measuring instruments used. The use of quantitative measures may have resulted in an inability to pick up the subtleties associated with sexually coercive behaviour and gender identity. A more qualitative approach may have resulted in more honest responses about sex-role identity and attitudes towards sexual coercion.

In conclusion, then, nonsignificance was found for sex-typed differences (masculine and feminine sex-typed individuals, androgynous and undifferentiated individuals), but not for sex differences in relation to attitudes towards sexual coercion. It can be surmised that sex-role identity may be able to distinguish the attitudes that people hold towards sexual coercion, but that a standardized and appropriate sex-role inventory be used on a South African sample in

order to identify the complexities of the relationships between gender identity and attitudes. Another possibility, is that an understanding of individual intrapsychic dynamics may allow for a more accurate prediction of attitudes towards sexual coercion.



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APPENDIX A

QUESTIONNAIRE

- Thank you for agreeing to participate.
- There are two sets of tasks to be completed which should take no longer than 45 minutes. Please do them in the order in which they appear.
- No names are required and all information will remain anonymous and confidential.
- Before you begin with task one, please fill in the following information:-

SEX: Male: _____

Female: _____

AGE: _____

COURSE OF STUDY: _____

YEAR OF STUDY: _____

HOME LANGUAGE: _____

RELIGION: _____

MARITAL STATUS: _____

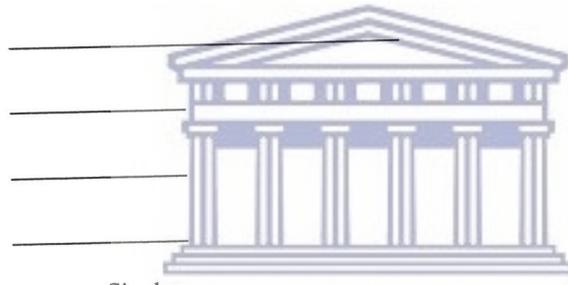
Single: _____

Married: _____

Divorced: _____

Separated: _____

Widowed: _____



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Please turn over

TASK I

This questionnaire consists of 66 items. Please answer each item according to whether you agree or disagree with the item, on a scale from 1 to 7 as follows:-

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

PLEASE CIRCLE THE APPROPRIATE RESPONSE

1. A man can kiss his girlfriend when he wants to, he should not have to get her consent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

2. A man should always get a woman's consent when he kisses her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

3. Most women like dirty talk and enjoy being spoken to in such a manner.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

4. After a date a woman who goes back to the man's home is implying that she wants to have sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

5. There are some women who ask to be raped and actually enjoy it.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

6. When a man is very sexually aroused, he is unable to stop himself from having sexual intercourse. It is therefore the woman's responsibility not to allow such a situation to occur.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

7. Women prefer men to take the initiative sexually.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

8. A man should always ask his partner whether she is willing to engage with him sexually.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

9. Many women enjoy a little physical force sexually, it turns them on.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

10. A man should never force a woman to touch his genitals.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

11. If a woman becomes involved in kissing and petting, she is implying a willingness to have sexual intercourse.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

12. It is a man's right to have sex with a woman whenever he wants to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

13. There is nothing wrong with a man putting his hands between a woman's legs, even if she protests, as women want men to be forceful with them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

14. A woman will often pretend she does not want to have sexual intercourse, when she really does, as she does not want to appear easy.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

15. It is okay to pat a woman's bottom.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

16. If a strange woman agrees to dance with a man it is appropriate for the man to push himself up against his partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

17. A man should not force his wife or girlfriend to have oral sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

18. If a woman says no to sex, she means maybe or yes.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

19. It is okay to whistle at a woman in the street.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

20. It is a mans' right to have sex with a woman he has previously had sex with, whenever he wants to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

21. It is appropriate for a man to kiss a strange woman he finds attractive.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

22. Women enjoy it when men play sexually rough with them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

23. If a woman walks around in short skirts or dresses or wears revealing clothing, she is inviting a man to become sexually involved with her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

24. It is okay for a man to force his girlfriend to touch his genitals.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

25. A woman should be forced to give a man oral sex, even if it is not what she wants to do.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

26. It is okay for a man to tell a woman many things he doesn't mean, to get her to have sexual intercourse with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

27. Women prefer men who dominate them when they are sexually involved.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

28. A man can kiss his wife when he wants to, he should not have to get her consent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

29. It is okay for a man to force his unwilling wife to have oral sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

30. Many women protest against having their breasts fondled, when underneath they are actually enjoying it.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

31. In some circumstances it is okay for a man to use some degree of physical force (twisting a woman's arm or holding her down) to try and get her to engage in kissing or petting when she is unwilling.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

32. A woman only appreciates a man who tells her what to do sexually.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

33. A man can kiss a strange woman when he wants to, he should not have to get her consent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

34. It is okay to whistle at a woman in the street, because they enjoy it even if they won't admit to it.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

