

2. REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of existing research related to the sexual harassment and rape of female students in tertiary institutions. A literature search done in libraries revealed that there is a dearth of relevant information emanating from SA. For this reason, the focus of this chapter will also be on international research done in this regard. The following main aspects will be discussed in this chapter namely, the extent of sexual harassment and rape, possible reasons for sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions as well as the nature of the problem. The similarities between sexual harassment and rape, will also receive attention.

2.1 EXTENT OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

According to Johnson and Sigler (1997:31) sexual harassment and rape share much of the same underlying behaviour which amongst other similarities includes the fact that male aggressors seek to impose their will on female victims. Therefore, estimates of rape and sexual harassment may contain elements of each other.

2.1.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

The extent of sexual harassment in general and mostly in the workplace as well as the associated impact on the victim of the harassment has been examined in a number of studies both overseas and in SA (Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold & Omerold, 1988:336; Jagwanth, 1994:40; Mowatt, 1986:7; Russell, 1984:270; Russell & Wilson, 1983:180; Stanko, 1985:62; Sutherland, 1991:3). The results of these studies have indicated that 19-60% of women in the United States of America (USA), Canada, Australia, SA as well as Great Britain have reported experiencing some form of sexual harassment by a co-worker. In the USA a survey conducted by the United States Merit Systems Protection Board (UMSPB) in 1984 revealed that 42% of female government employees reported having been subjected to various forms of sexual harassment. The reported forms of sexual harassment included suggestive

remarks or gestures, unwanted sexual teasing, jokes as well as unwanted sexual remarks. More severe forms of sexual harassment such as unwanted letters, phone calls, exposure to material of a sexual nature such as adult magazines, unwanted touching and unwanted pressure for sexual favours were also reported (Russell, 1984:270). Furthermore these incidents of sexual harassment were not just passing or isolated events. Respondents reported continuous subjection to sexual harassment. Some respondents had endured being harassed for more than a week while some cases lasted for six months or longer (Russell, 1984:271).

In a similar survey conducted by Mowatt (1986:7) in SA among government employees, the incidence of sexual harassment ranged from 67% to 76%. The nature of the harassment is however not revealed in this study. Sutherland (1991:3) also sampled 100 female government employees in the Johannesburg area of which 63% reported having experienced unwelcome sexual advances in the office.

While the above surveys targeted government employees, Russell (1984:271) states that sexual harassment is not uniquely associated with government agencies. She is of the opinion that people of all ages, sectors (private or governmental organisations), salary levels and educational backgrounds are potential victims. As the current study will be conducted in a tertiary institution, the incidence of sexual harassment on campuses both overseas and in SA will be scrutinised next.

Research indicates that sexual harassment in tertiary institutions in the USA occurs more frequently than is generally assumed (Fitzgerald et al., 1988:336; Rubin & Borgers, 1990:397; Shoop & Heyhow, 1995:55; Tang, Critelli & Porter, 1993:52). A study conducted by Fitzgerald et al. (1988:336) indicated that 26% of 50 female students included in their survey had experienced some form of sexual harassment. Also, at the University of Minnesota, between 41% and 56% of women (including undergraduate and postgraduate students, academic staff members as well as service staff members) reported

having been subjected to sexual harassment. Another study that was conducted by Sandler and Shoop (1997:6) documented that 20% to 30% of undergraduate female students as compared to 30% to 40% of postgraduate female students had experienced sexual harassment, indicating that the incidence of sexual harassment among postgraduate female students is higher. According to these researchers the reason for this could be the direct contact these students have with their promoters or supervisors. Sandler and Shoop (1997:7) also stated that an estimated 2% of the postgraduate students included in their sample had experienced the most severe types of harassment, which involved direct bribes for sexual activity.

In a study conducted by Braine et al. (1995:147) at the University of Natal Pietermaritzburg campus (UNP), sexual harassment was found to be higher among female students. This study revealed that an estimated 65% of 50 female students included in the sample reported having experienced sexual harassment. Of these, 24% were harassed during social events such as parties and sporting events, 24% had been harassed in their residences whilst another 15% were harassed during student meetings. In another survey undertaken at Rhodes University, Maurice (1991:6) reported that 60% of 100 female students included in his sample had been subjected to sexual harassment.

2.1.2 RAPE

Available official statistics on the incidence of rape suggest that from 1994 to 2000 there has been an increase in the incidence of rape in SA. For instance between 1994 and 1998 (a period of five years) 46 748 rapes were reported to the police compared to 51 249 cases that were reported in 1999 alone (South African Police Services Crime Statistics, 2000). This increase could be attributed to a greater willingness to report as a result of the establishment of specialised units at police stations to deal with the cases of rape, rape crisis clinics as well as specialised courts that deal with rape cases (South African Police Crime Statistics, 2000). Statistics for the year 2000 to 2001, however,

indicate a stabilisation in the incidence of rape. The recorded estimates of rape for the year 2000 alone are 120.1 per 100 000 of the population. In spite of the fact that this figure is very high, these statistics are based on data, which was collected before the South African Police Service (SAPS), implemented measures to improve the integrity and validity of statistics (South African Police Crime Statistics, 2001).

In addition to this, a number of researchers in SA have attempted to measure the incidence of rape. According to Labuschagne (1986:91) and Ross (1993:6) SA has the highest rape figure in the world. It is estimated that about 300 000 women in SA are raped every year. Breaking down these figures, an estimated 400 women are raped on a daily basis and one woman is raped every 23 seconds (Ross, 1993:7; Seconds until the next rape, 2001). These are however, not official figures.

Underreporting of rape, also referred to as the dark figure, has been identified as a significant problem in establishing the extent/incidence of rape and reasons for not reporting include fear, lack of adequate support structures, shame as well as embarrassment (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991:219). The cultural as well as social stigmatisation associated with rape also act as barriers to women reporting rape. These problems are further exacerbated by the particular socio-political history and the oppressive system of apartheid. During the apartheid era a complex relationship, characterised by distrust and fear existed between the police and the community (Vogelman & Eagle, 1991:220). As a result of the apartheid legacy, a big part of the population still distrusts the police. Thus, incidents of rape are not readily reported to the police.

In respect of tertiary institutions, various international researchers attempted to measure the extent of rape on campuses (Day, 1999:300; Dunn, Vail-Smith, Fisher, Cullen, Turner, 2000:23; Himelein, 1999:94; Koss, 1985:198; Leo, 1987:77; Muehlernhard & Cook, 1988:61, Xu, Xie & Chen, 1998:179). According to Koss (1985:198) and Leo (1987:77) an estimate of about 20% of

the 100 university female students that participated in their study described their experiences as that which would fulfil the definition of rape. Koss (1985:199) indicates that from the estimated 20%, about 15% of the research participants had been subjected to acquaintance and/or date rapes. Skelton (1982:37) also found that nearly 36% of all female students that are raped fall prey to date rape. In such cases, the couple may, for example, have been out on a date or, it may even occur between intimate partners involved in a long-term relationship. Moreover, research by Allison and Wrightsman (1993:64), Fisher, et al. (2000:4) as well as Russo (2000:5) on university campuses also indicate that dates that lead to sexual aggression usually occurred in couples who had known each other for at least a year. A recent national study conducted by Fisher et al. (2000:8) in the USA shows that there is a growing trend of sexual victimisation on campuses. This study revealed that of the total number of female students (4 446), an estimate of 2,8% of these had been victims of rape. These researchers, based on this estimate concluded that tertiary institutions host a large number of young women who are at great risk of sexual victimisation (Fisher et al., 2000:8)

Studies conducted in SA also concur with the above revealing that the extent of rape is high among learners in SA tertiary institutions (Edusource, 1999:15; Griggs, 1997:4; Mahlobo, 2000:68). A study conducted by Griggs in SA tertiary institutions (1997:13) found that perpetrators of rape on campuses are students and that these perpetrators are usually acquainted with the victims. However, even though these studies were conducted, Twiggs (2003:86) states that no national studies have been conducted on the incidence of rape on campuses. This is due to the fact that in most universities there are no data bases to record the incidence of rape on campus. Thus, rape on campuses goes unnoticed and this makes it difficult to determine the true extent of rape on campuses.

The foregoing review on the extent of sexual harassment and rape on campus reflects the fact that these offences occur widely in tertiary institutions. The

possible reasons why sexual victimisation occurs on campuses will be discussed next.

2.2 POSSIBLE REASONS FOR SEXUAL VICTIMISATION IN TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

Relatively little research has been done to explore the possible antecedents of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:21). This is due to the fact that the focus of most research has been on the nature and not the possible reasons for this form of victimisation. Nevertheless, Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:21) are of the opinion that identifying factors that put people at risk of sexual victimisation in tertiary institutions may help to formulate risk reduction strategies in order to empower potential victims. Such factors namely, the social organisation of tertiary institutions, socialisation, patriarchy, the role of alcohol and drugs, failure of victims to report victimisation and the absence of deterrence are discussed in the following section.

