

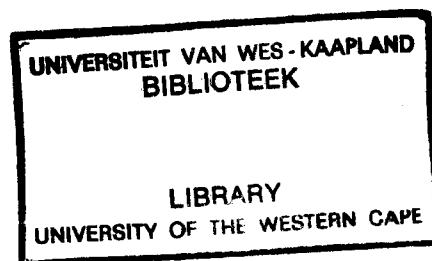
**An exploratory study of the occurrence of
token resistance (saying 'no' but meaning 'yes'
to sexual intimacy) among black university
women students.**

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**Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements
for the degree of M.Psych in the Department of
Psychology, University of the Western Cape, Bellville.**

1996

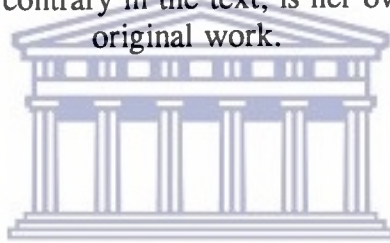


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DECLARATION

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



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WESTERN CAPE

.....
Carol Doreen Dean

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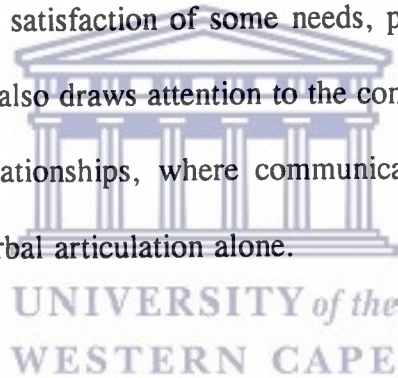
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ABSTRACT

The literature reports that some women engage in token resistance to sexual intimacy in heterosexual relationships. Although this concept has not been fully explored in South Africa it is a controversial issue which has shed light on the understanding of heterosexual relations. Token resistance intimates saying 'no' but meaning 'yes' to physical and sexual intimacy. Token resistance impacts on the feminist position which supports women by demanding that women need to be taken seriously and therefore when they say 'no' it means 'no'. This has direct consequences for how feminists construe communication, and for the communication styles in heterosexual relationships. It may also have an impact on how women feel about themselves and how men perceive women, as well as have a negative influence for the development of open and honest relationships. In addition, it raises great concern for women's safety with regard to abuse and rape.

This study explores the occurrence of token resistance in 42 black university women students at the University of the Western Cape. It primarily adopts Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) theoretical system which identified three main categories with sub-themes, Inhibition-Related, Practical and Manipulative reasons to account for the utilisation of token resistance. This thesis attempts to contextualise the occurrence of token resistance by examining the role of the sexual double standard, women's socialisation and ideological influences on women's sexuality.


The findings reveal and confirm the hypotheses that black women use token resistance to negotiate sexual intimacy in heterosexual relationships, for **Practical, Inhibition-related, and Manipulative Reasons**. The implications of the findings are twofold. On the one hand it speaks to the importance of the need for open communication in heterosexual relationships. It highlights the ideological sexual role that women play in society where they still struggle to directly assert their sexual needs, largely deferring the initiation of physical and sexual intimacy to men. This may be directly due to the exposure to and the internalisation of a sexist socialisation. On the other hand, it raises important questions about the function of token resistance and how it must at some level provide satisfaction of some needs, particularly in heterosexual relationships. Moreover it also draws attention to the complexity of communication and relating in various relationships, where communication does not occur only through clear and direct verbal articulation alone.



Future directions emergent from this study point to the need for further exploration of token resistance in women, men and adolescents, as well as their joint explanations for engaging and experiencing token resistance.

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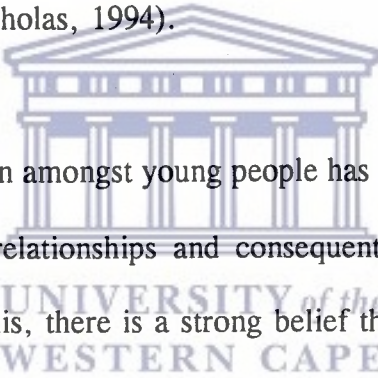


CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 INTRODUCTION

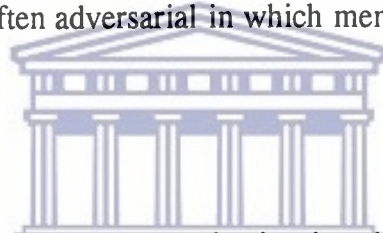
Universities are academic arenas within which many, and certainly single students negotiate relationships, particularly of a sexual propensity. Some of these students are unlikely to have had any appreciable form of guidance on negotiating sexual relationships from their parents or in school and are inclined to be influenced by prevailing social norms (Nicholas, 1994).

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building facade with columns and a pediment, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' overlaid in a light blue color.

The dearth of sex information amongst young people has far-reaching effects on how sexuality is understood in relationships and consequently how sexual intimacy is negotiated. In relation to this, there is a strong belief that women engage in **token resistance** to sex. That is, they say 'no' when in fact they mean 'yes'. This stereotype is often portrayed in movies, soap operas, and literature (Muehlenhard, Giusti & Rodgers, 1993). The belief that token resistance exists is based on the sexual double standard in which women are not supposed to be sexually active outside committed relationships, whereas this is permissible or even expected of men (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). This sexual double standard leads in turn to the sexual script in which the woman's role is to refuse sexual activity, even if she desires it. The man's role is thus to ignore her presumably insincere refusals and continue his sexual advances. This script is problematic as it may have perilous

consequences which could lead to rape if a woman does not want to engage in sex (Muehlenhard & Rodgers, 1993).

In addition, the tendency to engage in token resistance to sex has been found to be related to several sexual attitudes and beliefs (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova & Levitskaya, 1994) such as the notion that women like forceful men and that token resistance is a common phenomenon. Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh's (1988) research suggests that women who engage in token resistance at least once when compared to those women who had not, were more likely to endorse attitudes or beliefs that romantic relationships are often adversarial in which men are entitled to use force to get what they want.

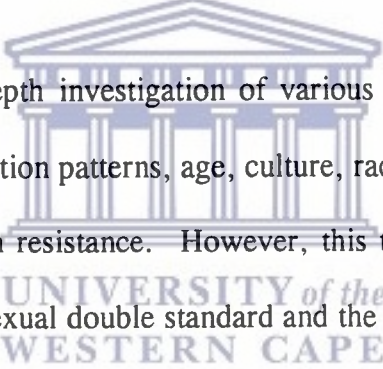


An added tension is the domain of communication in relationships which is in itself vast and intricate. Often in relationships communication is not straightforward, instead, it involves oblique, vague and confused ways of relating, which in itself does not constitute pathology. This sense of confusion sometimes manifests in inarticulate verbal and non-verbal communication.

1.2 BACKGROUND OF THE PROBLEM

South Africa is a patriarchal society characterised by high levels of violence, mostly perpetrated by men, and often against women (Van Zyl, 1986). The unequal power relations in society manifest themselves similarly at tertiary education institutions such as the University of the Western Cape (UWC).

Token resistance may be a pattern of communication that is present in the everyday interactions of daily living. This study will focus predominantly on the relationship between token resistance and sexual or physical intimacy. Its premise will be that token resistance is a nuanced phenomenon that has both positive and negative results. In committed heterosexual relationships where the communication patterns are already well established, token resistance may offer a safe method of acquiring one's needs. However, whereas in new relationships and acquaintanceships where an established communication pattern is not present, miscommunication may lead to non-gratification of needs or in extreme cases abuse and rape.



This area demands an in-depth investigation of various factors such as the sexual double standard, communication patterns, age, culture, race, etc. which could impact on the decision to use token resistance. However, this thesis due to its scope will focus on the impact of the sexual double standard and the fluid nature of relating and the tension that arises in relationships in an attempt to unravel some of the core issues associated with token resistance in order to contribute to the research in this area. The contributions of research on the sexual double standard and the dynamics of rape will be incorporated. Reiss (1981) highlights the gender inequalities in relationships exploring the sexual double standards, emphasising the inequity of relations, and the power that men have in this patriarchal society. He contends that men control the development of sexual codes that also advantage their position in consequent relational dyads. Men are thus expected to be perpetrators of sexuality and women are relegated to occupying the role of restrictors of their own sexuality.

In relation to rape, the general popular feminist position that rape is a symptom of a violent and male dominated society will be explored, as well as the position researched by Palmer (1988) which supports the argument that rape may also be sexually motivated.

1.3 RATIONALE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PROBLEM

As a relatively new impetus to the investigation of rape and date rape, the concept of token resistance emerged in the research of Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988). The definition that has been offered is that women sometimes say 'no' when they mean 'yes' to physical intimacy and sexual intercourse. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) found that 39.3% of undergraduate women engaged in token resistance at least once; and of these women 85.2% had done so within the past year. She categorised the reasons for token resistance as Practical, Inhibition-Related and Manipulative. The implication of this is that a significant number of women are engaging in token resistance to sexual intercourse within heterosexual relationships, and are inadvertently exposing themselves to sexual coercion when they really mean 'no'.

This finding raises several issues. Firstly, it challenges the feminist position of how women negotiate sexual intimacy. Secondly, it alerts us the nature of communication within relationships which is sometimes fraught with nuances and innuendo. Thirdly, it raises concern about women's vulnerability with regard to sexually-related problems and rape. Finally, it highlights that although we live in a society which

accommodates various views and ways of doing things, aspects of the traditional sexual script appear to be relatively unchallenged.

This research explores the occurrence and the reasons for the use of token resistance. It explores how women have internalized sexist socialization, and how this impinges on their relationships. While there is extensive international research literature on female sexuality, particularly on initiation and restriction of sexuality, as well as on the gendered behaviours of the traditional sexual script, there is a paucity of published research on female sexuality in South Africa, and particularly with black South Africans (Nicholas, 1994; Russell, 1991). Russell (1991), addressing the paucity of research undertaken on sexual assault and rape in South Africa writes, 'there is very little published research on rape and child sexual abuse in South Africa, despite the existence of an active anti-rape movement since 1976' (p.4). She claims that most books on South Africa that might be expected to address the issue of sexual assault, fail to do so. Of specific importance to this study is the lack of published research on token resistance in South Africa.

1.4 **STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM**

It is the purpose of this study to investigate token resistance as used by women in response to intimacy and sex. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) define token resistance as 'women indicating that they did not want to have sex even though they had every intention to, and were willing to engage in sexual intercourse' (p.872). This study will assess the prevalence of token resistance among black women students

at the University of the Western Cape and to gain some insight into how they understand their use of token resistance with regard to intimacy and sex.

1.5 **HYPOTHESES**

1.5.1 Token resistance exists within heterosexual relationships of black women students.

1.5.2 Women engage in token resistance for Practical Reasons.

1.5.3 Women engage in token resistance for Inhibition-Related Reasons.

1.5.4 Women engage in token resistance for Manipulative Reasons.

1.6 **DEFINITIONS**

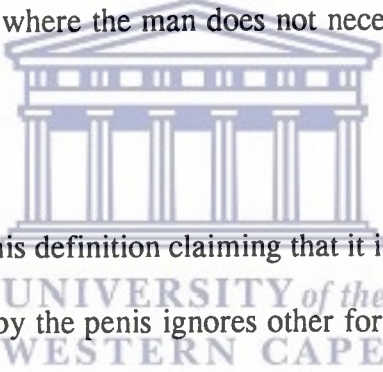
1.6.1 **TOKEN RESISTANCE**

For the purpose of this study the following definition of token resistance will be used.

Token resistance is a response in the context of an intimate relationship between a man and a woman, where the woman resists sexual contact (or physical intimacy) by saying 'no' when she really means 'yes', and is willing to follow through in action contrary to her verbal response (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988; Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991).

1.6.2 RAPE

Legally, in South Africa, rape is separated into two categories, statutory rape and forcible rape (Vogelman, 1990). Statutory rape laws apply to the man who engages in sexual intercourse with a female under the age of consent [relative to the time], even if she participates willingly (Vogelman, 1990, p.2). Forcible rape 'consists of intentional unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent' (Vogelman, 1990, p.2). Vogelman (1990), elaborating on the definition, asserts that intercourse is defined as any degree of penetration by the male's genital organ into the woman's vulva or labia, where the man does not necessarily have to ejaculate or achieve orgasm.



Vogelman (1990) critiques this definition claiming that it is inadequate; 'limiting rape to penetration of the vagina by the penis ignores other forms of sexual contact which may violate the victim's body and psyche' (p.3).

Snyman (1984) offers a more detailed definition:

Legally rape is defined when, a male has unlawful and intentional sexual intercourse with a female without her consent. Legally, **absence of consent**, indicates that rape can be committed only if the intercourse takes place without the woman's consent. Whether the woman has consented to intercourse is largely a question of fact (truth). The woman does not need to express her objection to intercourse; if her will is overborne by fear or intimidation as a result of which she fails to offer any outward resistance, the crime is committed, since mere submission is not equated with consent (Snyman, 1984, p.401).

1.6.3 DATE RAPE

Date rape is similar to that of stranger rape except in this case the perpetrator is known to the victim. The rape could be committed by an acquaintance, friend, date or husband of the victim' (Russell, 1990, p.247). This is often a more subtle form of abuse. Date rape often begins as an interaction between a man and a woman in the context of a social event or gathering and ends with one participant forcing the other to participate in unwanted sexual activity (Brownmiller, 1975; Russell, 1990). Even though date rape often goes unreported, its victims suffer intense emotional and sometimes physical trauma (Feldman, 1984). Russell (1990) purports that the area of acquaintance rape is underresearched, however rape by lovers and close or long-term friends and especially spousal rape can be experienced as extreme. It is similar to stranger rape in the sense that it is often as traumatic. However, it is different to stranger rape in the sense of betrayal and mistrust that the victim experiences, as well as in impotence at times about making decisions about whether to leave the relationship or seek legal assistance or not. In addition, date rape can affect the trust in future relationships (Russell, 1990).