35. A man should never speak dirty in front of a woman.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

36. A man can hold a resistant woman down if he wants her to have oral sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

37. A woman prefers a man who initiates the sexual encounter.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

38. If a female colleague agrees to dance with a man, it is appropriate for the man to push himself up against his partner.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

39. It is a man's right to have sex with his girlfriend whenever he wants to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

40. It is okay to have sex with a woman if she has had too much to drink.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

41. A man should not force his girlfriend to have oral sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

42. Women enjoy having their bottoms pinched.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

43. A woman enjoys it if a man forces her to kiss him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

44. Many women resist a mans' advances as they are playing hard to get and they want the man to pursue them.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

45. Women enjoy men who dominate them and tell them what to do in bed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

46. A man can kiss a fellow student when he wants to he should not have to get her consent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

47. It is okay to whistle at a woman in the street if she is wearing a tight skirt.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

48. It is a mans' right to have sex with his wife whenever he wants to.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

49. It is okay for a man to force his unwilling wife to have anal sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

50. A man should never tell his partner what to do in bed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

51. If a mans' girlfriend agrees to dance with him, it is appropriate for him to push himself up against her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

52. Men are the dominant sex and have a right to demand from a woman oral or anal sex.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

53. It is okay for a man to pinch a woman's bottom.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

54. It is okay for a man to put his hands between the legs of his girlfriend even if she does not want him to do so.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

55. A woman prefers a man who takes the lead and tells her what to do sexually.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

56. It is okay for a man to force a woman to have sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

57. A woman wearing a low cut revealing top is wanting a man to touch her breasts.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

58. A man should never pinch a woman's bottom.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

59. Men are the dominant sex and have the right to force a woman to touch their genitals.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

60. A man should not force his girlfriend to have anal sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

61. A man can kiss a colleague when he wants to, he should not have to get her consent.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

62. It is okay for a man to put his hands between his wife's legs, even if she protests.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

63. It is okay to talk to a strange woman in a sexual manner.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

64. It is okay for a man to force his unwilling girlfriend to have oral sex with him.

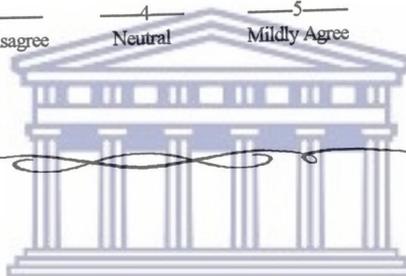
1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

65. A man should always ask for the woman's consent before initiating having sex with her.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree

66. It is okay for a man to force his unwilling wife to have anal sex with him.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7
 Strongly Disagree Disagree Mildly Disagree Neutral Mildly Agree Agree Strongly Agree



Thank you for participating.

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TASK II (approximately 15 minutes)

This questionnaire consists of 60 items. Please answer each item according to how well it describes you, on a scale from 1 to 7 as follows:-

SCALE:

—1— never or almost never true	—2— very seldom true	—3— sometimes true	—4— true	—5— frequently true	—6— very frequently true	—7— always or almost always true
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ITEMS	Answers
1. self-reliant	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
2. yielding	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
3. helpful	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
4. defends own beliefs	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
5. cheerful	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
6. moody	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
7. independent	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
8. shy	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
9. conscientious	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
10. athletic	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
11. affectionate	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
12. theatrical	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
13. assertive	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
14. flatterable	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
15. happy	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
16. strong persona	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
17. loyal	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
18. unpredictable	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
19. forceful	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
20. feminine	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
21. reliable	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
22. analytical	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
23. sympathetic	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
24. jealous	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
25. has leadership abilities	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7
26. Sensitive to the needs of others	1 — 2 — 3 — 4 — 5 — 6 — 7

SCALE:

—1— never or almost never true	—2— very seldom true	—3— sometimes true	—4— true	—5— frequently true	—6— very frequently true	—7— always or almost always true
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27. truthful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28. willing to take risks	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29. understanding	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30. secretive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31. makes decisions easily	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32. compassionate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33. sincere	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34. self-sufficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35. eager to soothe hurt feelings	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36. conceited	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37. dominant	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38. soft-spoken	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39. likeable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40. masculine	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41. warm	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
42. solemn	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
43. willing to take a stand	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
44. tender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
45. friendly	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
46. aggressive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
47. gullible	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
48. inefficient	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
49. acts as a leader	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
50. childlike	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
51. adaptable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
52. individualistic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
53. does not use harsh language	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
54. unsystematic	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
55. competitive	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
56. loves children	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
57. tactful	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

SCALE:

—1— never or almost never true	—2— very seldom true	—3— sometimes true	—4— true	—5— frequently true	—6— very frequently true	—7— always or almost always true
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58. ambitious	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
59. gentle	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
60. conventional	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