2.2.1 THE SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF TERTIARY INSTITUTIONS

According to Morewitz (1996:242) one of the factors, which may contribute to the sexual victimisation of female students in tertiary institutions, is the way these institutions are socially organised. For example, tertiary education, amongst others, places adult women and men of similar ages in close proximity for extended periods of time. Thus, from first year level to postgraduate level, males and females interact on a daily basis in class, during social events and during extra-curricular activities. These situations may foster not only opportunities for friendship and romantic relationships, but may also increase the likelihood of sexual victimisation.

Erhardt and Sandler (1985:300) state that the daily social life coupled with the pressure to engage in sexual relations, among both male and female students centers around the rate of sexual success. Social gatherings such as parties are often facilitated by either male or female groups to maximise opportunities

for members to find partners. This might perpetuate both sexual harassment and rape. Research conducted by Fisher et al. (2000:11), Griggs (1997:23), Johnson and Sigler (1997:55), Mahlobo (2000:15) as well as Stermac, Dummont and Dunn (1998:398) found that in line with the above study, most female students are sexually harassed and raped by their friends, dates and acquaintances in their dormitories and in other social settings such as parties.

2.2.2 SOCIALISATION

Many social scientists such as Domhoff (1983:143), Hare-Mustin and Maracek (1988:43) as well as Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:21) share the belief that society in general is stratified along sexual dimensions. This stratification reflects and maintains differences in power particularly on the basis of gender. According to MacKinnon (1987:34) socialisation into traditional gender roles ensures that this stratification is maintained over time. Central to gender role identity are norms that dictate proper behaviour in heterosexual relationships (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:42). For example, traditional sexual scripts dictate that men are the proper initiators of sexual contact and that the partner in this contact should be a woman in a submissive role (Gagnon & Simon, 1973:88). In this regard Abbey (1982:830) mentions that men may view any form of friendly behaviour from the opposite sex as an indication that she is interested in sexual intimacy. Also, if a woman wears revealing clothing on a date, a male may be more likely to believe or assume that she intends to seduce him and thus engage in sexual intercourse (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:84).

Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988:876) report that there appears to be some justification for male misinterpretation of female intentions by male students in tertiary institutions. For example, in their study of rape victims on campuses they found that most female students reported that they have said “no” to sexual intercourse. On the other hand, it may be to a female student’s disadvantage to ask for what she wants sexually. This is because she may risk being viewed negatively, (that is “cheap”), by her partner and/or anyone else who might hear about the incident. As a result of this, many female

students learn to be ambiguous rather than direct or clear about their sexual needs. Such behaviour may contribute to misperceptions in a dating situation and could lead to non-consensual sex (Anderson, Stuelb, Duggan, Hieger, Kling & Payne, 1998:133; Day, 1999:217; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:22).

2.2.3 PATRIARCHY

Various studies conducted by Heise, Raikes, Watts and Zwi (1994:1169), Jewkes and Schrieber (2001:436), Lainer and Thompson (1982:234) as well as Mager (1998:653) contend that many male students in dating relationships espouse a set of attitudes and beliefs that are supportive of familial patriarchy. For example, dating may dictate that it is the male's responsibility to initiate a date, to plan where the couple would go as well as to pay for whatever expenses are incurred during the date (Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987:189). This type of situation is reflective of a relationship based on power where the male takes up an active role as an initiator and the female a passive role as the recipient. Such an attitude may be conducive to sexual victimisation as a male may for example, feel rightfully deserving of sexual gratification and be prepared to obtain it forcibly as a way of recurring his expenses (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:75; Dekeseredy & Kelly, 1993:138; Green & Sandas, 1983:850; Peplau, Rubin & Hill, 1977:92; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:107; Xu et al., 1998:179).

2.2.4 ROLE OF ALCOHOL

Alcohol consumption as well as abuse is reported to be common among students in tertiary institutions (Backman & Backman, 1997:134; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:100; Gallagher, Harmon & Lingenfelter, 1994:40; Kanin, 1985:224; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:23; Ross, 1993:110). Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:24) found that alcohol is mostly consumed during social events such as parties, celebratory activities such as after sporting events as well as among social networks like male and female groups residing in campus residences. Although alcohol use is viewed as a form of

entertainment, it also provides the opportunity for various forms of abuse to take place.

A survey conducted by Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:101) on the relationship between the role of alcohol abuse and sexual victimisation, indicated that among some male groups, alcohol may be strongly associated with sexist conversations about women's sexuality and social status. According to these authors male groups often gather at male residences and pubs to drink as well as discuss problems they have in their dating relationships. This female exclusion is often used by males to sustain masculine superiority, solidarity as well as dominance and they use these gatherings as an opportunity to prove and show that they are not controlled by their female partners (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:27; Cammaert, 1985:396; Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:106; Hey, 1986:66). Levinson (in Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:108) concurs by stating that when men bond together, there is an increased risk that they will see women as the "other" as well as the weaker sex who deserve abuse. In addition women or female students who drink in the same bars are often seen as less deserving of respect. This alludes to the existence of traditional gender stereotypes in respect to alcohol use by women in society in general.

In this regard, Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100) state that men who drink alcohol tend to be viewed more positively than their female counterparts, while women who drink alcohol are often perceived as promiscuous and thus less deserving of respect. Studies conducted by George, Govinic and McAfee (1988:196) as well as Ross et al. (1996:146) found that students in tertiary institutions share this view. These researchers indicated that female students who use alcohol are viewed as more willing to be seduced, favourably disposed to sexual advances and thus more willing to engage in sexual intercourse. Such views make women more vulnerable to sexual victimisation (Kanin, 1985:224; Muehlenhard & Linton, 1987:186).

2.2.5 VICTIMS' FAILURE TO REPORT VICTIMISATION

A number of studies indicate that there are several explanations concerning victims' refusal to acknowledge that they have been sexually victimised even though the act as well as the circumstances qualify what have happened as either rape or sexual harassment (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:63; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:147; Ross, 1993:15). Such reasons range from the fear of not being believed, being blamed for their own victimisation, the stigma attached to being rape victims as well as the fear of bringing the perpetrator to justice.

According to Ross (1993:16) victims' fear of being disbelieved stems from the stereotypes held in society in general in as far as victims of sexual abuse are concerned. In cases of acquaintance and/or date rape, for example the accusation of rape is considered a charge a woman brings against her partner if she wants revenge or feels guilty about having consented to sexual intercourse with another partner (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11). Also women are said to provoke and enjoy sexual attacks when they wear revealing clothes, exhibit flirtatious behaviour or when they are not resolute enough to resist the rape.

Victims often find themselves vulnerable to the stigma society attaches to being a victim of either rape or sexual harassment. This also stems from the social attitudes that have defined some forms of sexual victimisation as something that does not happen to "nice" women (Hubbard, 1991:88). Furthermore, friends as well as family and in particular those intimately involved with the victim, often have difficulties relating to the victims especially in cases of rape (Ross, 1993:15). For example, in some cases family members may choose to suppress all knowledge that victimisation had occurred. This might create the impression that what had happened was disgraceful and that the victim should be ashamed of her victimisation. In circumstances such as these victim-blaming is not uncommon and the secrecy surrounding the incident often results in society disbelieving that it

had actually occurred (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:5; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:59).

The process of bringing the perpetrator to justice is also a traumatic chain of events for the victim. The victim has to report the incident to the police and also be examined by a medical doctor. In this way, her victimisation becomes public knowledge. In addition to this, the victim might be required to repeatedly relate and consequently relive the experience to unsympathetic strangers who may be reluctant to believe that the victimisation occurred (Hubbard, 1991:188; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:11). In respect of tertiary institutions, the victim may be required to report the matter to the security personnel, the Student Representative Council (SRC) or administrators on campus. This may lead to her rape or sexual harassment coming to the attention of other students.

2.2.6 ABSENCE OF DETERRENCE

According to Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:131) there are rarely any sanctions placed on perpetrators of sexual victimisation on campuses. A number of reasons may be advanced for this. First, victims are often unwilling to report their victimisation due to a number of reasons which have already been discussed in section 2.2.5. Second, university authorities have also been reported to be reluctant to take action in the form of punishment against the offenders because of the fear that should it come to the public attention, the image or reputation of the university would be tarnished (Fisher & Sloan, 1995:167). Third, there are often neither formal nor informal sanctions in place on campuses where sexual victimisation of female students occurs. According to Bernstein (1996:8) disciplinary cases including cases of sexual victimisation are often covered up on a regular basis. One possible reason for this seemed to be that some perpetrators occupied special places in the hierarchy of the university such as being members of the SRC, or the university disciplinary committee. Thus, an appeal to the university authorities in charge of the case often results in the case being dismissed or sanctions

being overturned or reduced. The fourth reason is often the lack of understanding on the part of the university community (administrative personnel, academic staff, service staff as well as the student population) on what constitutes rape (especially date or acquaintance rape) or sexual harassment (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:5 ; Fisher et al., 2000:12). Consequently, most victims do not characterise their sexual victimisation as crime.