1.6.4 SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD

Implicit to the sexual double standard is the adherence to the traditional sexual script. In this script, men are the initiators of sexual activity. They are expected to accept almost every available sexual opportunity (O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992), and to use more direct methods of indicating their sexual interest, even to the point of becoming

aggressive (McCormick, 1979). Women, on the other hand, are expected to be the restrictors who control or "gatekeep" men's sexual access. If they wish to express an interest in sexual activity they are expected to do so indirectly (O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992) and mostly assume a position of helplessness (McCormick, 1979).

1.7 SUMMARY AND OVERVIEW

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the area of token resistance in relation to the pressures of double standards imposed on women's sexuality and highlights the dangers of sexual miscommunication. Chapter 2 reviews selected literature on token resistance. It also contextualises salient areas such as the socialization and traditional scripts impressed on women and the implications these may have for assertive and open communication. The consequences of tainted communication is explored and the subsequent possibility and occurrence of rape is examined. Chapter 3 gives a description of the sample, the data collection procedures and treatment thereof. Chapter 4 comprises the results of the study. Chapter 5 provides a discussion of the results, the limitations of the study and implications for further research and intervention.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 INTRODUCTION

There is an abundance of research on the incidence of coitus but very little empirical information is available on how people influence others to engage intimately and/or sexually, or how they can avoid such engagement (McCormick, 1979). The most widely accepted feminist view is that communication between men and women should be clear and simple in that women who are approached to engage in intimacy or sexual intercourse would clearly refuse or verbally assent to such activity (Malamuth & Check, 1981; Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). Despite this, a view commonly depicted in the media is that women initially resist sexual intercourse but are then swept away by their uncontrollable desires. Pornography, mainstream movies, television and romantic novels such as those published by Mills and Boon, depict sexual scripts in which women behave as if they do not want to have sex when in fact they do, that is, engage in token resistance to sexual intercourse (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991; Malamuth & Check, 1981). In these depictions the man makes a sexual advance which the woman initially resists, but eventually she responds positively, by either reaching an orgasm or falling in love with him (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). The implicit message is that women are not serious when they say 'no' to sex, and commonly engage in token resistance and that the man's role in this sexual script is to persist until the woman concedes. The discrepancy between the two views, the feminist and the dominant popular view, could have various

consequences for women depending on the nature of their relationships. On the one hand, especially for women who ascribe to the traditional sexual script, it could provide desired outcomes if the signals of token resistance are accurately detected. However those women who ascribe less to the traditional sexual script and value direct and honest communication may experience negative emotional feelings if they use token resistance to negotiate sexual intimacy. Moreover, for those women in new relationships where the patterns of communication have not been established, it could have dire consequences as is indicated by the high rape and date rape incidences (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988).

Women who align themselves in part or completely with a traditional sexual script, may use token resistance to allay their sense of guilt and anxiety when they contravene the rules of that script. Token resistance has a close relationship with the traditional and sexual double standard. Reiss (1981; 1986) addresses some of the dilemmas arising from the double standard and the complexities of sexuality and forwards a more universal and ideological understanding of sexuality which is explored below.

2.2 IDEOLOGICAL POSITIONS

Reiss (1986) in pursuing a sociological argument, criticises the Freudian, Marxist and sociobiological explanations of sexuality for not addressing differences in sexual lifestyles amongst various societies or groups. The author researched a macro-level explanation of sexuality to address such questions. He proposes that sexuality is

universally linked by three specific areas; (a) marital jealousy as a boundary mechanism in relationships, (b) gender role power (where males have greater power than females in patriarchal societies and consequently have greater sexual rights than females), and (c) beliefs about abnormality (how societies regard homosexuality and perceived sexual dysfunctions, e.g., premature ejaculation).

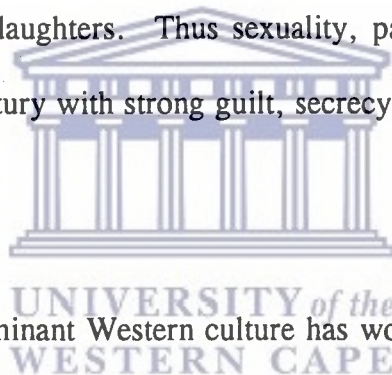
Reiss (1986) defines human sexuality as 'consisting of those cultural scripts aimed at erotic arousal that produce genital responses' (p. 234). The author does not regard sexuality as "natural" or individualistic. He sees it as a social outcome that is learnt in much the same way as friendships and love relationships. Sexuality is thus seen as programmed as is other social behaviour, and it will not function unless that social programming has occurred. Reiss (1986) contends that sexuality is important in all cultures. He sees sexuality as a societal product whose importance lies more in its physical pleasure and self-disclosure aspects than in its reproductive potential (Reiss, 1986). He regards these qualities as significant as they are universally valued because they are the building blocks and nuclei of almost all social relationships.

This social programming is influenced by the ideologies operating within society. Reiss (1981) suggests that there are strong ideological biases operating in our sexual lives. He claims that our ideologies, like economic systems can severely limit the vision of the social world in which one lives. Reiss (1981) implies that our sexual ideology affects our conceptions of normality and reality, as well as our conception of our sexual past in many ways.

He points out that the American society favours the belief that most young people in the past remained virginal until marriage. They supposedly learned about sexuality in the marital bed and remained faithful to each other until death. However, Reiss (1981) cites research which contradicts this notion. He found evidence to suggest that at least a third of brides in the 18th century from a particular church in Massachusetts, America; confessed having premarital sex to their ministers. The author elaborates that in all the cultures he has researched it is unusual to find as a norm, male virgins over the age of 21 years (Reiss, 1981). Modern society is also replete with myths of asexuality. Many parent's pretend that children and adolescents are not sexual and encourage dishonest communication from an early age. The earliest sexual initiations are therefore bound to become imbued with token resistance behaviour, e.g., in a particular peer group it may be acceptable to be sexually active while pretending you are not, or to appear to be adhering to a particular boundary of sexual intimacy long after it has been crossed.

Reiss (1981) concedes that the reason for male nonvirginity is linked to the fact that men are normatively dominant in almost every society, and as a result all sexual codes are established by them. Since men have the power to set up a code, it is expected that they would advantage themselves (Reiss, 1981). Accordingly, males set up a sexual code which allows them to enjoy sexuality under a wide variety of conditions: premaritally, maritally, and extramaritally. But they also set up the provision which restricts their wives and daughters from much of the sexual enjoyment they decree for themselves. For Reiss (1981) the basic contradiction between male freedom and female restrictions is at the heart of the explanation of

why human sexuality has been secretive and guilt ridden. If wives and daughters cannot engage in premarital or extramarital sexuality, then the majority of possible partners for males are eliminated. One source of female partners would be to violate some weaker group of males and take their wives and daughters or set up a class of prostitutes composed of females whose kinship ties have in some way been broken. But this solution does not resolve the basic contradiction inherent in allowing males more sexual rights than females. There are still many males violating the restrictions on sexuality with in-group wives and daughters. This occurrence forces secrecy on sexuality and creates guilt feelings concerning the violation of the double standard restrictions on wives and daughters. Thus sexuality, particularly in the West has come down to the 20th century with strong guilt, secrecy, and psychological qualms (Reiss, 1981).



Over the centuries, the dominant Western culture has worked out a modification of the traditional double standard by building up the cult of romantic love (Reiss, 1981). Sexuality has been viewed negatively, but if it is done for the sake of a great love feeling, then perhaps the negative aspect in it can be exorcised by the goodness of love. Thus love has become the great justifier and purifier of sexuality. Males have the cultural support for their sexuality so the love justification has been predominantly a female belief. For centuries sexuality which involves love has been viewed as more acceptable, even if not fully acceptable premaritally (Reiss, 1981).

Reiss (1981) analysed the American sexual ideologies by examining five controversial areas of sexuality: abortion, genetic differences among the sexes, exploitation and

pornography, sexual normality and sexual history. From this analysis, he derives two broad ideologies viz., the Traditional-Romantic and the Natural-Modernistic ideology. He also illustrates how these firmly held ideologies blind one to various realities of sexual life.

2.2.1 **Traditional-Romantic Ideology**

Inherent in the Traditional-Romantic Ideology is the belief in the primacy and rightfulness of the double standard. This belief manifests explicitly through the segregation and distinction of gender roles, with the male being the dominant one. The second tenet is that body-centred sexuality is of the lowest worth, especially for females. The third tenet, holds that sexuality is a very powerful emotion, and is particularly feared by females. The fourth and overarching tenet posits that the major goal of sexuality is heterosexual coitus and adds that coitus is what men regard as most important. Finally, the relationship of love and guilt regarding sexuality is embedded in this position (Reiss, 1981).

The premise upon which the Traditional-Romantic Ideology is based is that sexuality violates the sexual prohibition for wives and daughters and consequently engenders guilt feelings. Females in particular, have devised as a partial justification for sexual behaviour, the great power and value of romantic love. Whereas men are viewed as driven by the power of lust, women are viewed as being driven by the power of love. Love, at least in part, redeems and explains the female interest in sexuality (Reiss, 1981). The script for women in expressing love is that it has only a tenuous link to

sexual desire but love allows them to be swept away and experience sexual feelings outside of their own volition. Women can therefore consciously and legitimately express romantic love but can only experience sexual feelings because of initially being overwhelmed by romantic love (Reiss, 1981).

2.2.2 Modern-Naturalistic View

Reiss (1981) also proposes the Modern-Naturalistic ideology in which egalitarian relationships between males and females should exist and that the expression of sexuality is considered good and proper. Although body-centred sexuality is regarded as less worthy than person-centred sexuality, it still has a positive value for both genders. Sexual emotions are seen as strong but manageable for both males and females. The major goals of sexuality are physical pleasure and psychological intimacy in a variety of sexual acts and this is applicable to both genders. Finally, a wide range of sexualities should be accepted without guilt by both genders providing these do not involve force or fraud (Reiss, 1981).

This new ideology contests the earlier ideological positions as it is based on a fundamental moral view of gender equality (Reiss, 1981). The Traditional-Romantic and the Modern-Naturalistic positions are thus opposed to each other. Generally, the assumption of earlier feminists was that women are placed in one of these positions. The danger of this is to confine women's sexuality to a particular position which denies the presence of several nuances in relating. This assumption could marginalise women to one of the categories, and may consequently exclude the idea that women

may aspire to and employ tenets from either position. Women may therefore engage in premarital sex yet at the same time ascribe to several aspects of the traditional sexual script.

2.3 SOCIALISATION

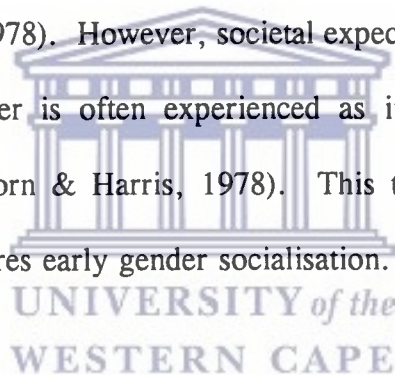
Women have been socialised to occupy a position of subordination in society. According to Gilligan (1982) women define themselves in a context of human relationships and judge themselves in terms of their ability to care and take care of others. As a consequence women experience difficulty in expressing themselves and this is mediated by their experiences of self-doubt and a sense of being evaluated.

Gilligan (1982) purports that gender differences may speak to biological differences to some extent, but that socialisation is an imperative consideration. The author asserts that the difference between men and women rises out of the social context where factors such as social status and power combined with reproductive biology shape the experience of men and women, and their relationships to each other.

Sex role stereotyping begins early in life when boys are encouraged to be aggressive, competitive, and independent while girls are rewarded for being passive and dependent (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982; Plotnik, 1993). Girls learn to admire boys' play in terms of the power displayed, the freedom of movement, and generally the kinds of fun from which they are increasingly excluded as they grow older. A double standard of behaviour for young women is soon created in that they are told

that sensitivity, emotionality, warmth, self-fulfilment, independence, assertiveness, and serious intellectual commitment are desirable human characteristics for all men and women. Yet girls and women soon learn that they are rewarded primarily when they act passively and dependently (Osborn & Harris, 1978).

Females are subjected to especially strong traditional feminine conditioning while males are socialized in a strikingly different way to females (Osborn & Harris, 1978; Plotnik, 1993). In reaction to these stereotypes, women have started demanding freedom of opportunity and self-determination in all spheres, including emotional-sexual (Osborn & Harris, 1978). However, societal expectations of women to be the wife, mother and care-giver is often experienced as imprisoning and the more overwhelming option (Osborn & Harris, 1978). This tension can be more fully understood when one explores early gender socialisation.



From a psychological perspective, Freud (1925) concedes some difficulty in theorising about women's psychological development. He attempts to remedy this by fitting women into his male conception, seeing them as envying that which they missed. He conceptualises women's pre-oedipal attachment to their mother's as resulting from 'developmental difference', which he saw as a 'developmental failure'. Freud associated the formation of the superego or conscience to castration anxiety. He considered women to be deprived by nature of the impetus for a clearcut oedipal resolution (Freud, 1925). Consequently, a woman's superego, the heir of their oedipus complex is compromised. Women are less ready to submit to the urgent demands of life often being more influenced in their judgements by feelings of

affection or hostility (Freud, 1925). In response to Freud's assertions, Gilligan (1982) claims that the problem in developing a psychological theory became cast as a problem in women's development. The problem in women's development was located in their experience of relationships rather than in the theory.

Chodorow (1978) in attempting to account for the reproduction within each generation of certain general and universal differences that characterize masculine and feminine roles, attributes these differences between sexes not to anatomy, but rather to the fact that women are largely responsible for early childcare.