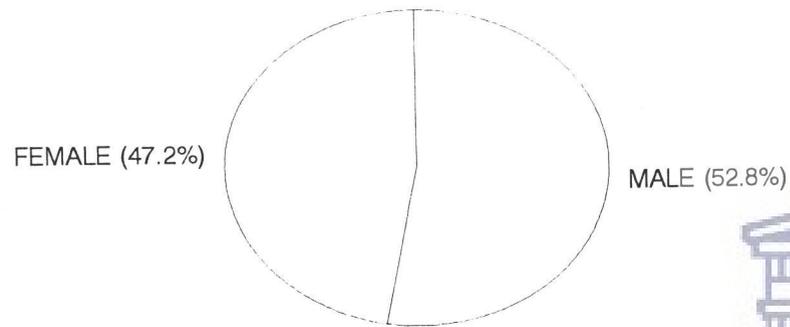
Thank you for participating.



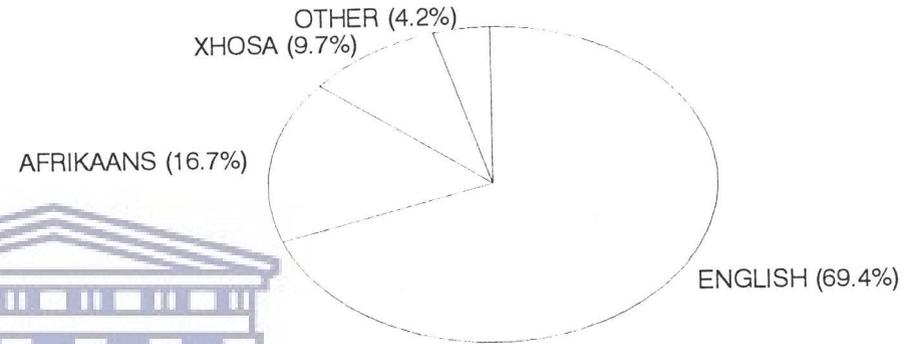
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SAMPLE DEMOGRAPHICS

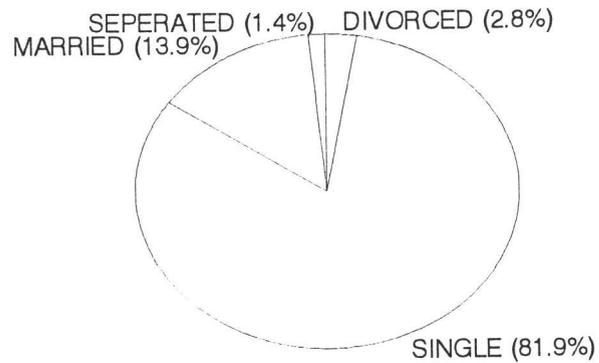
GENDER DEMOGRAPHICS



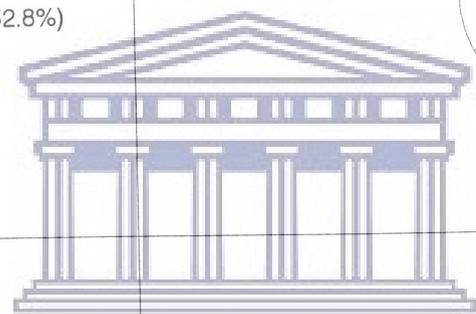
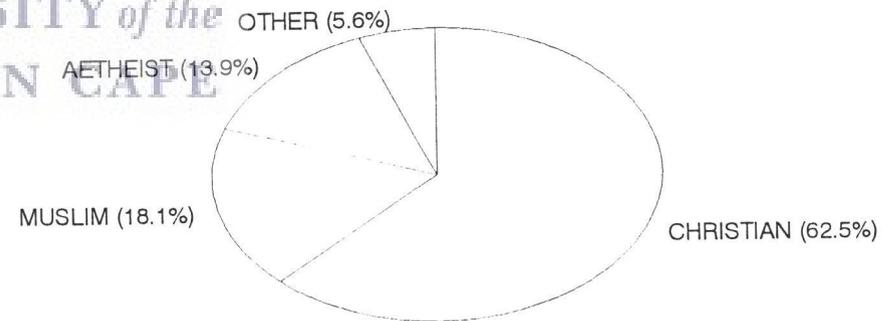
LANGUAGE DEMOGRAPHICS



MARITAL DEMOGRAPHICS



RELIGION DEMOGRAPHICS



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APPENDIX B

31. In some circumstances it is okay for a man to use some degree of physical force (twisting a woman's arm or holding her down) to try and get her to engage in kissing or petting when she is unwilling.

37. A woman prefers a man who initiates the sexual encounter.

38. If a female colleague agrees to dance with a man, it is appropriate for the man to push himself up against his partner.

39. It is a man's right to have sex with his girlfriend whenever he wants to.

45. Women enjoy men who dominate them and tell them what to do in bed.

47. It is okay to whistle at a woman in the street if she is wearing a tight skirt.

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