From the above discussion, it is apparent that society's attitudes tend to give considerable benefit of the doubt to the perpetrators of rape and sexual harassment. In a more or less sanction-free environment, sexual victimisation of female students may become relatively easy.

2.3 NATURE OF SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

The aim of this section is to investigate the ways in which sexual harassment and rape manifest itself as well as to describe the circumstances within which they occur.

2.3.1 SEXUAL HARASSMENT

Sexual harassment is not a new phenomenon. It has been recognised in the USA for over 20 years as a form of sex discrimination (Russell, 1984:270). Allegations of improper behaviour in the work place have become commonplace in today's society. Inevitably, this has resulted in a heightened public awareness about sexual harassment. The various forms of sexual harassment, the myths surrounding sexual harassment, the profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator as well as the consequences of sexual harassment, will be discussed next.

2.3.1.1 Forms of sexual harassment

Unwelcome sexual advances, requests for sexual favours as well as other visual, verbal and physical conducts of any sexual nature constitute sexual

harassment (see section 1.2.1). However, sexual harassment is not only limited to these factors hence determining what constitutes sexual harassment depends upon the specific facts and context in which it occurs. In this regard Sandler and Shoop (1997:5) as well as Shoop and Heyhow (1994:16) identify two forms of sexual harassment namely, *quid pro quo* and hostile work environment harassment.

- ***Quid pro quo* harassment**

Quid pro quo harassment can be loosely translated as “something for something” (see section 1.2.1). According to Paludi (1996:61) this form of harassment occurs

when submission to unwelcome sexual advances or other verbal or physical conduct of a sexual nature is a term or condition, implicitly or explicitly of an individual's employment.

This means that an individual is required to choose between submitting to sexual advances or losing a tangible job or benefit or failing an examination or test. However, there is no requirement that these requests be expressed overtly by demanding sexual favours. The advances may be implied by the circumstances and actions, for example, offering individual sexually explicit magazines or asking an individual out on a date in return for either a promotion, a letter of recommendation or a bursary (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:8; Sutherland, 1991:1; Welzenbach, 1986:4).

This type of harassment often occurs between a supervisor and a subordinate. An essential aspect being that the harasser has power and control over the employees in the work situation, or a student's benefits in an educational context (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:16).

- **Hostile work environment harassment**

This type of harassment occurs when unwelcome sexual advances or other conducts are so severe and pervasive that it results in a change in an individual's work performance thus creating an intimidating, hostile or offensive environment (see section 1.2.1). Examples of this type of harassment include amongst others gender-based actions such as calling an individual derogatory names including names referring to body parts, insulting remarks or threats as well as the display of sexually explicit materials such as posters and magazines (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:6).

Hostile work environment harassment does not only occur between a supervisor and a subordinate. It may happen between co-workers and even fellow students (Salkind, 1986:62). Furthermore, unlike *quid pro quo* harassment, wherein victims may only experience unwelcome sexual advances once, Shoop and Heyhow (1994:17) state that victims of hostile work environment harassment may be subjected to a repeated number of incidents.

Research conducted by Graueholz (1989:800), Salkind (1986:63) as well as Sandler (1993:7) reveal that sexual harassment in tertiary institutions may take three forms, namely staff members to students, students to students also known as peer harassment and harassment of members of staff by students. The first form, namely staff members to students, fit into the descriptions of both *quid pro quo* and sexual harassment in a hostile environment, particularly if the student's performance, progress or benefits are severely affected. Peer harassment on the other hand includes threats and demands by fellow students, for example female students being coerced into either cooking or washing clothes in return for rewards such as being taken out on a date (University of Cape Town, 1991:190). Besides the obvious remarks, touching et cetera, this type of sexual harassment also includes *quid pro quo* as well as sexual harassment in a hostile environment because failure to submit to sexual demands means that a student will not be taken out on a date. The

third form of harassment may take the form of, for example, pornographic material posted on a female lecturer's office door, explicit sexual propositions and/or obscene phone calls from students (Graueholz, 1989:800; Sandler, 1993:7; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:14). This fits into the category of sexual harassment in a hostile environment. Although all three forms of harassment discussed above are crucial in understanding the nature of sexual harassment, this last form of harassment does not form part of the current study as the focus of the current study is on female students.

It is clear from the above discussion that sexual harassment differs from other kinds of interaction in that the behaviour is unwelcome and unwanted. As this harassment does not leave any visible scars or injuries, and most importantly, the victims are concerned about the loss of their jobs or failing at university, sexual harassment is less likely to be reported. There are various social myths surrounding sexual harassment in general which may also contribute to non-reporting of sexual harassment. These are discussed next.

2.3.1.2 Myths about sexual harassment

A number of complex and contrasting perceptions about sexual harassment are prevalent in society in general. These myths are mostly directed towards the complicity of the victims in their own harassment.

- **The beauty myth**

This myth denies the role played by a person, who by virtue of being in a superior position subjects a subordinate person either implicitly or explicitly to unwelcome sexual advances. It suggests that individuals become victims of sexual harassment because of their appearance. The implication is that beautiful women, are subjected to sexual harassment because of the way they look (Dziech & Weiner, 1990:63).

In this way, there is a denial of responsibility on the part of the perpetrator, thereby shifting the blame to the victim (Sutherland, 1991:3). Research conducted by Dziech and Weiner (1990:64) however, reveals the direct opposite of this belief. They indicate that university officials dealing with complaints about sexual harassment did not consider the victims of sexual harassment as good looking. Furthermore, according to Dziech and Weiner (1990:64) perpetrators of sexual harassment are hesitant of asking beautiful women out on a date due to fear of rejection as well as the uncertainty of the woman's reaction.

- **The clothing myth**

The cultural, sociological as well as psychological implications of women's style of dressing are very complex. For example, from infancy, clothing is used to express sexual identity among females. Little girls are dressed by their mothers like dolls. As they grow up they learn to dress themselves and for them, being dressed in a particular way is an expression of a woman's self-confidence. However, some individuals may view some styles of clothing as provocative and thus indicative of sexual intent or expression. For example a woman who wears low cut tops, tight jeans or short skirts, may be misinterpreted as inviting a sexual reaction (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:58). Hence the notion that the victim provoked the perpetrator by wearing seductive clothing and is thus responsible for her own victimisation.

- **The unfit for university myth**

The motivation of female students pursuing tertiary education is questioned in this myth. Underlying this myth is a perception that female students in particular go to these institutions to attract men. These students are seen to be unfit both intellectually and psychologically to withstand the pressures of academic life (Dzeich & Weiner, 1990:70). However, a study conducted by Paludi (1996:185) shows that women's reasons for pursuing tertiary education

are to obtain education and advance themselves academically in order to occupy better positions in the labour force.

- **The galatea/pygmalion myth**

Underlying this myth is the assumption that women tend to turn to men for guidance and advice. Thus, a woman is seen as the weaker sex, who can not make her own decisions, but will turn to a male figure for intellectual, physical, psychological as well as sexual support. This allows men to view themselves as pygmalions whose role it is to give guidance to a lifeless creature, a galatea (Dzeich & Weiner, 1990:70). Galatea refers to a female used by a male (pygmalion) for the fulfilment of his needs. The pygmalion role also enables a man to assume more power thus encouraging them to discount any ideas that do not match their own. Thus, female learners who seek for guidance from men (students or lecturers) could be seen as not capable of making their own decisions and be subjected to sexual harassment.

- **The consenting adult myth**

This myth also shifts the blame of harassment to the victim in that she is seen as capable of either consenting or rejecting unwanted sexual advances. Thus, the fact that the harasser could have more power over the victim is not considered (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:416). A lecturer and a student will never be equal because of the superior position a lecturer occupies. This role disparity could render it impossible for a student to reject sexual advances openly as failure to submit to sexual advances could affect her performance.

The myths discussed above push the blame towards the victim, thereby denying the role of the perpetrator in the harassment. In the subsequent sections the profile of the victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment will be discussed respectively.

2.3.1.3 Profile of the victim

Research conducted on sexual harassment indicate that it is a complex phenomenon and that men and women of all ages, gender, race, marital status and social class can be subjected to sexual harassment (Russell, 1984:274; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:8; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:53). Kotak and Glutek (1986:427), however, state that women are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than their male counterparts. But, not all women are equally susceptible to sexual harassment. In this regard, Russell (1984:274) in her study of sexual harassment in the workplace, found that single, highly educated young women between the ages of 15 and 25 years, in superior positions such as managers, as well as women who work in male dominated workplaces and/or under the supervision of a male, are more vulnerable to sexual harassment than women in general.