Over the past few centuries, women of different ages, classes, and races have moved in and out of the paid labor force. Marriage and fertility rates have fluctuated considerably during this same period. Despite these change, women have always cared for children, usually as mother in families and occasionally as workers in child-care centers or as paid and slave domestics. Women's mothering is one of the few universal and enduring elements of the sexual division of labor (Chodorow, 1978, p.3).

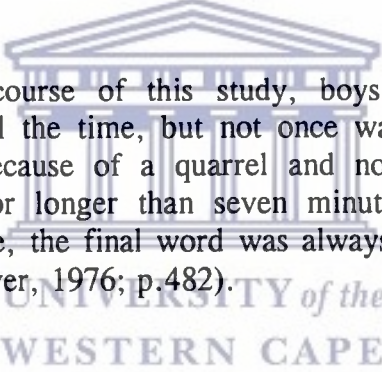
Chodorow (1978) claims that women's mothering has been taken for granted by the seemingly natural connection between women's childbearing and lactation capacities and their assumed role as childminders. She asserts that the woman's role as mother is often assumed as inevitable by social scientists, by many feminists and others. She acknowledges that the role of mothering is an important one which has not been adequately analysed.

In relation to childcare, Chodorow (1978) contends that with rare exceptions, firm and irreversible personality formation is established at the age of 3 years for both

sexes. Since both sexes primarily have a female caregiver, the interpersonal dynamics of gender identity formation is different for boys and girls. Female identity takes place in a context of an ongoing relationship as sexual identity allows the girl child and mother to grow more attached. In contrast, the mother experiences her son as different, based on his gender. The boy in defining his masculinity separates and distinguishes his mother from himself. This curtails his primary love and sense of empathic tie (Chodorow, 1978). As a result, male development entails more emphatic individuation and more defensive firming of experienced ego boundaries. Consequently, for boys and not girls, the issue of difference becomes intertwined with sexual issues. Resultant relationships and particularly issues of dependency are experienced differently by women and men (p.166-7). For males separation and individuation are critically tied to gender identity since separation from the mother is essential for the development of masculinity. On the other hand, for girls and women, issues of femininity or feminine identity do not depend on the achievement of separation from the mother, or on the progress of individuation (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982). This then also suggests that since masculinity is defined through separation, men may be threatened by intimacy. While femininity is defined through attachment, women are threatened by separation. Thus males are seen as having difficulty with relationships while females tend to have problems with individuation (Chodorow, 1978).

Furthermore, Chodorow (1978) posits that sex differences also result from the games children play. In games children learn to take the role of the other and come to see themselves through another's eyes. Chodorow (1978) also suggests that in games

children learn to respect rules and come to understand the ways rules can be made or changed. Lever (1976) considered peer groups to be the agent of socialization during elementary school years and play to be the major activity of socialization at that time. Further to this, Lever (1976) observed sex differences based on their play. Boys were found to play outdoors more often than girls. Boys were also reported to play in larger and age-heterogeneous groups. Lever (1976) also found that boys competitive games lasted longer than girls, not because they required a higher level of skill and therefore were less likely to become bored, but rather because when a dispute arose, they were able to resolve the disputes more effectively than girls:



During the course of this study, boys were seen quarrelling all the time, but not once was the game terminated because of a quarrel and no game was interrupted for longer than seven minutes. In the gravest debate, the final word was always to, 'repeat the play' (Lever, 1976; p.482).

Lever (1976) contends that it seemed that boys enjoyed the legal debates as much as they enjoyed the games. Boys learn both independence and organisational skills necessary for coordinating the activities of large and diverse groups of people. In contrast, she found that girls allowed the eruption of disputes to end their game. Girls rather play in smaller and more intimate groups often based on the best friend dyad (Lever, 1976). Lever (1976) asserts that it is through these forms of play that future social patterns are established. The nature of girls' play results in indirect competition, as the one person's success does not necessarily signify another's failure. Consequently, disputes requiring adjudication are less likely to occur. Boys through their participation in controlled and socially approved competitive situations, learn to

deal with competition in a relatively forthright manner. Boys play with their enemies, and compete with their friends. This dynamic assists boys to ease into the corporate work and achieve professional success (Lever, 1976).

Lever's (1976) research, although it has been undertaken two decades ago, still has important implications. The social roles she alludes to exist in our present society even though there are areas which have become more convergent for girls and boys. In relation to her findings that boys relate with much more ease to those they do not like or agree with, this dynamic may have some relation to the popularly held notion that generally men more than women are able to relate intimately and sexually to women they do not always wish to form emotional attachments with. Women, on the other hand, would generally find it inconceivable to relate intimately or sexually to someone they do not love or at least like. Gilligan (1982) critiques Lever's (1976) research for forwarding the male model as the better one since it fits the requirements for modern corporate success. Gilligan (1982) posits that the sensitivity and care girls display in their play is not given the same credence as it does not enhance one's place in the job market and professional success. There is however acknowledgement and a level of agreement from Gilligan (1982) and others that girls and boys are socialised differently with implications for later development. However, what is not agreed on is the value of the different socialised roles. Gilligan (1982, p.16) cites Woolf (1929, p.76):

It is obvious that the values of women differ very often from the values which have been made by the other sex. Yet, "it is the masculine values that prevail" (Woolf, 1929, p.76).

Gilligan (1982) purports that women come to question the normality of the feelings and tend to alter their judgements in deference to the opinion of others. She claims that this often manifests in the difficulty women experience in 'finding or speaking publicly in their own voice which emerges repeatedly in the form of qualification and self doubt, but also in intimidation of a divided judgement, a public assessment and private assessment which is fundamentally at odds' (Gilligan, 1982, p.17).

It is with this background of socialization that girls and boys arrive at adolescence. Freud (1905) says that boys experience an 'accession of libido', while girls experience a 'fresh wave of repression.' Further to this, Freud (1925) contends that girls are faced with their 'castration' which leads to a sense of inferiority. Erikson (1950) in expanding Freud's theory suggests that development in adolescence hinges on identity; with the girl being psychologically at risk or with a different agenda. He suggests that girls hold their identity in abeyance as she at this stage is confronted by societal expectation of being able to attract a partner, and sustain a relationship that imbues social status and worth. For boys adolescence is a celebration of autonomy, initiative and an industrious self based on an ideology that can support and justify adult commitments (Erikson, 1950). By implication of the above, girls and boys have very different experiences in adolescence based on their social roles. Boys are able to name and explore their sexual activity and desires and girls are expected and respond very differently by ignoring this aspect of themselves as if they do not possess it.

Tolman (1991) agrees that women have trouble knowing their sexual desire. This lack of clarity is thought to be a rooted developmental difference between boys and girls that occurs in adolescence. Jordan (1987; in Tolman, 1991, p.55) outlines that there are two developmental paths in adolescence, the emergence of the boy's sexual attachment and the girl's sexual accommodation. This sexual accommodation for girls leads to a lack of clarity females experience in relation to their own sexual desire. Tolman (1991) stresses that theorists, including Freud, not only left out girls' experience but also muted sexual desire as a central dynamic in adolescent development. The consequence of this is that girls seldom know how to attune themselves to their bodies and their sexual needs. Instead, they take refuge in discussing the relational aspects of relationships, often presenting sexuality as a missing discourse. In her investigation she cites frequent accounts of girls responding in the following way, 'Girls aren't supposed to - they're not supposed to get excited' (Coles, 1985, p.5; cited in Tolman, 1991, p.61). Despite this kind of response the author suggests that it is often a contradiction of what girls experience: 'she knows that she has these feelings [sexual] but says she does not know'. This response is often due to the silence that has been imposed on female sexuality; which feminist researchers and clinicians must not collude with but 'undo' (Tolman, 1991, p.61). Women's silences and discomfort concerning their sexuality is an element which maintains unequal power relations in heterosexual relationships.

Gilligan (1982) suggests that the power relations in society promote men's behaviour to be seen as normative. By supporting the male code, women are restricted to their rewarded roles as nurturers. This restriction manifests in women's discomfort with

competitive achievement which emanates from a perceived conflict between femininity and success (Gilligan, 1982; Lever, 1975). Horner (1968; in Gilligan, 1982, p.15) reports that when success is likely or possible for women, they become threatened by the negative consequences they expect to follow their success. As a result of this anxiety, women tend to thwart their striving for positive achievement, especially when one's success is at the expense of another's failure. This dynamic is not only confined to women relationships, but is perpetuated in heterosexual relationships by the sexual double standard. This gives sexual and other power to men whilst it restricts women to be the "gatekeepers" of sexuality and consequently other societal negotiations.

2.4 **SEXUAL DOUBLE STANDARD**

2.4.1 **Initiation and Restriction**

Token resistance is in part a manifestation of the sexual double standard. Inherent in the traditional sexual script, men are the initiators of sexual activities. Men are expected to accept almost every available sexual opportunity (O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992), and to use more direct methods of indicating their sexual interest, even to the point of becoming aggressive (McCormick, 1979). Women, on the other hand, are expected to be the restrictors who control or "gatekeep" men's sexual access. If women wish to express an interest in sexual activity they are expected to do so indirectly (O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992) and mostly assume a position of helplessness (McCormick, 1979).

LaPlante, McCormick and Brannigan (1980) found that both men and women reported using behaviours consistent with the traditional sexual script more frequently to initiate and avoid sexual intercourse. Although women were less likely to adopt the role of initiator, they did initiate sex at times, and were guided by the same script as men,

... [women] did not differ in the behaviour and strategies men used to indicate a desire for sexual activity nor in the verbal and non-verbal behaviours they used to initiate sex (LaPlante, McCormick & Brannigan, 1980, p.338).

Despite the traditional standard for men and women, the past two decades have seen attitudes shifting towards the egalitarian view (De Lamater & MacCorquodale, 1979). These attitudinal shifts may have been precipitated by a range of events including the rise of feminism, the fact that it may no longer be profitable to promote women in traditional roles any longer or even the breakdown of the nuclear family. However, subsequently, sexual behaviour appeared more permissive. McCormick (1979) contends that many contemporary college students reject the sexual double standard by sanctioning premarital intercourse for men and women. The author suggests that a liberal single standard which permits premarital intercourse is being followed (McCormick, 1979). Even though this research does not focus on marital relationships it would be interesting to observe if a more permissive sexual script exists for single people and how this may impact on marital relationships.

O'Sullivan and Byers (1992) investigated whether a traditional or egalitarian script guides initiation behaviour in dating couples. They did this by examining the

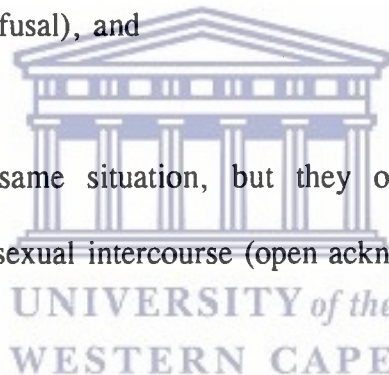
frequency in which 50 men and 55 women reported the frequencies of sexual initiations over a two-week period. The authors found that men and women are guided by a similar sexual script with regard to considering and responding to initiations. However, men are still the predominant initiators of sexual activity (McCormick, 1979; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992). Contrary to the expectation of the traditional sexual script that men present in a direct and assertive manner (McCormick, 1979), research indicates that men and women largely initiate by using indirect verbal and/or non-verbal messages (La Plante, McCormick & Brannigan, 1980; Muehlenhard, 1988).

Further, Muehlenhard and McCoy (1991) consulted 403 college women, investigating the hypothesis that the sexual double standard, which gives more sexual freedom to men than women, might in some situations make women reluctant to acknowledge their desire for sexual intercourse. The authors used the Deaux and Major's (1987) interactive model of gender-related behaviours. Implicit in this model is the influence of proximal behaviour or situational causes of behaviour. Proximal behaviour would account for the expectations conveyed by the perceiver as well as the situational pressures. It explains the differences between women and men in terms of the distinct expectations and schemas that people have for both sexes. It also explains individual variations between the sexes in view of the divergent expectations and schemas that people have of women and men. The theory suggests that people behave in a way that they can communicate favourable information about themselves according to what they perceive the audiences' values to be (Baumeister, 1982; cited in Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). According to these theories women and men

behave and assume a more gender-stereotyped role when interacting with someone whom they perceive to be traditional, and tend not to disclose non-traditional gender-role attitudes.

In Muehlenhard and McCoy's (1991) study, the women were asked whether they had been in situations in which:

- (a) they were with a man who wanted to have sexual intercourse, and they wanted to have sexual intercourse with him, but they indicated that they did not want to do so (scripted refusal), and
- (b) they were in the same situation, but they openly acknowledged their willingness to have sexual intercourse (open acknowledgement).



The authors found that 62.6% of the sample of women had acknowledged openly their desire for sexual intercourse with a new partner at least once, and most of these incidents (69.4%) occurred within the past year. However, 37.2% of women had engaged in scripted refusal with a new partner at least once. Most of these incidents (66.0%) occurred within the past year and 86.0% were within the past two years of the study. Among the women who had engaged in voluntary sexual intercourse with a man, 40.2% had engaged in scripted refusal. The authors found that 36.0% of the scripted refusal incidents had resulted in sexual intercourse, where men were the predominant initiators.

The findings of this study suggest that women who responded with scripted refusal believed that their partners accepted the sexual double standard and expected the women to respond accordingly. In about half the cases, women initially said 'no' to sex, but reported to have changed their minds in the end. The authors emphasize that the traditional sexual script and the sexual double standard are conducive to rape in many ways. A substantial percentage of scripted refusals (36.0%), resulted in sexual intercourse. The authors conclude that the sexual double standard puts women in a awkward double bind. A woman who wants to have sexual intercourse with a new partner has a difficult choice. She can acknowledge her desire and risk being labelled "loose," or "easy," or she can refrain from acknowledging it, and opt to engage in scripted refusal (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). These results impact directly on this research. On the one hand it suggests that a significant number (62.6%) of women in this study report to feel comfortable about openly acknowledging their desire to relate sexually. However, a smaller number (37.2%) but significant number of women reported to not do so openly which highlights how many women occupy an intermediate position, where they engage sexually but do not feel absolutely comfortable to articulate their need and desire in this regard. This study suggests that significant shifts have occurred for women, however the shifts need to take into account the complex nature of communication and therefore token resistance. Often this communication may be accompanied by a sense of confusion and frustration of not always knowing what to do and how to behave, as it directly contradicts the traditional script.

Furthermore, there has been a reported shift in the traditional sexual script for women, like the sanctioning of premarital intercourse for both sexes and the fact that women and men are moving towards convergent roles regarding their sexual experiences. The woman's role as "gatekeeper" then seems to be less mandatory, and the man's preoccupation with sex does not appear to permeate dating relationships (McCormick, 1979; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992). However, many studies provide evidence that the traditional sexual script may still be in operation (LaPlante, McCormick & Brannigan, 1980; McCormick, 1979;). A more accurate perception is that while there have been shifts in the sexual script, men and women still ascribe to the traditional sexual script with regard to initiation of sexual intercourse. While women may not occupy the role of "gatekeeper" any longer, men have not yet been emancipated of their role as initiators of sexual activity (Komarovsky, 1976; McCormick, 1979; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992). The participants in the study by O'Sullivan & Byers (1992), reported more pleasure from the sexual interaction when the man initiated sex as opposed to the woman. Possible explanations offered are that men may be more adept at using initiation behaviours or that participants may have felt more comfortable when the man initiated as he had assumed an expected and familiar role (O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992). This finding suggests that the cultural stereotype regarding men being the initiator of sex is still intact. Another explanation for women and men feeling more comfortable with men initiating sexual activity is the impact of the perception that a woman who openly acknowledges or initiates sexual activity is seen as "cheap" but may also be seen as a prostitute. Women who want respect from their men must know their place. Even though this perception is changing, significant societal, inter- and intrapersonal shifts have not yet taken place.

Given women's subordinate position in society, the ability to enact and express fully their sexual lives is curtailed by the sexual double standard. It is this situation that gives rise to token resistance. Although there may be some benefit for certain women who engage in token resistance, these are outweighed by the negative consequences. It is not only the emotional aspects that are important but also the issue of physical danger, especially rape and other abuse.

However, despite the inherent dangers of the sexual double standard and the consequent token resistance, it is not realistic or fair to expect women alone to make the shift and communicate differently in an unsupportive and unrewarding environment.



2.5 **THE SEXUAL ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOUR OF UNIVERSITY STUDENTS**

Researchers report that students have become more liberated in their sexual behaviour and attitudes in the past two decades. This is evident in how they display increased liberal codes of sexuality with fewer gender differences for sexual attitudes and behaviours for men and women (McCormick, 1979; Nicholas, 1993; O'Sullivan & Byers, 1992).

... premarital intercourse was found to have increased consistently with fewer differences in attitudes and behaviour of male and female students (Robinson & Jedlicka, 1982; cited in Nicholas, 1993, p.39).

Although the literature reports an increase in premarital intercourse for males and females, Nicholas (1993) highlights the tension around sexual attitudes and practices by indicating that there is simultaneous evidence of increased disapproval for premarital sexual intercourse. Even though men and women appear to be moving towards convergent positions in certain areas of sexuality, differences in how they negotiate relationships still persist. People mostly fear articulating issues associated with their sexuality.

Students, particularly the adolescent group, rarely have expressed their sexuality except through masturbation, fantasies, and awareness of erotic and or loving feelings for others. This manner of sexuality expression may cause guilt feelings (Sarrel & Sarrel, 1979; cited in Nicholas, 1993, p.39).

In South Africa, censorship has impacted on parents, who perceive themselves as the primary disseminators and agents of sexuality. Yet, they are often uncomfortable with the topic of sexuality and deal with it by denying that both they and their children have such facets (Nicholas & Daniels, 1994). Thompson (1990) demonstrates in her study the adverse effect on young girls' sexuality when there is poor communication between child and parent(s). The author writes, 'girls described their first coitus as if [they were] under posthypnotic suggestion to suppress, "it was something that just happened'" (p.343). Often girls and later women deny their sexual volition because of the messages they have received from their parents and teachers, as well as the language of denial to which they are exposed (Thompson, 1990; Tolman, 1991).

Until 1993, the South African educational system provided poor guidance and resources to black schools, which manifests in various ways including limited psychological support and a subsequent lack of sex counselling (Nicholas & Daniels, 1994). The consequence of this is that young adults and particularly women arrive at universities without a sound sexual education, which renders them particularly vulnerable to the impact of sexually-related problems (Nicholas & Daniels, 1994). This scenario limits the opportunity to openly discuss and wrestle with the issue of sexuality and could later present society with serious and seemingly insurmountable problems.

2.6 **SEXUAL HARASSMENT AND RAPE**

According to Van Zyl (1986) South Africa has the highest known crime rate in the world, of which women are often the victims through acts of rape and other abuse. Vogelman (1990) asserts that the 'frightening effects rape has on women's lives and its increasing occurrence make an understanding of the crime and its perpetrators of utmost importance' (p.1). Vogelman (1990) purports that the sexual and rape myths that have helped to protect rapists and men's dominant position in society, need to be exposed and dispelled in an attempt at understanding the topic. According to the court record statistics for attempted rape and rape in South Africa for the periods of 1993-1994 was that 8553 faced prosecution out of which 4325 was convicted (Crimes: Prosecutions and Convictions, 1993-1994). In personal communication with Rape Crisis they offered that out of the 204 recorded clients they saw for 1994 at least 60% was a result of acquaintance rape. Rape Crisis, quoting from police records indicate

that for 1994, 31 107 rapes were reported, however according to this source the police projections are that more than a million (1 123 045) rapes occur each year, with 3079 per day, 128 per hour and 1 every 28 seconds (Washkansky & Long, 1995, personal communication).

Van Zyl (1986) contextualises the high rate of violence according to the mode of maintaining the existing hierarchy of power in society through the use of militarism. This extends into the arena of personal relationships where there is a legitimisation of violence. The author purports that men are socialised into active, aggressive roles and encouraged to challenge and compete with any resistance they encounter, disallowing any space for criticism and negotiation around power relationships (Van Zyl, 1986). A common rape myth is that the rape survivor really wanted 'it'. These myths are encouraged by popular films which show women initially resisting sexual advance and then being swept away by their sexual desires. Pornographic books and films also depict this more graphically as a popular theme. Token resistance to sexual intercourse may lend credence to this myth and therefore requires greater scrutiny than the current very limited published literature attests to.

Despite the attention political and women's organisations have given to the issue of rape - it remains an urgent concern. Recently, new attempts were made by concerned organisations and especially the Women's Liberation Movements to support women against the less-than sympathetic attitudes of policemen, doctors and others with whom the victim of rape may need to interact. This was done by setting up a special

network in an attempt at ameliorating the secondary victimization as well as the traumatic implications for the victim (Abrahams, 1995, personal communication).

In addition, research over the years has concentrated on various variables and theories in an attempt at understanding why rape occurs (Amir, 1971). A study done by Aizenman & Kelley (1988) on college students in America indicated that a high percentage of women and men have experienced violence and acquaintance rape in their dating relationships. The authors posit that more than 22.0% of all freshman and sophomore women in a study had been forced to have sex against their will. Koss (1985) in a national survey on relationships between men and women, reported that one quarter of the women studied were victims of rape, and almost 90.0% of them knew their assailant. Koss and Oros (1982) studied the circumstances surrounding campus sexual assault and found that the majority of assailants had known their victims socially at least once before. The authors found that some victims were even romantically involved with their assailants prior to the assault and had previously engaged in sexual activity with that partner. Supporting this notion, Vogelmann (1990) writes that unlike the popularly held assumption, 'the rapist is not always an uninhibited, aggressive psychopath, a psychotic, an imbecile or a sex maniac who lurks in dark alleys. He is in most cases a friend, an acquaintance, a date, father or a husband. The rapist is usually what society calls a normal man' (p.1).

Malamuth & Check (1981) found that males were more accepting of interpersonal violence, rape myths and adversarial relationships than females. Because of the

adversarial nature of relationships the rape victim is often blamed because she may be considered by others as being provocative, by "leading the man on" by suggestion, or by dressing inappropriately (Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988). Rape myths still thrive and remain intact, and often if women flaunt their sexuality, dress immodestly [as relative as these terms may be] they are considered to be "rape bait" (Muehlenhard & MacNaughton, 1988). Men are seen to be rightful and justified for raping such women.

Rape is a serious problem that is woven into the fabric of relationships. Check & Malamuth (1983) reported in their study that 44.0% of the men in their sample indicated some predisposition to raping. In addition, Koss and Oros (1982) found a great inconsistency when only 25.0% of men admitted to sexual aggression as opposed to 54.0% of college women reporting that they had been sexually victimized. There may be various explanations to account for this discrepancy. The authors make the point that men do not necessarily interpret their actions in the same way as women do, and this may account for the discrepancy to some extent.

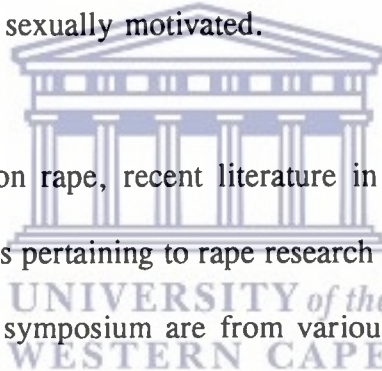
The feminist view is that we are living in a rape culture that supports the abuse of women through movies, television, advertising and magazines (Brownmiller, 1975). In addition, the adversarial sexual beliefs are fundamentally exploitative, sly, manipulative, opaque and untrusting (Burt, 1980). To people who hold this view of male and female sexuality, rape might seem the extreme on the continuum of exploitation but should not be an unexpected or horrifying occurrence (Burt, 1980). Furthermore, the popular feminist explanation of rape is that men seek power,

control, violence and/or domination instead of sex (Palmer, 1988). Although this position has received a great deal of support, Palmer (1988) examined twelve arguments to test the "not a sex" hypothesis for rape. In his work he looked closely if sexual motivation can be automatically excluded from the act of rape (Palmer, 1988). He found that all twelve of the arguments put forward suggesting that rape was not sexually motivated, were either logically unsound, based on inaccurate definitions, untestable or inconsistent with the actual behaviour of rapists.

The development of the debate of whether rape is a sexually motivated act was first put forth and gained lots of support in the 1970s when rape was seen as a manifestation of patriarchy (Palmer, 1988). Whilst there were researchers who emphatically supported the view that rape is a symptom of patriarchy and motivated by power and control alone, there were other researchers who split their leanings by supporting the feminist viewpoint but who felt that the sexual motivation in rape could not be excluded (Palmer, 1988).

Palmer (1988) contends that the core issue in evaluating the "not sex" explanation of rape is to understand the rapists' motivation for using his sex organ in a way that constitutes rape. The proponents of the "not sex" explanation hold that the occurrence of rape cannot be accounted for by the hypothesis that sexual stimulation is the goal in rape. Instead, they hold that rape can only be explained by the hypothesis that sex is just a means used to attain the goals of power, control, domination, and violence (Palmer, 1988). Palmer (1988) asserts that the issue concerning motivation creates problems as it is a covert entity existing solely in the

minds of individuals (either consciously or unconsciously). Further, the problem with viewing motivation as covert is that such an entity is not externally identifiable and testable. Palmer (1988) concludes that there is evidence which does not justify the denial of sexual motivation in the act of rape and thus should not be overlooked. One of the arguments forwarded as "not a sex" explanation is that, rape is not sexually motivated because rapes are often 'premeditated'. Palmer (1988) responds that both spontaneous and premeditated rapes occur. He questions the assumption that all sexuality motivated behaviour is seen as spontaneous and negates this view by citing examples of consensual sexual acts such as affairs and seductions which are often planned and still considered sexually motivated.



In addition to the debates on rape, recent literature in the form of a symposium discussed controversial issues pertaining to rape research (Muehlenhard, 1994). The authors contributing to this symposium are from various backgrounds of research, therapy, rape prevention and programming and political activism (Muehlenhard, 1994). This symposium which hosted this discussion raised several significant issues. Neil Gilbert, professor of social welfare at the University of California, and Katie Roiphe the author of "The Morning After: Sex, Fear, and Feminism on Campus", and other critics were challenged for accusing feminist researchers of exaggerating the statistics of rape (Muehlenhard, 1994). Some of the issues raised in the symposium were Gilbert's (1991) charge that there is a 'phantom epidemic of sexual assault'. As well as, Roiphe's (1993) criticism of Koss' (1987) research concerning the frequently cited rape statistics. Gilbert (1991) and Roiphe (1993) frequently refer to amongst other research, Koss' (1987) study in which she studied 3 187 women and

2 972 men at 32 randomly selected colleges across the United States (Muehlenhard, 1994). Koss (1987) asked women about their experiences as victims, and men about the experiences as perpetrators of various form of sexual coercion (Muehlenhard, 1994). Muehlenhard (1994) reports the result found by Koss (1987) that one in four college women had experienced either rape or attempted rape since age fourteen. More than fifteen percent (15.4%) had been raped, and an additional 12.1% had experienced attempted rape. Roiphe (1993, p.52; in Muehlenhard, 1994, p.144) questioning the amounts forwarded by Koss and her colleagues (1987) write, 'If 25 percent of my female friends were really being raped, wouldn't I know it?'