Sandler and Shoop (1997:8) in their study dealing with sexual harassment in tertiary institutions concluded that not all female students are equally likely to fall prey to sexual harassment on campuses. They provide the following profile of female students that are vulnerable to sexual harassment:

The age of female students who are in their first year of study render them vulnerable to intimidation, manipulation and exploitative relationships. The fact that they are separated from their parents and have not yet established friendships add to this vulnerability. Active participation of female students in class also makes them susceptible to sexual harassment as they may be seen as attracting attention. Those who are class representatives, especially in male dominated classes are also vulnerable to harassment. Being enrolled in faculties such as engineering, which are considered male fields of specialisation, causes female students to be treated as outsiders and intruders. Postgraduate female students who work closely with their promoters are also vulnerable to sexual harassment. This could be attributed to the direct contact these students have with their supervisors. Xenophobia, whereby students of color or those who belong to certain cultural groups, are

seen as more sexually active, makes them more susceptible to sexual harassment. Physically disabled students, due to their physical weaknesses and appearance, are according to Sandler and Shoop (1997:8) also vulnerable to sexual harassment.

2.3.1.4 Profile of the perpetrator

Although most reported incidents of sexual harassment involve men as perpetrators, Sandler and Shoop (1997:14) emphasise that not all men subject women to unwanted sexual behaviour. Of those who do, the most likely are men who occupy superior positions in the work hierarchy or who are older than the victim (Russell, 1984:272). This could also be applicable in cases involving a lecturer and a student.

Sandler and Shoop (1997:4) state that in cases of peer harassment, the perpetrators are likely to be senior students. These students may, for example, be members of the SRC or student assistants helping out during registration. An inexperienced first year student may fall prey to these students as they are in a position to be subjected to unwanted sexual advances or requests in return for accommodation in the residences or registration of a specific course. According to Braine et al. (1995:148) students who abuse alcohol are also more likely to perpetuate sexist attitudes, particularly the sexual objectification of women thus encouraging sexual harassment.

It is important to note that few studies have been conducted in SA in respect of the profile of victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment. It is, therefore, impossible to ascertain the extent to which some of these factors are applicable to the SA context. However, the studies cited above indicate that sexual harassment is a major problem in society.

Most victims, for example, do not report the incident for reasons ranging from fear of not being believed, or being accused of provoking the harassment to

being blamed for their own victimisation and also losing their jobs if they report the incident (Adams, Kottke & Padgitt, 1983:486; Fitzgerald & Omerold, 1991:290; Rubin & Borgers, 1990:406). A common strategy victims employ to deal with sexual harassment is to ignore and avoid the perpetrator (Cammaert, 1985:396). Whichever way they decide to deal with the situation, sexual harassment has psychological, emotional as well as educational consequences for the victims thereof.

2.3.1.5 The consequences of sexual harassment

According to Paludi (1996:189) emotional responses following an incident of sexual harassment depend on the number of experiences of harassment, the victim's history of sexual abuse, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the availability of social support. Identifiable stress-related symptoms that are typical of the Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) are often experienced by victims following the incident (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:16).

DSM-IV (1994:424) defines PTSD as the symptoms that develop following a direct personal experience or exposure to an extreme traumatic stressor such as a sexual attack. An individual response to such an event must involve intense fear, helplessness, avoidance of stimuli as well as distress. Individuals suffering from this disorder often exhibit symptoms ranging from nightmares, sleeping irregularities, biological changes as well as psychological symptoms. PTSD manifests itself in two stages namely the acute phase as well as the recovery or adjustment phase. The symptoms of this disorder may be visible long after the incident has occurred and such symptoms may or may not be similar to the immediate reactions experienced in, for example, rape (Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68).

- **The acute phase**

The most commonly experienced symptoms during this phase are fear, shock, disbelief, anger, guilt as well as changes in sleeping patterns. This phase may last for weeks or months following the sexual harassment. Victims may, however, repress some of these symptoms due to high levels of stress. This may lead to a delay in the recovery process (Voigt, Thornton, Barrile & Seman, 1994:112). Female student victims of sexual harassment may have problems concentrating in class. This could result in non-attendance of classes thus leading to poor performance.

- **The recovery phase**

This phase may last for several months to years after the incident. The recovery phase is characterised by changes in the victim's social lifestyle and functioning (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1988:983). For example, victims who are subjected to obscene phone calls or posters may decide to change their telephone numbers or even relocate from their homes (Hamilton, Alagna, King & Lloyd, 1987:60; Sandler & Shoop, 1997:16). Female students may minimise the development of relationships with academic staff members, change their fields of study and in some instances leave the institution (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:68).

Some victims believe that they can cope with these emotions on their own and this may have serious emotional consequences such as depression. A depressive state may manifest itself in a number of ways such as feeling unmotivated to, for example participate in class, uncontrollable rage such as irrational outbursts, feelings of inferiority, self-criticism and doubt. Furthermore, a particular place or event may suddenly re-create aspects of the harassment thus resulting in anxiety, panic or emotional reactions (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:15). Such places may be avoided by the victims resulting in non-attendance of both formal and informal activities. This is typical of the PTSD symptoms.

As mentioned earlier, factors such as the length of the harassment, the victim's history of sexual abuse, the relationship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the social support from the victim's family and friends are important during this phase (Paludi, 1996:189; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:29). A victim who has been subjected to repeated unwanted sexual requests may experience stress-related symptoms such as an inability to sleep. Fear, loss of control as well as disruption of victims' lives have also been reported in these instances.

Sexual harassment can also revive wounds from the victim's past, such as prior incidents of rape or incest (Hamilton et al., 1987:160; Holgate, 1989:26; Schneider, 1987:60). The victim may then re-experience the symptoms of the Rape Trauma Syndrome (see next section).

The relationship between the victim and the perpetrator also plays an important role in the aftermath of sexual harassment. In this regard, most studies (Holgate, 1989:26; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:30) indicate that the victim and the perpetrators of sexual harassment are usually acquainted with each other. This could lead to the violation of trust, dignity as well as status degradation. According to Quinna and Carlson (1989:30) the violation of trust creates a range of emotional problems such as isolation. Victims often distance themselves from friends and family and experience difficulty in future relationships. Victims also report feeling degraded and humiliated. The degradation occurs when perpetrators subject their victims to unwanted touching or uttering derogatory names. During sexual harassment victims often feel as if they are the property of the perpetrators. Therefore, following the incident, victims feel stripped of their dignity and tend to blame themselves developing self-hate and personal shame (Voigt et al., 1994:114).

Also important after the incident of sexual harassment is the support of family, friends and partners. This social network may be supportive and sympathetic towards the victim thus making it easier to recover. However, this support may also be uncaring and hurtful as attempts to talk about the victim's

experiences are frustrated. Lack of this support becomes an additional source of stress which may result in victims isolating and blaming themselves. Unable to share their experiences, victims may be severely depressed and in extreme circumstances it may result in suicidal tendencies and attempts (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:4; Shoop & Heyhow, 1994:57; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:33).

In spite of the above information on the consequences of sexual harassment, no SA study has been done to explore the experiences of female students.

2.3.1.6 Prevention of sexual harassment on campuses

As mentioned in section 2.2.1, when students enter university, they are at the stage of experimenting as they are coming to terms with the freedom from their parents. This stage however, makes them vulnerable to sexual harassment. It is thus imperative that proper legal, emotional and medical structures be developed to deal with incidents of sexual harassment on campus. University management also has to put measures in place to prevent sexual harassment on campuses.

2.3.1.6.1 Victim support services

Support groups for victims should be established so that they can be able to share their experiences. Braine et al (1995:148) concurs by stating that after the harassment, victims need emotional treatment for the shock. The services of counselors or other trained professionals to help victims deal with their emotions are therefore required. The role of these professionals should be to provide support to the victims. Victims need legal, emotional and medical structures. In addition to this, they should help the victims realise that they are not to blame for the rape. These therapists should also help victims with legal processes by encouraging them to report the crime and helping to prepare them for the trial and avail themselves to testify, should the victim decide to report the incident.

2.3.1.6.2 Educational campaigns

According to Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:59) education and awareness on what constitutes sexual harassment is necessary for students on campus. Educational campaigns and awareness programmes should be aimed at sensitising the university community on various aspects of sexual harassment such as the extent of the problem, forms of sexual harassment, dispelling myths about sexual harassment, consequences for the victims as well as the effects of the abuse of alcohol on campus. Day (1994:750) also state that these programmes should be made compulsory for all students on campus. The university management and administration should be involved in the running of these programmes as their intervention would create awareness of their commitment towards the safety of students on campus.

2.3.1.6.3 Encourage reporting

The literature reviewed in section 2.2.5 indicates that most victims do not report sexual harassment. Universities could create a way of reporting that will enable all students to report the incidents without fear of secondary victimisation from the perpetrator or co-students. Edwards (1995:265) suggests that a center, where the victims' cases will be treated with sensitivity and confidentiality be established. This section could also provide counselling for the victims.

2.3.1.6.4 Disciplinary measures

Day (1994:576) as well as Schwartz and Leggert, (1999:261) are of the opinion that in order to prevent sexual harassment, strict policies and regulations on how to deal with cases of sexual harassment, should be developed. These should include expulsion of the perpetrator as well as any other form of criminal prosecution deemed suitable when the perpetrator is found guilty. This could serve to reassure victims that sexual harassment and rape on campuses will not be tolerated and that when such incidents are reported, they will be treated with the seriousness they deserve. This information should be disseminated to the university community.