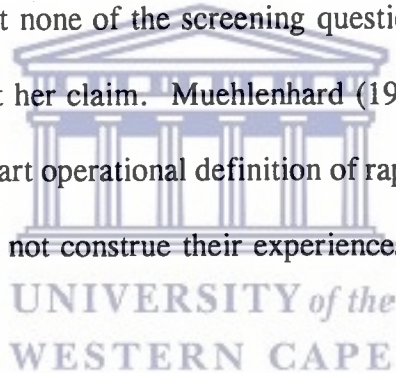
In addition, Roiphe (1993) and Gilbert (1991) criticised Muehlenhard and Scherag (1991) for exaggerating the prevalence of rape (Muehlenhard, 1994). Muehlenhard and Scherag (1991) in the chapter entitled 'Nonviolent sexual coercion', examine several forms of sexual coercion that is not classified as rape. However, the authors highlight that the omission from the legal classification of rape, does not underestimate the 'powerful and insidious' effects these forms of communication have on women in our society (p.144). The forms of sexual coercion include discrimination against lesbians which forces them to choose between sex they do not want, i.e., heterosexual sex and no sex at all. Further, assumptions about the nature of marriage, which make it difficult for wives to refuse unwanted sex with their husbands; Roiphe's (1993) focus on verbal sexual coercion, i.e., "unwanted sexual activity because of a man's verbal arguments, not including verbal threats of physical force" (p.144) were also discussed (Muehlenhard, 1994). In addition, Gilbert (1991) and Roiphe (1993) raised an issue they considered contentious to Koss' research in

which the author cites that 73% of women researched in their study fitted the definition of being raped. The issue raised by Gilbert (1991) and Roiphe (1993) is that the women concerned did not regard themselves as rape victims. Gilbert (1991) implied that it is insulting of Koss and her colleagues (1987) to decide for women what their experiences have been (p.145). Whilst Gilbert's (1991) point should be taken seriously that women have been disempowered in the past and such perpetuation should be curbed, therefore to tell women what they experienced could further alienate them from owning their experiences. However, it is also important to contextualise the Koss' (1987) position. If women have been raped and are experiencing severe abuse it is therefore imperative for researchers to sensitively highlight this and to bring this inequity to light. To not do this or to expect with women being disempowered by an unsupportive and hostile system to suddenly write about a horrendous experience is not realistic. A non-linear and dialectical approach that draws on both the subjective and the objective reporting of information seems a more viable research solution. This may empower women who wish to develop and grow from the knowledge that the research provides.

Muehlenhard (1994) responding to the charges of Gilbert (1991) and Roiphe (1993) criticised their 'distorted interpretations as exaggerated'. Muehlenhard (1994) writes, 'Koss found that one in four women had experienced either rape or attempted rape. Roiphe (1993) distorted this finding to say that 'sex is, in one in four cases, against your will' (p.144). Clearly, saying that one in four women has experienced rape or attempted rape, as Koss (1987) did, is different from saying that one in four cases of

sex is involuntary; as Koss (1987) is reported to have interpreted the research' (Muehlenhard, 1994, p.144).

Both Gilbert (1991) and Roiphe (1993) compared Koss' (1987) lifetime prevalence rates with annual incidence rates obtained from unreliable sources (Muehlenhard, 1994). For example, Gilbert (1991) cited in the 'National Crime Surveys that uncovered only about one case of rape per thousand women per year (an annual rate of 0.1%)' (Muehlenhard, 1994, p.144). Muehlenhard (1994) charges that the National crime Surveys have been notoriously unreliable sources of data on rape for many reasons, including that none of the screening questions even asked about rape and cites research to support her claim. Muehlenhard (1994) further comments that Koss (1987) developed a 3-part operational definition of rape and makes the point that even though the women did not construe their experiences as rape it does not mean it is not rape.



Muehlenhard (1994) contends that researchers must be cautious not to collude and constrain their research and usage of words and suggest that rape is rape. She cites Esterich (1987) who contends that acquaintance rape does not always get seen as "real rape" (p.144). Societal understanding and empathy towards acquaintance rape is one of concern as it is not always regarded as real. Instead, there is often a stronger belief that it is a misunderstanding, and consequently goes unreported. Thus, the psychological trauma, disillusionment, and self-blame the victim experiences, compounds the effect of the assault.

In this context, the incidence of token resistance therefore becomes an understandable behaviour. Antioch College in Ohio drew attention with their code of sexual conduct mandating explicit verbal consent at each stage of a sexual interaction (Muehlenhard, 1994). The Antioch scenario highlighted the urgency of sexual negotiation for the sake of safety, but it also drew attention negative attention with media and some authors accusing the College for going too far with this issue (Muehlenhard, 1994).

2.7 **TOKEN RESISTANCE**

Muehlenhard and her associates (1993; 1991; 1988) have conducted most of the work on token resistance, with only few other published reports being available. Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) introduced particular categories of Practical, Inhibition-Related and Manipulative Reasons for participating in token resistance which contain specific themes. These categories were identified as significant by women who have reported to have used token resistance to sex for the following reasons. The categories are as follows:

2.7.1 **Practical Reasons**

These include a fear of appearing promiscuous, concern about the nature of the relationship, uncertainty about their partners' feelings, and a fear of contracting a sexually transmitted disease.

2.7.2 **Manipulative Reasons**

Manipulative reasons comprise game playing, anger towards the partner, and a desire to be in control.

2.7.3 **Inhibition-related Reasons**

Inhibition-related reasons involve emotional, religious or moral concerns about sex, the fear of physical discomfort and embarrassment about one's body, which correlated with the traditional sexual script (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988). The authors found that those women who used token resistance for manipulative reasons were less traditional and more liberated in their attitudes regarding their sexuality. Whilst women who used token resistance for inhibitive reasons were observed to be absolutely traditional in their lifestyles, women who used it for practical reasons were found to be in an intermediate position (that is, between the traditional and the liberated roles) (Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh, 1988).

Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) findings regarding the use of token resistance was corroborated by Harrison, Downes and Williams (1991) in their research on communication patterns between men and women and how these often culminate in abuse. The authors considered initial activities in relationships such as who initiated, who paid, and where the date took place (Harrison, Downes & Williams, 1991). They found that these activities correlated with eventual levels of intimacy and that the women in their sample group engaged in token resistance.

In the University of Cape Town (UCT) Report on Sexual Harassment (1991) it also emerged that token resistance was an option certain women students used when they related to men around issues concerning intimacy.

Women discussing rape:

I think a lot of girls do that: they say, no, no, meanwhile they actually want it. It's expected by men that women say "no" the first time they are asked on a date, so when they say "no" they don't mean it's a final answer.

But you men know when we say "no" and we really mean "ask me another time". You know that we say it differently.

How do you say it?

Like this, "nooo" [Participant looked coy, head down, but with eyes looking upward ...]



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Men discussing date rape in the UCT Report were quoted as saying:

To people like us ... even if you can have a lady ... there will be some resistance of some sort. It is left to you to read between the lines whether this is a real resistance or a make believe. [This is] a normal type of behaviour which we are used to from ladies: before you have sex you must struggle first.

In subsequent research, Muehlenhard and McCoy (1991) explores the reasons why women use token resistance. The author highlights that there are various reasons including that of the sexual double standard. The double standard suggests that unless a woman is in a committed relationship, she cannot acknowledge that she wants to engage in sex for fear of appearing promiscuous. Hence, even if she wants to engage in sex, she has to say 'no' (Muehlenhard, 1991).

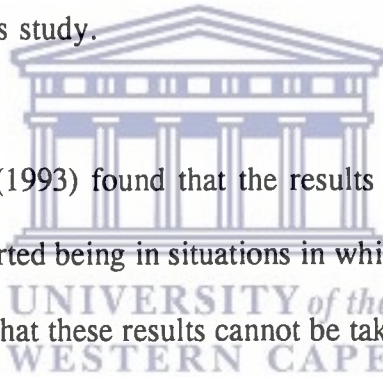
More recently, Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1993) in a paper entitled, "Token resistance to sex: Challenging a sexist stereotype", investigated the phenomena of token resistance by extending the repertoire by:

- (a) asking men and women to describe in their own words what happened, rather than presenting them with a situation;
- (b) including the reports of both women and men, as opposed to just women; and,
- (c) including sexual behaviour other than sexual intercourse and allowed for respondents to write about both heterosexual and homosexual encounters, as opposed to heterosexual accounts alone as in the past studies.

This extended repertoire has offered insights about the involvement of men in token resistance, as well as allowed for the actual voices of women's and men's experience of token resistance to be heard across the continuum of sexual orientation.

Previous studies cited by Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1993) found that over a third of the women sampled reported that they said 'no' to sexual intercourse at least once, when in fact they were willing to and intended to engage in this behaviour (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988; Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991). The reason for changing the approach was multi-faceted including the suggestions by Shotland & Hunter (1991; cited in Muehlenhard & Rodgers, 1993) that the results pertaining to token resistance may as a result of memory consolidation, not be accurate. In this

case the woman may initially have said 'no' and meant 'no', but was eventually persuaded reluctantly to engage in sexual intercourse. The woman proceeds to have sex without ever actually saying 'yes'. When responding to the questionnaire, such a woman might recall saying 'no' and engaging in sexual intercourse willingly without ever having said 'yes'. She might then report that she said 'no' and meant 'yes'. Thus, it would appear that she behaved consistently with the sexual script, when perhaps she did not. The concern about using a particular methodology and assuming that it is the accomplished fact is a concern raised in the above research and also for this study therefore the unpacking of the term token resistance was favoured through utilising focus groups in this study.



Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1993) found that the results of this study indicated that more men than women reported being in situations in which they said 'no' and meant 'yes'. The authors caution that these results cannot be taken at face value. Although the respondents have been asked to write about situations in which they said 'no' and meant 'yes', their narratives revealed that many had described, saying 'no' and meaning 'no', even though in some ways they wanted to have sex. As an example, many described being sexually aroused but deciding not to engage in sex because they did not know the other person well enough or did not have a condom. Others described saying 'no' and meaning 'maybe', and explained their ambivalence through concern that their partner was interested in them only for sex and [therefore] said 'no' to ascertain how the partner would respond. Their intentions to engage in sexual intercourse were contingent on their partner's response to their refusals. The authors identified several themes from narratives which resembled token resistance, saying

'no' but meaning 'yes'. The themes included, interest in an ongoing sexual relationship, wanting to engage in behaviours other than fast, goal-oriented sexual intercourse, and issues of control.

Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1993) found that the results of this study contradict many previous assumptions. According to the traditional sexual script, token resistance:

- (a) is used by most women, and only by women;
- (b) occurs primarily in sexual situations involving new partners; and
- (c) is used for manipulative reasons to mislead the partner.

The authors found none of these assumptions to be true, and the results further suggest that both men and women engage in token resistance infrequently and most commonly, in ongoing relationships when both partners are aware of it. Furthermore, the stereotype that women engage in such behaviour for Manipulative Reasons to mislead their partner also seems inaccurate. In fact, the most manipulative account came from a man who described this as an excellent strategy to seduce women (Muehlenhard & Rodgers, 1993). The authors suggest that the prevalence of token resistance reported in previous studies may not be as accurate, as participants in those studies may have also misinterpreted the questionnaire and that consequently the actual prevalence of token resistance may be much lower than indicated.

Muehlenhard, Giusti and Rodgers (1993) extended the research on token resistance by administering questionnaires to 219 male and 256 female European American college students. Participants were asked to complete one of two questionnaires, both of which began with a definition of the concept of token resistance. One questionnaire asked respondents to describe their own token resistance experience (Experience Questionnaire). And, the other asked respondents to describe college men and women who engage in token resistance (Stereotype Questionnaire). In both cases, respondents were asked to write a factual or fictional story that would fit the definition of token resistance.

The authors found that out of the 241 respondents who completed the Experience Questionnaire only 53 women (30.0%) and 38 men (16.0%) understood the concept of token resistance. Only 60 women (26.0%) and 36 men (15.0%) out of the 233 respondents who completed the Stereotype Questionnaire understood the concept of token resistance. Because more than half of the sample did not understand the concept of token resistance it was difficult to estimate the precise prevalence of persons who had engaged in this behaviour. Of the students who understood the concept of token resistance on the Experience Questionnaire, 39.6% of women and 21.1% of men reported engaging in token resistance. However, when the authors calculated the percentage of those who engaged in token resistance, the prevalence rates for women dropped to 18.3% to 7.3% for men.

On the Stereotype Questionnaire, 96.7% of women and 91.4% of men thought that women sometimes engage in token resistance. Seventy-five percent of women and

86.1% of men thought that men sometimes engage in token resistance (Muehlenhard, Giusti and Rodgers, 1993). The frequency analysis of token resistance recorded for those respondents who understood the concept or engaged in token resistance in the past, was 7.3 times for women and 16.6 times for men. More than two thirds of both the men and women who reported engaging in token resistance claimed to have done so fewer than 6 times.

Women who engaged in token resistance reported doing so most frequently (47.6%) in relationships in which they had been having sexual intercourse for a long time. However, 62.5% of men held the stereotype that women used token resistance most frequently before the couple has ever had sexual intercourse. In addition, respondents' stereotypes about why college women and men engage in token resistance centred around reasons that are related to the beginning of a relationship in which sexual intercourse has not already occurred. Some of the reasons included; that it was too early to say 'yes'; that they did not want to appear too eager; or they had inhibitions about engaging in sexual intercourse.

In contrast, self-reports from students who had engaged in token resistance revealed that they were significantly less concerned with issues regarding the beginning of a relationship. Women who said 'no' when they meant 'yes' reported doing so for reasons related to increasing sexual arousal and a desire not to be taken for granted. Men who said 'no' when they meant 'yes' reported doing so for reasons related to increasing sexual arousal (Muehlenhard, Giusti & Rodgers, 1993) - this is popularly known as the tease.

Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova and Levitskaya (1994) pursued a study on token resistance by using self-administered questionnaires on men and women college students from three countries, the United States (U.S.), Russia and Japan. In addition to exploring token resistance they explored a second form of sexual miscommunication, consent to unwanted sex. The survey data was collected from 1519 unmarried college students (970 from the U.S., 327 from Russia, and 222 from Japan).

The authors found that contrary to the stereotype that only women engage in token resistance to sex, men too engaged in token resistance (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova and Levitskaya, 1994). The study findings revealed that men and women have engaged in token resistance at least once - 44.0% and 38.0% of U.S. respondents; 48.0% and 59.0% of Russian respondents; and, 21.0% and 37.0% of Japanese men and women, respectively. The results indicate that in the U.S. sample more men than women engaged in token resistance to sex. This pattern emerged across all three U.S. college locations (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994). These findings are consistent with the findings of a recent study conducted by Muehlenhard and Rodgers (1993) who also found that more men (61.0%) than women (34.0%) reported having engaged in token resistance to sex at least once.

However, reverse gender differences were found in Russia and Japan, where more women than men had engaged in token resistance to sex. Furthermore, this study suggests that proportionately more U.S. women (55.0%) than Russian (32.0%), and

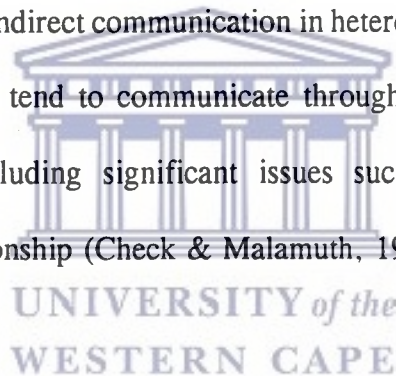
Japanese (27.0%) women reported to have consented to unwanted sex. There were no cultural differences amongst the men. In attempting to explain the enigma of why U.S. women are more vulnerable to sexual pressure, the authors attribute the changing sexual norms of society in which women are caught in the middle of a social revolution. In addition, they suggest that U.S. men persist until women succumb; or that women no longer possess the traditional "excuses" for avoiding premarital sex and have not yet developed the interpersonal skills required to assert themselves - to say 'no' when they don't want to engage sexually (Sprecher, Hatfield, Cortese, Potapova, & Levitskaya, 1994).

2.8 DOES TOKEN RESISTANCE BECOME A COMMUNICATION STYLE?

The area of communication is vast and beyond the scope of this thesis. However, brief exploration of the area is offered. Ordinarily communication is often taken for granted. Most people equate communication with speech primarily. However, Blakar (1979) suggests that meaning can be expressed in many forms. Emotions can be conveyed by facial expressions, eye contact, body language and by vocalizations such as sighs, moans, chuckles, and snorts. Blakar (1979) contends that communication generally becomes an interest of most people as most problems one probes into is connected with language and communication, and mainly verbal communication. Blakar (1979) claims that it is through verbal communication that we announce ourselves and get into contact with other humans. Furthermore, it is through 'language that the reality is grasped and conceptualised as well as inherited

from generation to generation' (Blakar, 1979, p.109). Moreover, it is generally accepted that power can be exerted through language, and that it can preserve, convey and reflect particular values, that is, 'sex-role patterns [in Norwegian] gave a striking indication of how the language itself expresses particular interests of a male dominated society' (Blakar, 1979). Language is a linguistic tool which often may convey underlying and unspoken messages. Interpretation of language extends far beyond the dictionary meaning and the art of encoding and decoding language remains an area of relevance and intrigue to social scientists and researchers.

The literature suggests that indirect communication in heterosexual relationships is not unusual. Men and women tend to communicate through inferences about various things in relationships including significant issues such as whether another is interested in a sexual relationship (Check & Malamuth, 1983; Muehlenhard, 1988).



Nonverbal communication, an area which is under researched, is thought to be a means which can establish intimacy as effectively as words, when it is received correctly, or it can cause havoc and even intractable damage when misunderstood. Assuming the man interprets the woman's expressions (body language, or dress code) incorrectly, when she says 'no', he considers this to be a token response. This may not only lead to miscommunication but can contribute to the eventual levels of abuse and even rape (Muehlenhard, 1988).

In studies undertaken by various authors including Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) it was found that boys more than girls interpreted almost everything girls

wore, their dating activities and behaviour more sexually than what girls did. In addition, in a separate study, the author found that both men and women rated women more willing to have sex if the woman asked the man out, rather than hinting or waiting for him to ask her out (Muehlenhard, 1988; Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). Generally, the author found that men were more likely to overestimate a woman's desire to have sex. These findings are problematic, because if cues are misunderstood and the behaviour is pursued, women could easily become vulnerable victims of abuse and rape. Thus, it is important to examine interactions in heterosexual relationships and to what extent token resistance is due to non-assertiveness. The issue of assertiveness is briefly explored.

2.9

ASSERTIVE VERSUS UNASSERTIVE BEHAVIOUR



Eisler, Frederiksen and Peterson (1978) suggest that researchers often assume that individuals may be functionally unassertive because of generalised social anxiety which inhibits their assertive expression. Or, that unassertive people lack requisite interpersonal skills in their repertoires. The authors concede that the presence of social anxiety or the apparent lack of social repertoire does not account for all the possible reasons why an individual may fail to exhibit assertiveness in particular situations. The authors cite research to support the argument that assertiveness could be attributed to the stimulus properties of the interpersonal situation. In their research they found that male psychiatric patients were more assertive when they interacted with women than when they interacted with men. In addition, the sample exhibited more assertion towards strangers than towards individuals with whom they had

continuing relationships (Eisler, Frederiksen & Peterson, 1978). This research suggests that people may feel more threatened to assert and consequently expose themselves to people known to them. As a partial explanation to this confidence and assertiveness expressed towards strangers, and men towards women as opposed to men, is that there may be an experienced sense of comfort where there is perceived and enjoyed power in the relationship. To those you know and perceive to enjoy power parity it may be difficult to expose inner feelings for the fear of being relegated into a less powerful position (Eisler, Frederiksen & Peterson, 1978).

Similarly, Fiedler & Beach (1978) contend that prior to acting either assertively or non-assertively, people weigh the consequences that could be expected to result from either behaviour. Based on this, they then select the behaviour that appears most favourable (Fiedler & Beach, 1978). According to this view the decision to act assertively is not a present or absent trait. Instead, it varies from situation-to-situation according to the consequences expected by the person involved. In addition, the authors contend that there are no obvious differences between those who are assertive as opposed to those who are unassertive (Fiedler & Beach, 1978).

A woman who is learning to be assertive may find that she was more highly valued when she was accommodating, self-denying and quiet (Fiedler & Beach, 1978, p.538).

Assertiveness may increase self-respect, but it might expose one to reactions from others which may be perceived as negative. This could influence and limit the use of assertiveness (Fiedler & Beach, 1978). Contrary to the understanding that people

must be taught assertiveness, the authors posit that there is enough evidence to suggest that people do know the appropriate assertive responses in hypothetical situations. However, the difficulty and difference between assertive and non-assertive groups arise when they have to actually confront interpersonal situations (Fiedler & Beach, 1978). The authors contend that assertive and non-assertive behaviour is less a matter of the person's "personality" or differences in their repertoire of skills. Instead, it is how people construe and evaluate the consequences of being assertive in various situations (Fiedler & Beach, 1978).

... the action that promises the larger expected gain (or the least expected loss) is the one to be selected (Fiedler & Beach, 1978, p.538).

2.10 CONCLUSION

The aforementioned literature by Muehlenhard and others makes it difficult to dismiss the existence of token resistance. However, whilst the actual behaviour is clear the underlying reasons have not been fully uncovered. The predominant view in the literature is that the ideological underpinnings of the sexual double standard which is promoted through socialisation, inherently promotes token resistance.

Token resistance is a facet of communication, which incorporates primarily verbal articulation but also includes non-verbal metacommunication - where people communicate with their eyes, nods, respond to agreed codes or sometimes need to uncode messages. Communication is a broad area which extends beyond the boundaries and focus of this thesis however it is important in that it presents this issue

of token resistance with challenges. The importance of the role of communication is validated by the research explored on assertiveness. A commonly held notion is that women who do not directly say what they want may be seen as unassertive. Whilst to some extent this may be accurate, it does not account for the entire picture. Research suggests that the decision to either act assertively or non-assertively is based on what the perceived rewards are for responding one way or the other.

Token resistance may thus be perceived as negative, and it is that when one looks dynamically at how it may compromise women's sense of power in relationships as well as expose them to abuse and especially rape. However, if this was the only outcome of token resistance, this form of communication would have been abandoned a long time ago. The existence of it speaks to how it must to some extent provide women with different experiences - where they do feel that they can fulfil some of their needs by using token resistance. In a strange way token resistance may in fact be a power tool women use for negotiating sexual intimacy. Instead of feeling and responding passively, they use the discourse to their perceived advantage for various reasons included in Muehlenhard's categories. However, of priority and concern is that token resistance can have negative consequences, both physically and emotionally. Especially when it occurs in new relationships where there is no baseline understanding between people. Some research on rape contradicts the belief that rape is motivated by violence and power alone. The acknowledgement of sexual motivation in rape increases the concern and opportunity for it to occur, especially in situations where people know each other.

In sum, token resistance is complex and requires research intervention into various aspects of relating. Presently, a fuller understanding of the reasons and nuances of token resistance is complicated by the lack of research, empirical evidence and consequent suggested interventions. Further research recommendation on token resistance is indicated in Chapter Five.

The next chapter will explore the methodology used in examining the issue of token resistance in this study.



CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

There is a general paucity in the literature on the sexuality of black women and particularly, on how their relationships are formed and maintained. With regard to token resistance, the literature reports that American women engage in token resistance. There is however, no clarity on how black American women, and particularly black South African women, negotiate relationships and perceive their sexuality. In addition, the literature does not provide an understanding of how other forces including class, race, culture, communication skills and age may impact on use of token resistance. Even though this particular research will not be focusing on the aforementioned factors it may allude to it at points.

3.1.1 AIM

The aim of this study is to explore whether single (unmarried) black university women students engage in "token resistance" within heterosexual relationships and, if so, to explore the nature of such token resistance.

This chapter will examine the benefits of employing a combination design of quantitative and qualitative methodologies. It will also expand on the instruments and

tools applied, as well as provide information on the participants and the procedures employed.

3.2 EXPERIMENTAL DESIGN AND METHOD

3.2.1 DESIGN

The present study incorporated a non-experimental design by utilising focus groups and a self-constructed structured questionnaire. To evaluate the benefits of a particular methodology, it is imperative to consider the goals of the study, the character and the nature of the sample (Mouton & Marais, 1990). Historically, quantitative research was considered to hold empirical reality as truth based on objectivity, and 'most research in psychology and psychiatry employed quantitative methods often using experimentation which is associated with the natural sciences' (Koning, 1979). Qualitative methods, on the other hand were observed with cynical scrutiny as subjective, biased, suspect and unrepresentative, or at best treated as a source of 'rich' anecdotal material which could only be subordinate to quantitative methods (Griffin, 1986).

Due to the bias towards the qualitative methods, as well as the limitations of the quantitative methods, it is often difficult for young researchers to make the decision about which method to employ. The decision is often tied up with what is considered to be the most credible at a particular time.

On reflection, a few questions emerge, which method(s) would be:

- (i) the most conducive to the subject matter?
- (ii) portray and illustrate the convictions and sentiments of the sample?

Both the qualitative and quantitative approaches seem to answer these questions most aptly. The qualitative approach is justified in creating space and the opportunity for people to relate their stories through conversation. Whilst the quantitative approach is a descriptive understanding of phenomena (Kirk & Miller, 1986), and is useful in helping the researcher to capture both biographical and topic-related information (Griffin, 1986). In this study, as is recommended by Morgan (1988) both methods will be utilised to facilitate the information gathering process of the occurrence and prevalence of token resistance. Phillips (1990) also makes a strong case for the combination approach and comments that there is little difference between qualitative and quantitative inquiry, 'bad work of either kind is equally to be deplored, and good work of either kind is still - at best - only tentative'. However, the good work in both qualitative and quantitative cases will be objective, in the sense that it is open to criticism, and the reasons and evidence offered in both cases would have withstood serious scrutiny. The work will have faced potential refutation and, insofar as it survived would also be regarded as worthy of further investigation (Phillips, 1990).

Griffin (1986) purports that quantitative techniques are different to qualitative methods, as they favour a positivistic approach which was developed from the natural sciences. Both methods have their advantages and limitations. Griffin (1986), in her pursuit of the advantages of the qualitative methods, focuses on the female experience. She recommends the qualitative method for its flexibility, and promotes

the use of a semi-structured group approach by including a number of pre-selected questions.

Expanding on the advantages of the qualitative approach, Skinner (1991) recommends this paradigm as it affords the actor the opportunity to articulate personal perceptions and interpretations and consequently derive authentic meaning which will facilitate the construction of a subjective definition of his/her social reality. Giorgi (1975) argues that inherent in psychology are the issues of approach, method and content, and emphasises that the approach of the researcher should be characterised by an attitude of openness. Such flexibility serves to enhance the collection of data, especially if the area of research is sensitive and complex (Miles & Huberman, 1984).