2.3.1.6.5 Improve security measures

University administration and management should ensure the safety of students on campus by providing enough well-trained security personnel. Information about security on campus should be given to current as well as prospective students. Bordner and Peterson (1983:198) are also of the opinion that security personnel should be deployed around campus areas and in the residences.

2.3.2 RAPE

In chapter 1 it was illustrated that rape dates back to prehistoric times. In the following section various types of rape, the myths surrounding rape, profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator as well as the consequences of rape will be discussed.

2.3.2.1 Types of rape

Rape can be classified according to the degree of acquaintanceship between the victim and the perpetrator as well as the number of assailants. It is within this context that four types of rape namely, stranger, acquaintance, date as well as gang rape can be identified.

2.3.2.1.1 Stranger rape

Stranger rape occurs when a victim and an assailant are not acquainted (see section 1.2.2.1). Allison and Wrightsman (1993:55), Dean and De Bruyn (1982:44) as well as Groth (1979:13) distinguish between three types of stranger rape, namely anger, power and sadistic rape.

- **Anger rape**

Anger rape can be described as an expression of anger, rage, contempt, hatred and frustration. The perpetrator's frustrations may exist as a result of being angered by a mother, girlfriend or wife (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:55).

Sex is used as a means to degrade the victim. Consequently, the offender, in trying to vent out his anger, may start by physically and verbally abusing the victim through the use of excessive force such as beating, tearing the clothes of the victim, using abusive language and ultimately sexually abusing the victim by raping and subjecting her to various degrading sexual acts (Burchell & Milton, 1997:487; Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:45; Groth, 1979:14; Johnson & Sigler, 1997:55). Rather than to seek sexual gratification, the perpetrator wishes to hurt, punish and humiliate the victim.

- **Power rape**

Power rape is motivated by a strong need to control and exert power over the victim. Here, the perpetrator sees rape as a form of sexual conquest as well as a way of proving his manhood (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:45). To achieve this, the offender uses whatever amount of force he deems necessary to overpower his victim. This may involve verbal abuse as well as threats of physical force (Groth, 1979:43). In this type of rape, sex is used to express strength, control and power over the victim and thus becomes a means of compensating for the perpetrator's feelings of insecurity (Burchell & Milton, 1997:488).

- **Sadistic rape**

The motivation for this type of stranger rape is of a sadistic nature. The offender is an individual who cannot achieve sexual satisfaction unless his victim physically resists him. He becomes aroused or excited only through aggression or violence, finding pleasure in taking a woman against her will and tormenting her (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:56; Groth, 1979:43; Heilburn & Seif, 1988:56).

In tertiary institutions, the stranger rapist can either be a person from outside the campus or a fellow member of the university community (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:25). The rapist may for example, notice the victim during a

campus sporting event or a party. In other instances a female student might be raped by a stranger who entered the university on false pretences such as posing as a delivery man (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:25). It is also possible that a female student could be raped by a male student unknown to her.

Generally, stranger rapes are more likely to be reported by victims. This is because the victim and the perpetrator are unknown to each other. Secondly, because stranger rape is often accompanied by the use of physical violence, the victims are more willing to report the rape. The reason for this is that the existence of physical injuries such as scars or bruises could be used as evidence against the perpetrator.

It is however, important to point out that the three manifestations of rape discussed above are not limited to stranger rape as they also occur in other categories of rape in which the victim and the assailant are known to each other. This is known as acquaintance rape or date rape and will be the focus of the discussion in the subsequent sections.

2.3.2.1.2 Acquaintance rape

The nature of acquaintance rape is complex as it refers to rape in which the victim and the perpetrator have had prior contact before the incident (see section 1.2.2.2). The relationship and/or acquaintanceship between the victim and the perpetrator may be a very brief encounter wherein, for example, they only know each other through attending the same course as students, or belong to the same study group. In other instances, this acquaintanceship may be situational. For example, a female student who is invited to a party and is escorted to her room following the party by a male student. In such cases, the attacker could manipulate the situation to his advantage and thus have the opportunity to rape the victim (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Dean & De Bruyn, 1982:47; Koss, 1985:194).

Acquaintance rape is generally imposed through verbal coercion, intimidation as well as physical threats. The use of physical violence, which involves weapons such as knives, is limited. This means that victims of this type of rape rarely have any bruises, wounds or scars resulting from the rape (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983).

Research done by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:20) in tertiary institutions reveals that amongst others, there are two factors that could increase female students' risk for acquaintance rape. These include the number of men a woman dates as well as the degree or level of intoxication. In the first case, a female student who is involved with a number of men might be seen as less deserving of respect. As a result of this reputation, some men may invite her for a drink, with the intention of having sex with her. The second instance involves a female student drinking alcohol at a party, which could result in influencing her decision of whether she wants intercourse, or not. Being served with what she believes to be a soft drink, whilst it has been spiked with alcohol and/or date rape drugs, such as Rohypnol, Ecstasy, Gamma Hydroxy Butyrate (GHB) and Ketamine Hydrochloride could also place a student at risk of rape. Date rape drugs are undetectable, tasteless, odorless and colourless. Consequently, when slipped into drinks or food, they render the victim unconscious, but responsive with little or no memory of what happens while the drug is active in the system. These drugs also make the victim act without inhibition, often in a sexual or physically affectionate way. In this way the victim could be too disoriented to assert a lack of desire for sexual intercourse. Without any recollection of events, the victim is often unaware that she has been raped and even if she suspects that she has been raped, she often makes a very poor witness in court.

2.3.2.1.3 Date rape

Research on the nature of date rape has increased over the years with a number of studies shedding some light on the phenomenon (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:58; Bopp & Vardalis, 1987:13; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:10, Russo,

2000:11). Studies indicate that in date rape a more defined relationship than mere acquaintanceship exists between the victim and the perpetrator (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:64).

Shortland (1989:250) provides a framework for a more consistent explanation of a dating relationship that might lead to rape in tertiary institutions. He proposes that, depending on when the rape takes place in the dating relationship, this type of rape can be classified into three different categories namely, beginning, early and relationship date rape.

Beginning date rape occurs during the first days of the relationship. In this case both partners find themselves caught between peer pressure as well as parental restrictions (Bopp & Vardalis, 1987:13). This is mostly true of learners who have just graduated from high school and are entering university for the first time. What typically happens is that the female student enters the relationship without the intention to have sexual intercourse. The male, on the other hand, may have started the relationship with the purpose of having sexual intercourse with her. Forced sexual intercourse in these circumstances may not be seen by significant others as rape because of the prior relationship the victim and the offender had (Shortland, 1989:250).

Early date rape characteristically occurs when the couple has been dating for some time, but is still establishing the rules of the relationship. It is during this stage that certain miscommunications and misinterpretations manifest themselves. For example, on the one hand a man may perceive certain verbal and non-verbal cues as well as the wearing of revealing clothes by his partner as a declaration of sexual intent while the woman on the other hand might not be sharing the same sentiments (Abbey & Harnish., 1995:166; Muehlernhard & Linton, 1987:189). Consequently, a man may, acting on his judgement, make more sexual advances and attempts at intercourse. When the female tries to resist intercourse, frustration, anger and embarrassment may build up in the man thus leading to rape (Shortland, 1993:251).

In relationship date rape the couple has been dating for an extended period of time. Both partners believe they have established the rules of the relationship. However, the male may begin to feel shortchanged if the relationship continues without having sexual intercourse with his partner. It often happens that the male may be unwilling to just end the relationship because he has invested both time and money in trying to impress the female. As a result of peer pressure and male bonding, a man may assume that in other relationships men are involved sexually with their partners. Following from this, the male may compare himself with the woman's prior relationships as a way of obtaining rewards for his investment. Thus, during the couple's usual petting, the male may force sexual intercourse (Shortland, 1989:254). It should be noted that the relationship may still continue after the rape as the victim is unlikely to label what had happened to her as rape.

Misconceptions do not only result in a female being subjected to rape by her partner but may also lead to her being raped by a group of men who subscribe to these misperceptions. This is known as gang rape which is the fourth type of rape to be discussed.

2.3.2.1.4 Gang rape

The motivation for this type of rape is different from rape which involves only one perpetrator. This is due to the fact that a group rapes a woman to prove their manhood and thus to be accepted by the group (Benedict, 1985:8). However, not all members of the group might willingly participate in the rape. Some may, due to peer pressure and fear of other members' disapproval in not participating in the rape, unwillingly take part in the rape (Mauro-Cochrane, 1993:24).

The level of a female's intoxication can be a precipitating factor which may, in the eyes of the perpetrators, make her a suitable target for gang rape. In this case, perpetrators take advantage of the victim's high level of drunkenness to rape her. A woman, who has a bad reputation of dating a number of men, is

also often the victim of a gang rape. Such perpetrators may feel that the victim deserves to be punished and that gang rape serves as a good means of punishment to teach her a lesson (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:28, Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:140).

From the above subsections on the various types of rape, it can be deduced that numerous social misperceptions and misconceptions, which have grown into myths, are held about rape. A comprehensive review of these cultural myths follows in the next section.

2.3.2.2 Rape myths

Burt (1980:217), Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:26) as well as Vogelmann (1990:61) describe rape myths as false views of what rape is and why it happens. These myths entail stereotypes and false beliefs about rape, rape victims as well as perpetrators. Although myths of rape misrepresent reality, they have been internalised by some members of the society (Labuschagne, 1986:103).

- **Sexual consent and coercion myth**

Lack of sexual consent is central to the current legal definition of rape. Thus, sexual intercourse forced on either a date, partner or stranger constitutes rape. However, according to Russo (2000:2) the society is reluctant to accept and acknowledge the fact that sexual consent can be denied even if a couple is in a relationship. This may be attributable to the fact that consent or lack thereof between people who are familiar with each other is not always communicated clearly. This might lead to miscommunication as well as misinterpretation which may lead to adherence to rape myths. In this regard Pineau (1989:217) states that clear communication regarding sexual consent is crucial in order to neutralise ambiguous messages.

The normalisation of sexual coercion, particularly in date and acquaintance rape, is one of the major reasons why such rapes are often regarded as not criminal. For example, in some stranger as well as gang rapes, sexual consent might be obtained through the use of physical and violent force. Physical scars or injuries suffered during the attack thus often serve as evidence that the victim was indeed raped. However, in date and acquaintance rape, consent to sexual intercourse might be obtained through verbal coercion. This often results in the society questioning the fact that the rape had actually occurred and adds to the trauma experienced by victims.

- **The impossibility of rape myth**

This myth rules out the occurrence of rape thereby promoting the idea that women falsely accuse men of rape. For instance, women are said to report rape to cover-up an extra marital relationship or pregnancy or even to take revenge on someone who refused their advances (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1993:20). Such beliefs invariably tend to have the effect of negating a claim of rape especially if the perpetrator and the victim are acquainted with each other such as a classmate, boyfriend or ex-lover (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983:19).

Abbey and Harnish (1995:309) as well as Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:19) highlight another widely held belief which falls in this category, namely that even a strong man cannot rape a healthy woman. Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:19) elaborate on this widely held belief by stating that the myth exists that rape cannot be perpetrated by one man alone on a woman of good health and vigour. According to this myth healthy women can successfully resist rape, especially if it is perpetrated by someone known to the victim (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:31). The perception is that if the woman does not try to resist the attack, then it does not constitute rape. Individuals who adhere to this belief also tend to compare rape to voluntary sexual intercourse. In this instance, rape is believed to be an act that the victim “asked” for.

- **Women ask and deserve to be raped myth**

An act of rape is denied in this instance by asserting that women, in one way or another, ask and deserve to be raped. The implication is that a woman provokes rape by either wearing revealing clothes, inviting a man to her home and/or accepting an invitation to a man's apartment. Such women are thus perceived as inviting sexual intercourse and the contention is that the resultant forced sexual violation is their own fault (Paludi, 1996:187; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:31, Vogelmann, 1990:67). Underlying this kind of reasoning and attitude is an assumption that women are shy, passive and manipulative. In this case, it is believed that men use rape to "cure" such women (Scully, 1990:102; Quinna & Katharin, 1989:36). Rape is therefore made to resemble any normal consensual sexual encounter. The fact that violence and power are used during the rape is disregarded.

Women are also said to be asking for rape in cases where routine activities such as working or attending classes at night or even hitchhiking, makes them vulnerable to victimisation (Holcomb, Sondag & Williams, 1991:439; Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:32). This blaming of the victim is especially peculiar to rape cases. For example, if a woman is robbed of her belongings in an area with a high crime rate, no one denies the fact that a crime was committed. It will be rarely suggested that she asked to be robbed. In the case of rape, however, the myth that the woman deserved to be raped operates to blame the victim even when the facts show that the majority of perpetrators premeditated the attack.

- **Women should relax and enjoy rape myth**

According to Scully (1990:105) perpetrators of rape believe that when forced sexual intercourse commences, the victim starts to relax and enjoys being raped. In contrast to this stereotype, Burgess and Holmstrom (1979:650) indicate that far from enjoyment, rape victims experience adverse psychological consequences. There are also adverse physical effects with

victims often feeling nauseous while being raped (Vogelman, 1990:65). For a further discussion on the consequences of rape see section 2.4.2.5.

- **No harm was done myth**

This myth implies that rape is not different from consensual sexual intercourse particularly if the victim is not a “virgin”. This means that if a woman agrees to sexual intercourse with her boyfriend, for example, she then is not in a position to refuse sex with any other man. Thus, because she has had sexual encounters prior to the rape, she is not considered valuable and therefore sexually available (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:30). As a result of this stereotype the public is less likely to believe that the victim was actually raped. Moreover, if the woman is raped after frequenting a bar or other places associated with promiscuity by society, the report of rape is often not accepted. This usually leads to the victim being blamed and assertions that the victim asked for it and thus deserves what had happened to her. The harmful nature of forced sexual penetration is, in these cases negated.

- **Uncontrollable passion myth**

Burgess and Holmstrom (1979:22) state that there are two widely held beliefs in this category. The first myth being that rape is perpetrated by healthy, sexually aggressive men whose offence is a result of the behaviour of provocative and seductive women. The implication here is that a rapist is a normal individual who happens to be a victim of circumstances. For example, a woman who wears revealing clothes which is believed to sexually excite the perpetrator is then “obliged” to finish what she started by having sexual intercourse with the assailant (Parrot & Bechhofer, 1991:32; Vogelman, 1990:62).

Rapists are also believed to be oversexed, sexually perverted, crazy individuals. In this case, a rapist is seen as an inhumane person who under stress might react with increased sexual aggression. The significance of this

classification is that male sexual passion is uncontrollable (Schwendinger & Schwendinger, 1983:25). However, research shows that perpetrators of rape come from all backgrounds, classes and are rarely if ever mentally ill. Research conducted by Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:32) concur by stating that rapists are normal individuals who in some instances admit to have raped when, or are likely to rape if, they could get away with it.

- **Legalisation of prostitution myth**

Finally, a popular myth proposed by some people seeking a solution to the problem of rape concerns a possible relationship between rape and prostitution. According to Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:28) this stereotype suggests that rape would decrease significantly if prostitution were legalised. Underlying this belief is the notion that rape is a crime of sexual passion and thus can be prevented by some commercialised sex practices. However, as already noted above, this belief is false as rape is not a crime of sexual passion.

An understanding of the issues relating to rape highlights that there exists a link between traditional sex stereotypes and the occurrence of rape. To dispel some of the myths discussed above, it is important to look at the profiles of both the rape victim and the perpetrator.

2.3.2.3 Profile of the rape victim

According to Johnson and Sigler (1997:58) women and men belonging to all age groups can be victims of rape. This means that there are no prerequisites for becoming a victim of rape. Research conducted by Johnson and Sigler (1997:55), Labuschagne (1986:94) as well as Rodabaugh and Austin (1981:44) show that there are various factors which make some people more vulnerable to rape. Elderly people, women in particular, as well as the very young may, for example, be at risk of rape because of their age. Women who work in institutions requiring them to render services at night such as nurses,

telephone operators, students attending night classes and prostitutes may also be highly susceptible to rape. The physically ill and the mentally handicapped, who may be unable to resist the rape, are also vulnerable to rape. People, who lead deviant lifestyles such as alcoholics and drug addicts, may also be suitable targets as their lifestyles and weakened states place them in risky situations such as drinking in bars at night. The vulnerability of these individuals is further increased by the perpetrator's knowledge that victims are unlikely to report the crime. In addition, if, and when, they do report it, the victims may not be taken seriously by the police. Since the focus of the current study is on female students at tertiary institutions, the profiles of children and men who are also vulnerable to rape will not be discussed.

Ageton (1983:34), Clark and Lewis (1977:58), Katz and Mazur (1979:33), Powell (1980:9) as well as Russell (1984:81) point out that although women of all age groups are vulnerable to rape, various studies show that women who belong to the adolescent and young adulthood group are more susceptible to rape. Clark and Lewis (1977:58) report that an estimated 58,3% of the 20 victims in their study were between the ages of 14 and 25 years. Amir's pioneer study in 1971 indicates that almost one quarter of the victims in his study were between 15 and 19 years of age. Consistent with the findings of Katz and Mazur (1979:33) and Russell (1984:81) the high-risk groups are between the ages of 18 and 30 years.

Women in the above category are usually not married. These women are vulnerable to rape by virtue of their lifestyle which often enables them to go out alone at night. Their relations with men have frequently been limited to the trusted, caring figures of their childhood or the young men dated in high school. They thus enter the adult world with little sophistication and may easily be confronted with unwelcome sexual advances.