Griffin (1986) claims that the more traditional quantitative methods do not allow for the intricacies and complexities of certain issues like sexuality to emerge. Feminist researchers also support the implementation of qualitative methods to enhance an understanding of gender relations (Griffin, 1986; Schoepf, 1991; Thomson & Scott, 1990). Finch (1984) in her chapter entitled "It's great to have someone to talk to": the ethics and politics of interviewing women", looks at the issues raised by her own experience of doing social research of a qualitative variety with women. Feminists acknowledge the reality of power relations between the interviewer and the interviewee (Finch, 1984; Opie, 1992). For Finch (1984) personal, political, ethical, methodological and moral issues become a concern and need consideration.

✓ Finch (1984) recommends a less structured research strategy which avoids creating a hierarchical relationship between the interviewer and interviewee. Such a relationship would be inappropriate for a feminist doing research on women, because it would mean that 'we objectify our sisters'. Furthermore Finch (1984) suggests that a hierarchical relationship will inhibit the rapport, and go as far to say that women who interview women create a situation with special characteristics conducive for the easy flow of information. She understands this by saying that women more than men are accustomed to accepting intrusions through questioning into the more private parts of their lives. These include encounters in their own homes, their experience of motherhood and their subject to questioning by many health professionals or visitors. Another factor she draws on is that a woman-to-woman interview can easily take on the character of an intimate conversation. And finally, the structural position of women makes it more likely that women welcome the opportunity to talk to a sympathetic listener. She emphasises that however effective the male interviewer might be at getting women interviewees to talk, there is an additional dimension when the interviewer is also a woman. Both parties share a subordinate structural position by virtue of the gender, creating the possibility that a particular kind of identification would develop, and as a woman, one's identity provides entry into the interview situation. Finch (1984) postulates that women often base their trust in the woman interviewer because of her status and demeanour as a woman rather than anything to do with the research process. She cautions that if this is not respected, the vulnerability women often share could be exploited, and misused.

3.2.1.1 Interview Method

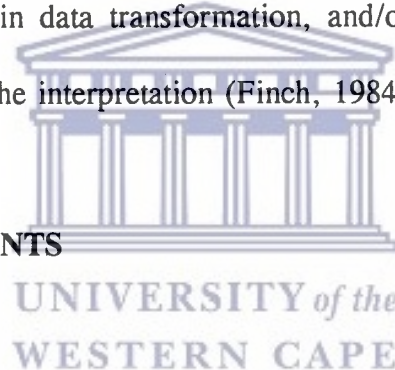
Recent social science research has witnessed the development of the applications and techniques of interviewing, and many kinds of social science enquiry now use interviews as a method of serious data collection (Brenner, Brown & Canter, 1985). The value of the interview system is lodged in acquiring the respondent's own accounts of specific areas, by "asking them", and through direct communication, the respondent and researcher can enhance and harness mutual understanding (Brenner, Brown & Canter, 1985). The assumptions underlying the use of interviews are that people can not only comment on their experiences and feelings, but also that such interchange is basic to their everyday life. The interview method consequently harnesses the daily-occurring activity of talk. The research situation, however, is a rather special conversational interaction. It has its own particular dynamics, such as interview style and setting, that has to be taken into account. Since the interview as a research tool is very flexible, it can deal with a variety of subject matter at different levels of detail and complexity (Brenner, Brown & Canter, 1985; Finch, 1984).

Furthermore, the interview method allows both parties to explore the meaning of the questions and answers involved, by implicitly and explicitly sharing and/or negotiating the understanding of certain issues (Bruner, 1987; Finch, 1984; Miles, 1992; Potter & Wetherall). If misunderstandings arise for either the interviewer or interviewee it can be clarified immediately in a way which is not possible when questionnaires are being completed or tests being performed (Bruner, 1987; Finch, 1984; Miles, 1992; Potter & Wetherall). Another advantage is the rapid and

immediate acquisition and collection of information which is not attainable in the quantitative methods (Finch, 1984).

Although the positive aspects of the interviewing method are persuasive, it could be disadvantageous if the topic is incompatible, and if the interviewer has poor interviewing skills, and poor time-management and organisational abilities (Finch, 1984). Furthermore, the face-to-face style could be experienced as intensive, especially if the topic is of a sensitive nature, and inadvertently allow for biases to occur which could lead to the invalidity of the material. Other disadvantages include memory decay, distortion in data transformation, and/or a lack of conceptual or theoretical schemes to aid the interpretation (Finch, 1984).

3.3 INSTRUMENTS



The present study incorporated two methods of data collection, by administering a questionnaire and running focus groups.

3.3.1 Questionnaires

The questionnaire administered, was adapted from Nickerson's Sexual History Questionnaire, and Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) broad areas of token resistance (Appendix B). This is a self-constructed questionnaire specifically tailored for the aims of the study. The results of this questionnaire will be assessed in combination with the process data available from the focus groups.

The questionnaire was designed to provide basic demographic data, including, age, marital status, religion, faculty of study. In addition, information regarding the women's sexuality, contraception, political involvement and token resistance were also investigated. The facilitator administered all the questionnaires.

3.3.2 **Focus Groups**

The focus group methodology was used to generate qualitative data for this study on token resistance. Women discussed sexuality and how they negotiate intimacy. This medium allowed all women to articulate their experiences in the company of other women and to find support or varying options to deal with relationship-related problems. In addition, a vignette was utilised to provide focused discussions.

3.3.2.1 **Vignettes - Scenarios**

Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) used vignettes to elicit the occurrence of token resistance by means of a quantitative study. The vignettes used in the second session of this study were identical to Muehlenhard's and were used in each group to facilitate discussion and to allow for members to focus on the area of token resistance (Appendix A). According to Miles and Huberman (1984) vignettes are helpful in formulating core issues and it provides the opportunity to engage study participants actively in producing, reflecting on, and learning from the data.

3.4 **SAMPLE**

Students eligible for inclusion in the sample pool had to satisfy the criteria of being single, black University of the Western Cape students, who had participated in the training selection programme as aspirant Peer Facilitators for 1995. This training is held annually under the auspices of the Centre for Student Counselling at the University of the Western Cape.

The participants chose the area of sexuality as opposed to eight other interest areas. Participation was confidential and voluntary. Members were randomly assigned to one of five groups. The group sizes ranged from five to fourteen members per group depending on the student's availability. The larger groups were manageable even though the researcher acknowledges that smaller groups are more conducive to establish group cohesion and trust. Nichols and Jenkinson (1991) suggest that the optimal size of support groups is six to eight participants per group.

3.5 **PROCEDURE**

Permission was obtained from the Centre for Student Counselling, UWC, and subsequently from the groups of women, for the facilitator to utilise these groups for research purposes. The groups met weekly for two hours at a time over a period of four weeks, that is, for a total of four sessions per group.

3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

The quantitative data was analyzed by using frequency analysis. A thematic content analysis was conducted on the qualitative material. Seedat's (1987) outline was primarily used.

3.6.1 CONTENT ANALYSIS

Implicit in this approach is the implementation of four steps:

- i) An intuitive and holistic grasp of the data
- ii) The emergence of similarities and themes
- iii) Reflection, synthesis and transformation
- iv) Classification of categories



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3.6.1.1 An Intuitive and Holistic Grasp of the Data

The first step in the systematic and thematic analysis of the data was to achieve a holistic and intuitive grasp of the data.

3.6.1.2 The Emergence of Similarities and Themes

The second step entailed the researcher setting out to inspect the transcripts for similarities and themes. The procedure for doing this entailed creating categories of emerging similarities which went together, as well as slotting into predetermined

categories (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). This procedure was followed by a process of data yielding. Inherent in this approach was the decision to cluster themes that were similar in nature despite the semantics employed.

3.6.1.3 **Reflection, Synthesis and Transformation**

The clustered similarities are examined with the goal of developing a central theme. The synthesis of the raw data is effected by transforming everyday language and categorising it into themes.

3.6.1.4 **Classification of Categories**

Finally, the researcher classified all the thematic categories that emerged in order to understand how participants responded under the various areas, for example, Inhibition used as a category had sub-themes including religion. The thematic categorization of results yielded the following categories:

1. Practical Reasons
2. Inhibition-related Reasons
3. Manipulative Reasons

3.7 **STRUCTURE OF THE GROUP SESSIONS**

3.7.1 **Session One**

This session was used for introductions, to create a level of comfort, to allow students to ventilate their feelings about being in a Sexuality Group, to obtain consent from the students to use the material for research purposes, and also to offer them an opportunity to speak about sexuality in general.

In addition, the group established the group norms, which included respect, confidentiality, punctuality, attendance, and participation in group discussions. The parallel themes which emerged on the discussion of sexuality was that, women generally struggled to define the area, but when encouraged to contribute to a group definition, participated more readily. Most women focused on the physical aspects of sexuality, coitus, and body-centred aspects and the more topical issues, such as, rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment, abortion. Few women highlighted the emotional and relational aspects of sexuality.

3.7.2 **Session Two**

The area of token resistance was discussed primarily in this session. The facilitator gave each woman a copy of three scenarios (Appendix A) and requested them to talk about what they perceived the vignettes were about in order to gauge if the group understood the concept. Often members misinterpreted the vignettes and clarity was provided by either group members or the facilitator. Once the facilitator was satisfied

that the group members had a sufficient understanding of the vignette the group was requested to comment to which extent they could identify with the scenarios. These sessions were audiotaped.

3.7.2.1 Scenarios (Appendix A)

1. The first situation involved the woman being with a man who wanted to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse - the woman feels she wants this too - but says no and means no, even though in a way she wanted to have this too.
2. The situation is the same as in (1) above; the woman however, indicated no and meant maybe.
3. "You were with a guy who wanted to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse and you wanted to also, but for some reason you indicated that you did not want to, although you really had every intention to and were willing to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse. In other words, you indicated "no" but you meant "yes".

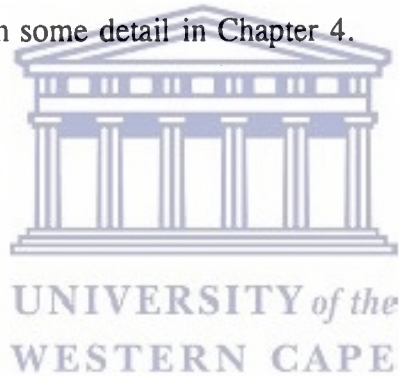
3.7.3 Session Three

The group was requested to contextualise their discussion of the previous week on token resistance by discussing the group's understanding of it from their theoretical framework. There was also consolidation of the concept of token resistance in relation to date rape, and insight was provided on how women negotiate their needs in relationships, and the implications thereof. This session was used to administer the questionnaire.

3.7.4 Session Four

This session was utilised primarily to review and reflect on the group process of the previous weeks; to consolidate their understanding of peer facilitation, as well as to assess each member according to a peer evaluation form, evaluate the facilitator and the group process. The group members terminated with each other by expressing their personal experiences of participating in the group.

In conclusion, having discussed the methodology used in the study, the results will be presented and reported in some detail in Chapter 4.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first deals with the quantitative data, in which women report their utilisation of token resistance. This section is scored using frequency analysis. The results are descriptive, exploratory and will indicate patterns and trends within the sample, but cannot be used inferentially, or be generalised. The second section deals with women's qualitative responses to token resistance, and looks at how women understand and talk about their token resistance. This section focuses on the thematic categories which emerged from the content analysis based on the method utilized by Seedat (1987), and the organisation and theme clusters are based on Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) research.

4.2 QUANTITATIVE RESULTS

4.2.1 BIOGRAPHICAL

The sample group of 42 single women, ranged in age from 18 years- to 32 years-old, with a median age of 22 years. They are academically affiliated to various faculties, namely, Law, Arts, Community and Health Sciences, Natural Sciences, Religion and Theology, Economic and Management Sciences and Education.

4.2.2 RELATIONSHIPS

Table One reports the data on relationships emerging from this sample.

Table One
Information on Relationships

| RELATIONSHIPS | YES (%) |
|---|----------------|
| 1. Are you currently in a primary relationship? | 66.7 |
| 2. Are you currently sexually active? | 52.4 |
| 3. Have you been sexually active in the past? | 42.9 |
| 4. Do you use contraception? | 54.8 |

Table One reports that 66.7% of women are currently in primary relationships, 52.4% are presently engaging sexually, and 54.8% of women utilise some form of contraception.

Table Two
Information on Token Resistance

| HAVE YOU EVER SAID 'NO' BUT MEANT 'YES', AND TO WHOM? | YES (%) |
|--|----------------|
| 1. Boyfriend | 83.3 |
| 2. Friend | 31.0 |
| 3. Authority | 2.4 |

Women reported using token resistance as a form of communication primarily with their boyfriends (83.3%), to a lesser extent with friends (31.0%), and to an even lesser extent with authority figures (2.4%).

4.3 **TOKEN RESISTANCE**

The reasons forwarded for token resistance are categorised as Practical, Inhibition-Related, and Manipulative Reasons. These categories have been adopted from the categories published in Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) research.

4.3.1 **TOKEN RESISTANCE FOR PRACTICAL REASONS**

The Practical Reasons forwarded for token resistance are reported in tables 3, 4 and 5 below.