This description is typical of female students who have just graduated from high school and are entering university for the first time (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Koss et al., 1987:164). Research conducted by

Bohmer and Parrot (1993:18) as well as Russo (2000:5) in tertiary institutions in the USA buttress the above by pointing out that university female students are more likely to be raped during their first year of study as they are still breaking away from the control of their parents and familiarising themselves with the norms of the university. It is not unlikely that these students may be subjected to rape during the course of their studies by perpetrators they know (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:24; Koss et al., 1987:168; Powell, 1980:128). Young victims are also more manageable and easily mobilised by fears and threats (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:23). In addition, they are more accessible than an experienced adult who might shy away from a potentially dangerous situation.

2.3.2.4 Profile of the perpetrator

The rapist is described by Rodabaugh and Austin (1977:38) as a normal man found among a wide sphere of men. This means that there is no distinct profile of a typical rapist. However, a number of factors could be utilised to draw up a profile of a rapist. These include, inter alia, childhood development, age, social class and a variety of other factors such as group membership.

Childhood developmental factors may be related to sexually aggressive behaviour which manifests itself later during the adolescent or adult stages. These factors could include parental rejection, inadequate mothering, domestic violence and domination. A child who is deprived of motherly affection, for example, may still feel a need for such affection even as an adult. Consequently, every woman might be viewed in the context of the mother. In such cases rape could then represent an attempt to deny this need which may be viewed as a sign of weakness by the rapist or his peers (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1977:38). Children growing up in violent homes, where at least one parent behaved violently towards the other, may also exhibit violent behaviour (Allison & Wrightsman, 1993:29).

Although a male of any age group is a potential rapist, research conducted by Katz and Mazur (1979:101) suggest that most rapists come from the age

group 15 to 24 years and are single. Russell (1984:89) estimates that rapists fall in the age group of 21 to 25 years. She indicates that most women included in her study did not know the exact age group of their rapists, but flowing from the description of the rapists, she made the above estimate.

Widely reported is also a significant relationship between social class and rape. It has been, for example, indicated by various studies that rape perpetrators tend to come from a poor or lower class background (Brownmiller, 1975:18 & Katz & Mazur, 1979:10). Schwendinger and Schwendinger (1983:220) suggest that rape may be consistent with other violent crimes when social class is considered. They state that other violent crimes such as murder and robbery are also more prevalent among the poor and that the social class of rapists is likely to be similar to the status of most apprehensible criminals.

Parrot and Bechhofer (1991:23) indicate that in general, rapists may be more sexually active than other males. Such individuals are likely to be possessive and to treat women as their property, thus getting angry when other men pay attention to the female. These rapists are more likely to subscribe to myths surrounding rape. They may also excessively espouse views such as that woman should submit to sexual intercourse.

Research conducted by Bohmer and Parrot (1993:21), Dekeseredy and Schwartz (1997:100), Koss et al. (1987:169) as well as Sandler and Shoop (1997:55) in tertiary institutions indicate that certain characteristics may be predominant among perpetrators of rape on campuses. Such characteristics range from individual to group characteristics. The individual who rapes a fellow student may exhibit characteristics already attributed to the typical rapist above such as age and childhood experiences. Such individuals may have some traditional attitudes such as regarding a relationship with a woman as an adversarial one in which women are subordinate and inferior to men (Sandler & Shoop, 1997:55).

Men who belong to specific groups such as sport teams, student representative councils and political parties are also more likely to be perpetrators of rape on campuses. Members of sport groups such as soccer and rugby teams, for example, have a relatively high likelihood of committing rape after a game while celebrating a victory. Parties during which alcohol is consumed are often arranged as part of the celebration. Female students who are celebrating with such sport teams are vulnerable to rape as male students may misconstrue their friendliness for sexual willingness (Bohmer & Parrot, 1993:23). The need for male students to prove their heterosexuality or manhood thereby ensuring their status within a group could also perpetuate rape (Dekeseredy & Schwartz, 1997:102). It is, however, important to note that not all members of these groups are perpetrators of rape.

Having discussed the various myths surrounding rape as well as the profiles of both the victim and the perpetrator, the subsequent section will focus on the consequences of rape.

2.3.2.5 The consequences of rape

Rape is a life-threatening act after which victims experience intense emotional, psychological as well as behavioural effects. They manifest symptoms typical of the PTSD such as fear, shock, disbelief (DSM-IV, 1994:424). Victims may also be at risk of unwanted pregnancy as well as contracting sexually transmitted diseases such as the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which causes Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) (Russo, 2000:5). Following the rape, victims often struggle to regain a level of functionality similar to the one they had prior to the incident of rape. In most cases victims' reactions after rape is typical of the Rape Trauma Syndrome. Knowledge of this syndrome is essential for understanding the experiences of the rape victim.

2.3.2.5.1 Rape Trauma Syndrome

The Rape Trauma Syndrome is an acute stress reaction by the victim to the life-threatening situation of rape which results in various behavioural, somatic and psychological reactions (Green, 1988:76). It has three phases namely, the acute crisis reaction, the outward adjustment and the re-integration and resolution phase. All victims of rape experience these phases to a lesser or greater degree.

- **Acute crisis reaction phase**

This phase covers the period from, and including, the precipitating event and may last for about two to twelve weeks after the rape (Green, 1988:68; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:49). During this phase, rape victims experience a number of reactions ranging from the awareness of danger or threat of an attack to emotional, sexual as well as somatic reactions.

The immediate reaction before the rape is the realisation of danger. This may be cognitive and perceptual with the victim describing or feeling impending danger. The victim at this stage reacts quickly to this warning (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976:414; Maguire, 1988:68; Twiggs, 2003:86). They sometimes experience some sense of guilt, if for example they had been walking in a dark alley alone, at night, however, at this stage they do not react to these feelings. The victim tries to protect herself before the rape by using a combination of defences that maintain an illusion of invulnerability, in order to protect herself from real danger (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1976:414; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50, Russo, 2000:6). The victim's reaction during the rape depends on the type of intimidation strategies used by the rapist, the amount of force or violence used and how the victim generally reacts to threatening situations (Russo, 2000:6).

During the first weeks following a rape the victim may experience various somatic reactions ranging from physical trauma, skeletal muscle tension and

genitourinary disturbance (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:981). Physical trauma includes general wounds and bruises from the attack. These may be visible on various parts of the body such as the neck, throat, thighs, breasts, arms and legs. For women who were, for example, forced to have oral sex, irritation to the throat may occur (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:982). A rape victim might also suffer from symptoms such as tension headaches, fatigue as well as sleep disturbances. Victims often become edgy and jumpy over minor incidents (Green, 1988:76, Twiggs, 2003:87). The rape victim may also complain of stomach pains resulting in the loss of appetite, disturbed eating patterns and nausea. This is known as gastrointestinal irritability. Gynaecological symptoms such as vaginal discharge and infection may also prevail following the rape (Burgess & Holmstrom, 1974:983; Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:49).

Directly following the incident of rape the victim may experience a wide range of emotions, which may either be controlled or expressed. For some victims rape may have such an emotional impact that they experience a shock reaction, giving the outward appearance of control, calmness and composure (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50). This type of reaction may be experienced during the attack and afterwards during the interview, for example, when the incident is reported to the police (Green, 1988:68). This however may pose serious problems, as the police may not take the report seriously. Other victims may express their fear and anxiety by sobbing, crying and smiling in an anxious manner when certain issues are mentioned. The victim may also experience a number of feelings such as fear and anxiety but little direct anger. This is because the victim's anger may be repressed and experienced as guilt and shame, despite her feelings of vulnerability and helplessness. The reason for this can be attributed to the cultural restrictions and expectations of passivity and greater compliance of women in society. Despite the varying degrees of violence and degradations involved in the rape guilt and shame are universal. In this regard, the rape victim feels that she should have and could have, handled the situation differently (Green, 1988:76; Maguire, 1988:68; Russo, 2000:5).

- **Outward adjustment phase**

In the outward adjustment phase, the victims may resume their normal activities, often pretending as if everything is normal, as a means of reassuring themselves. Since their well-being at this stage depends on the belief that they have successfully recovered from the rape, the victim may decide to drop charges, reject any offer of assistance and even discontinue counselling (Rodabaugh & Austin, 1981:50). As victims deal with the reality that they had in fact been raped, defence mechanisms as well as emotional symptoms, however, still remain. This phase may last for weeks, months or years after the rape.

Furthermore, indoor or outdoor fears may suffice largely depending on where the rape was committed. Victims may also fear being alone or with people and become paranoid about their physical safety. A fear of people walking behind them as well as a fear of sexual relations or activities may also occur (Maguire, 1988:78; Morewitz, 1996:253).

- **The re-integration and resolution phase**

After a period of weeks, months or even years following the rape, most victims again experience feelings which constitute the acute phase. This is often precipitated by the court trial if the rape was reported. The rape victim starts to relive the rape incident. This often leads to severe forms of depression which may last until the victim's fear, anger and/or guilt are dealt with. It is during this stage that some victims may seek counselling in an attempt to deal with their depression. However, some victims prefer to resolve their feelings on their own thereby withdrawing from counselling (Green, 1988:78; Medea & Thompson, 1974:103).

After this period, victims resume control of their lives. They begin to integrate the rape into their life experiences. Despite this, Maguire (1988:69) highlights that various symptoms following the rape do not disappear and may persist for

the rest of the victim's life. These generally include sexual disturbances, phobic reactions to situations resembling the rape as well as a mistrust of men. The latter is especially evident where the victim and the perpetrator were acquaintances.

The reactions mentioned above are solely those experienced by the victim. Apart from reporting the incident to the police and going for counselling, the victim must decide who to confide in (Easteal, 1994:135). Important people in the victim's life such as the family, friends as well as a sexual partner come into the picture. The reactions of these important people might influence her reaction to the rape incident. If, for example, the relationship between the victim and her parents is strong, there is a greater chance that she will be supported after the rape and will thus, adapt quickly. If, on the contrary there are conflicts in the family about the rape (such as a victim's father blaming the mother for the rape, or the family deciding not to talk about the rape), the victim might not recover quickly. The latter, for example, might restrict the victim's ability to vent her feelings, thereby confirming that what happened to her is too terrible to talk about (Green, 1988:71). Some parents become quite angry and often express their anger with the victim, blaming her for the rape (Medea & Thompson, 1974:103).

Rape also presents a crisis situation for the sexual partner. The partner may experience intense feelings of anger but suppress them so as not to upset the victim anymore. These feelings of anger may be due to the fact that someone hurt the woman he loves. He may also feel guilty for failing to protect his partner and may decide to take revenge. Due to the sexual dysfunction women suffer after the rape, women may refuse to have any form of sexual contact with their partners. These feelings may lead to estrangement. Consequently, the partner might feel rejected, causing him to blame her and even believing in rape myths, instead of supporting and sympathising with her. In short, when the victim's family, partner and close friends are supportive and sensitive to her needs, the existing bonds are likely to be strengthened and the woman's recovery facilitated.

Research conducted in tertiary institutions reveals that most female students are raped by people they are familiar with, namely, acquaintances and/or dates (see section 2.4.2.2.2). This does not make their experiences of rape any less traumatic than being raped by strangers. Russo (2000:5), for example, states that female victims of rape on campuses experience a wide range of the same symptoms discussed in the sections above. Most importantly, rape results in a violation of trust. A problem specific to both date and acquaintance rape is the confusion over whether sexual coercion is acceptable behaviour and a failure to define this as rape. This leads to self-blame by the victim and a delay in seeking treatment, which can also impede recovery (Schwartz & Leggert, 1999:257). It may also lead to poor academic performance. Some female students leave the university (Gidycz & Koss, 1990:325; Morewitz, 1996:255; Quinna & Carlson, 1989:33) because they are forced by circumstances to see the perpetrator on a daily basis which often triggers the memories of the incident of rape.

Female students may also change their lifestyle as a consequence of rape. They may, for example, avoid going to the library at night or participate in any other night time activities. This may result in a loss of work as well as educational, social and leisure opportunities (Day, 1994:743).

Since no SA research has been conducted on the effects of rape in female students, the researcher will focus on the emotional, psychological, physical, social as well as financial consequences suffered by female students after the rape, in order to provide effective support services to cater for the needs of victims.

2.3.2.6 Prevention of rape

It is clear from the literature reviewed above that universities need to put some measures in place to prevent rape on campuses. A number of suggestions have been made by researchers such as Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:148) as well as Labuschagne (1994:43). Amongst others, victims of rape on

campuses need support services which can provide medical, emotional and legal services after the rape. There is also a need for education about rape, the university needs to have some disciplinary measures for perpetrators as well as the provision of adequate security on campus.

2.3.2.6.1 Victim support services

The university administration or management should provide victims of rape with medical services to offer treatment for those who suffered physical injuries as a result of the rape (Braine et al., 1995:148). Coupled with this professional help should be available to assist the victims to deal with their emotions after the rape. Thus, a qualified counsellor or therapist should be available for the victims (Labuschagne, 1994:43). Braine et al. (1995:148) as well as Day (1994:145) emphasise the value of these professionals by stating that they should offer services that increase the level of disclosure for the victims. In addition to this, they should help the victims realise that they are not to blame for the rape. These therapists should also help victims with legal processes by encouraging them to report the crime and helping to prepare them for the trial and avail themselves to testify, should the victim decide to report the incident.

2.3.2.6.2 Educational campaigns

Dekeseredy and Hinch (1991:147) are of the view that there is a need for education about various aspects of rape on campuses. These should include aspects such as the legal definition of rape, dispelling the myths about rape, the consequences of rape for the victims, what victims should do when they are raped as well as the procedures for reporting incidents of rape. Day (1994:576) emphasises the importance of education about rape by stating that if students are not educated, they will continue believing in stereotypes thereby not reporting the incidents.

The information about rape could be disseminated to students through workshops during orientation as well as posters and pamphlets to be made

available to all students and staff members. The attendance of these workshops should be made mandatory to all students in order to assist in the prevention of rape.

2.3.6.2.3 Disciplinary procedures

The university management should implement strong policies and procedures for dealing with perpetrators of rape on campus (Twiggs, 2003:89). These should include procedures for reporting the incident as well as a description of the ways in which the reported cases will be dealt with (Day, 1994:576). Examples of disciplinary measures that could be implemented include expulsion from the university for a specified time and participation in a community project such as conducting and organising workshops against victimisation of women on campus (Erhart & Sandler, 1985:10). These policies should be publicised and made available to the university community at large. Furthermore, according to Bohmer and Parrot (1997:143) there should be an ongoing evaluation of their effectiveness to ensure that they are in line with the new developments in the criminal justice system.

2.3.2.6.4 Security measures

There is a need for proper security measures to be put in place to prevent rape on campus. These should include adequate, well-trained security officers who are visible at all times in designated areas such as dormitories, residence halls and campus surroundings (Bordner & Peterson, 1983:198). These officers should also be educated on how to deal with incidents of rape on campus. They should be able to advise victims on what to do after the rape incident. Lighting should also be constantly upgraded. Strategically placed telephones directly linked to security offices should be installed so that students could call for help when they are in danger.

2.4 SIMILARITIES BETWEEN SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE

According to Paludi (1996:183) sexual harassment and rape share some common elements or characteristics. Although sexual harassment is less physically violent in nature, it is not so different from rape. Quinna and Carlson (1989:11) highlight three major similarities.

2.4.1 POWER DYNAMICS

According to Quinna and Carlson (1989:11) the perpetrators of neither rape nor sexual harassment are motivated by sexual desire despite the fact that in rape a sexual act is implied. These researchers state that both forms of sexual victimisation represent a demonstration of power. Power in this case is manifested by dominating, humiliating and degrading the victims (Fitzgerald, Weitzman, Gold & Omerold, 1988:328; Reitz, Lott & Gallogly, 1996:338).

2.4.2 GENDER ROLES AND RELATIONSHIPS

Paludi (1996:186) highlights a link between rape and sexual harassment in terms of the cultural roles and expectations that are held in society. Women are, for example, expected to be passive and powerless while men on the other hand are supposed to be strong, powerful and aggressive. These expected gender roles may be acted out in sexual aggression.

2.4.3 CULTURAL STEREOTYPES

According to Pryor (1989:12) victims of rape and sexual harassment are subjected to cultural roles and the context in which their behaviours are viewed. The victims in both crimes are likely to be blamed for their own victimisation (see sections 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.2.2).

2.5 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the extent of sexual harassment and rape in general (but also in tertiary institutions) were highlighted by extracting literature from both overseas and SA. Despite the underreporting of these crimes, the available statistics indicate that rape and sexual harassment are rife on campuses. Even though no national studies have been undertaken to indicate reasons for the increase in these crimes, various researchers (Fisher et al., 2000:11, Mahlobo, 2000:15, Morewitz, 1996:242) are of the opinion that social organisation, socialisation, the use of alcohol and drugs, patriarchy, non-reporting as well as the absence of deterrence are possible reasons for the occurrence of sexual harassment and rape in tertiary institutions.

Existing literature on the profiles of the victims and perpetrators of sexual harassment and rape on campuses, indicate that both victims and perpetrators belong to the age group of 18 to 25 years and are usually acquainted with each other. Underreporting as well as belief and adherence to myths and stereotypes often justify the occurrence of these acts. Sexual harassment and rape also result in behavioural, physical and psychological reactions and victims of these crimes often suffer from PTSD as a result of the incident. The measures which could be taken to prevent sexual harassment and rape were also discussed.

In the last part of the chapter, it was indicated that although sexual harassment is less physically violent in nature, it is not so different from rape as these crimes share common elements in terms of power dynamics, gender roles and cultural stereotypes.