Table Three

Token Resistance for Practical Reasons

| PRACTICAL REASONS | YES (%) |
|---|----------------|
| APPEARING PROMISCUOUS | |
| a. appearing too eager or too aggressive? | 14.3 |
| b. being hurt or being used? | 59.5 |
| c. appearing as if you are easy or loose? | 40.5 |
| d. him telling other people? | 16.7 |
| e. it is too early in the relationship? | 52.4 |
| f. the relationship is moving too fast? | 16.7 |
| g. you don't know him well enough? | 42.9 |

Table Four

Token Resistance for Practical Reasons

| PRACTICAL REASONS | YES (%) |
|--|----------------|
| UNDECIDED | |
| a. When you are in doubt about what to do physically or sexually in a relationship, do you sometimes say 'no' when you mean 'yes'? | 52.4 |
| FEAR OF STDs | |
| a. When you have sexual intercourse, are you concerned about contracting a STD? | 45.2 |

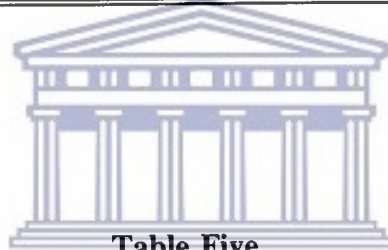


Table Five

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Token Resistance for Practical Reasons

| PRACTICAL REASONS | YES (%) |
|---|----------------|
| SITUATIONAL PROBLEMS | |
| a. Are you afraid of falling pregnant? | 47.6 |
| b. Would you like to have sex but don't have a place for or privacy (eg. your parents or roommate is around)? | 23.8 |
| UNCERTAINTY OF PARTNERS FEELINGS | |
| a. I was unsure about how much he really wanted to | 52.4 |
| b. I didn't want him to know how much I liked him | 46.8 |

Tables 3, 4 and 5 show that a high percentage of women responded with token resistance to the broad theme of fearing promiscuity. Almost sixty percent (59.5%) feared being hurt emotionally; 52.4% felt it was too early in the relationship to say 'yes' to sex; 42.9% felt that they did not know their partners well enough to openly say 'yes' to sex; and 40.5% reported using token resistance as they feared being labelled "easy or loose" by their partners. Furthermore, 52.4% reported using token resistance when they felt undecided about what to do physically or sexually in relationships, while 45.2% and 47.6% respectively, reported that they feared contracting a sexually transmitted disease and falling pregnant.



Table Six reports the data for Inhibition-Related Reasons for token resistance.

Table Six

Token Resistance for Inhibition-Related Reasons

| INHIBITION-RELATED REASONS | YES (%) |
|---|----------------|
| EMOTIONAL, RELIGIOUS, OR MORAL CONCERNS | |
| a. Do you consider yourself to be emotionally ready for a sexual relationship? | 59.5 |
| b. Do you have religious beliefs which may be conflictual to having sexual intercourse? | 69.0 |
| c. Is having sex against your moral values? | 50.0 |
| FEAR OF PHYSICAL DISCOMFORT | |
| a. Are you afraid of being physically hurt during sexual intercourse? | 45.2 |
| EMBARRASSMENT ABOUT BODY | |
| a. Are you embarrassed or self-conscious to expose your body? | 47.6 |

Table 6 reports high levels of intimidation regarding the emotional, religious and moral concerns surrounding token resistance for Inhibition-Related Reasons. Even though 59.5% of women indicated that they felt emotionally ready for sexual relationships, 69.0% reported religious conflicts as justification for the use of token resistance. Furthermore, 50.0% felt that premarital sex was against their moral values, 45.2% feared being hurt physically during sexual intercourse and 47.5% reported that they felt embarrassed and self-conscious about their bodies.

4.3.3

TOKEN RESISTANCE FOR MANIPULATIVE REASONS

Table 7 reports the data presenting manipulative reasons for token resistance.

Table Seven**Token Resistance for Manipulative Reasons**

| MANIPULATIVE REASONS | YES (%) |
|---|----------------|
| GAME PLAYING | |
| a. to make him more physically aggressive? | 7.1 |
| b. because you wanted him to talk you into it? | 11.9 |
| c. because you wanted him to beg you to have physical intimacy or sexual intercourse? | 14.3 |
| d. because you wanted to get him more physically aroused by making him wait? | 26.2 |
| ANGER WITH PARTNER | |
| a. because you sometimes feel angry with your partner, and would like to get back at him? | 19.0 |
| DESIRE TO BE THE ONE IN CONTROL | |
| a. because it makes you feel powerful and you want to be in control and be the one to decide? | 59.5 |

Table 7 reports that the majority of the sample, 59.5%, reported a desire to be in control as grounds for token resistance. The theme of game playing, reports 26.2% of women using token resistance to enhance their partner's physical arousal and 19.0% when they felt angry with their partners.

4.3.4 SUMMARY

Tables 3-7 report the findings for the use of token resistance for Practical, Inhibition-Related and Manipulative Reasons. The results report a higher frequency (14.3% - 69.0%) for token resistance and Practical and Inhibition-Related Reasons. Even though to a lesser extent, women reported using token resistance for Manipulative Reasons (7.1% - 59.5%), the desire to be in control (59.5%) stood out as an important contributor to token resistance. The results highlight the trend that more women have religious and traditional concerns regarding their sexuality. Such concerns are about their religious conflicts, their concern of how others will perceive them and how they think they should perceive themselves. Concerns regarding their safety against STDs was raised by almost half (45.2%) of the sample. In addition, 52.4% of women reported to use token resistance when they felt undecided in physically intimate or sexual relationships. These trends highlight several interesting and often incongruent observations, whose implications will be discussed in Chapter 5.

4.4 QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS

This section focuses on providing a richer understanding of the nuances of token resistance by exploring, clarifying and elaborating on the interpretations of individuals, and the themes already highlighted in the quantitative section.

4.5 THEMATIC CATEGORIES

The thematic categories of Practical, Inhibition-Related and Manipulative Reasons for engaging in token resistance that were previously focused upon through a quantitative analysis are now explored using a qualitative one.

4.5.1 PRACTICAL REASONS

A significant percentage of women indicated that they engaged in token resistance to sexual and physical intimacy for Practical Reasons. Some of the themes are reported below.

4.5.1.1 A Fear of Appearing Promiscuous

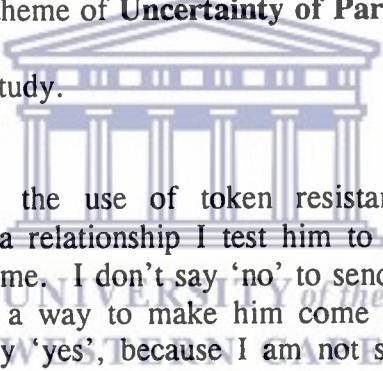


To the theme, **A Fear of Appearing Promiscuous**, women reported that they responded with token resistance without exception. The issue of promiscuity appeared to be a primary concern, even though the definition of promiscuity differed from individual to individual. Promiscuity for some women is to say ‘yes’ to a kiss on the first date. For others, promiscuity extended beyond the boundaries of the primary couple to how external others perceived kissing and ‘smooching’ on the first date. The perception of what an adequate time was before engaging in kissing or sex remained undecided by the groups. There often seemed an unspoken agreement in the groups of what was premature when engaging in intimate contact. Even though

no consensus was reached, it was generally felt that token resistance was a method used to provide protection in new relationships.

Furthermore, women reported that they often behaved and responded to how they felt their partners wanted them to. As a consequence much energy was expended on "what will he think or say about me if I said 'yes' to a kiss or sex". A large percentage of the sample indicated that their decision to respond one way or another was often contingent on what they thought their partners expected them to say.

This is also reflected in the theme of **Uncertainty of Partner's Feelings** which was reported fairly often in the study.



[Referring to the use of token resistance] at the beginning of a relationship I test him to see if he is serious about me. I don't say 'no' to send him away, I say 'no' in a way to make him come back. It is difficult to say 'yes', because I am not sure if he is serious, and if he is not serious I will feel very bad if I said 'yes'.

I am scared that if I am untraditional men will think less of me. ... Also that I have let myself down, because of my own socialisation ... You know - for me - it's my expectations of especially a first date. The guy won't expect the woman to say 'yes' on the first date. ... In the first days of my relationship - and my boyfriend wanted to kiss me - I said 'no' - but wanted it - because you not supposed to say 'yes' so early.

In new relationships - I am very tentative - and afraid of getting hurt - so that is why I relate in this way [say 'no' and mean 'maybe']. I keep thinking what will he think of me - if I flirt with him, kiss him - its ok for now - but what about the consequence - will it remain between us or will he talk about it, tell his friends.

4.5.1.2 **Undecided About What to do in Relationships**

In relation to the theme of feeling **Undecided About what to do in Relationships** the significant percentage (52.4%) found in the study, suggests that the women in the sample may experience a lack of response to sexual situations requiring articulation. This difficulty may be a manifestation of the shift women are encountering from one of a purely traditional sexual role to that of a more liberated one. The transition between the two positions creates the tension and sense of "not knowing" how to respond.

I say 'no' but continue because often I don't know what I want - and I hope that by continuing [saying 'maybe' or 'no'] at some point will come to a decision. So I will give him a clue that I actually enjoy this, by not resisting or stopping him.

4.5.1.3 **Fear of Contracting STDs**

The theme pertaining to the **Fear of Contracting STDs** (45.2%) was not discussed as much in the focus groups. This may be due to the specificity of the area of token resistance, which primarily taps emotional responses, and which may marginalise and even exclude women from looking at the hazards of certain sexual encounters and its consequences. One of the few qualitative responses:

I say 'no' and mean 'yes', it is my way of dealing with all the things I must consider, pregnancy, and AIDS and diseases and things. ... how will I face my mother if anything happens to me, ... she thinks of me as this sweet child.

4.5.1.4 **Situational Problems - The Fear of Pregnancy**

As a component of the theme concerning **Situational Problems**, the fear of pregnancy was reflected (47.6%) as significant.

Personally, I had a similar experience - that is why I said ambivalence - I wanted him 'yes' (sexually) but I did not trust him. It is a whole issue, no contraceptives, and I had to think about the repercussions of what I do. What I discovered then is that I am inherently conservative. But I feel I needed to think about it - as a woman I would be the one who has to bear the consequences (pregnancy) - if I did not take the responsibility - he can just go - and I was thinking about this.

4.5.2 **INHIBITION-RELATED REASONS**

Inhibition-related reasons regarding token resistance, include emotional, religious or moral concerns; fear of physical discomfort and embarrassment about one's body.

The logo of the University of the Western Cape, featuring a classical building with columns and a pediment, with the text 'UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE' below it.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

4.5.2.1 **Religious, Emotional or Moral Concerns**

Many women spoke of religion as a significant prohibitive factor in relation to sex.

As a consequence of dealing with the fact that sex is considered a sin, women respond with token resistance

The first thing that comes to mind is that it could be your upbringing that prevents you from saying 'yes'. You know what you want, you want this man and have intercourse and intimacy with him - but because of your values that have been imprinted in your religion etc. you say 'no'.

Explicitly and often implicitly women offered reasons for token resistance to be related to their socialisation, moral values and strong traditional affinity to be very important. Innate in the traditional belief is the abstinence from premarital sex. Their decisions to be sexually active directly contradicts the traditional position, and often as a way of responding to this inner turmoil, women report that they respond with token resistance.

This is part of our socialisation - Thou shalt not initiate - you will not make the first move. You won't phone the guy - you won't go to his place - you should not - it is not right for a girl to do those things. I suppose that is why I say 'no' even when I want to have sex and say 'yes'.

4.5.2.2 **Fear of Physical Discomfort and Embarrassment About the Body**

Though rated significant (45.2%) in the quantitative findings, women discussed these themes infrequently in the focus groups; perhaps backgrounding the importance of this theme relative to the others that seemed more emotionally embedded.

I have hang-ups around my body, you know I feel unsure and I'm not so comfortable about just undressing and all that, but I can get round this hangup more than I can deal with just, I suppose, the relationship stuff.

4.5.3 MANIPULATIVE REASONS

Manipulative Reasons for token resistance was rated generally lower than the previous categories. The theme tapping a woman's desire to be in control was rated significantly higher than the other themes of game-playing and anger towards a partner.

4.5.3.1 Game Playing

Though reported infrequently (7.1% - 26.2%) some women nevertheless chose to respond with token resistance through game playing to achieve their needs.

This is a sort of pattern for me saying 'no' but wanting it. Men are always trying - to see where you going to stand and see if you are really going to say 'no'. I know they will always go on and that I will say 'yes', they ask over and over. So I let them beg me.

4.5.3.2 Anger with Partner

With regard to anger, few women (19.0%) reported to use token resistance as a means of remedying their conflict.

I have been in the situation a number of times. Sometimes when I say 'no' I really mean 'no' - but sometimes you actually want it. But like women you punish the other person because he made you cross. But when you really want it ... but as far as sexual intercourse is concerned - when I say 'no' I really mean 'no', even if I want it. I am like my mother very independent and all my aunts as well - so what ever I decided will be on my conscience not because of society or religion or what ever - it is what I decided and not what society has taught me.

4.5.3.3 Power and Control

The majority of women (59.5%) reported a need to experience power and control in their relationships, often expressing these with passionate assertion.

For me I like saying 'no' in new relationships, and see how a guy reacts. I usually like it when they are very much aroused. I say 'no' to get them down to ground - I like that part. For me it is also male-controlling. I like to say 'no' - to see how interested he is, it is a measure of controlling.

Sometimes I test my boyfriend - I say 'no' and I want to see if he will stop or not. Even after penetration I say 'no' I don't feel like it to see if he will stop, I wait for him to penetrate - he becomes angry. You see we make love all the time - and I always wonder if he thinks it is his right to sleep with me, so I test him. So, sometimes I will say 'not tonight', and he will beg and beg, I say seriously 'no'. It gives me power - I need to know I got power in the relationship.

It is significant that women reported being clearly aware of their decision to engage in token resistance especially when the need for control was desired.

4.5.4 TOKEN RESISTANCE AND THE LACK OF DIRECT COMMUNICATION

The issue of indirect communication when engaging in intimate behaviour and its consequences for token resistance can best be seen in the qualitative responses to the scenarios below. The following are some of the responses which were offered to the three scenarios.

| SCENARIO ONE | SCENARIO TWO | SCENARIO THREE |
|--|---|---|
| <p>"say no mean no" even though she wanted to have sex</p> | <p>"indicated no and meant maybe"</p> | <p>"say no but you meant yes"</p> |
| <p>I have also been in a situation [saying no, meaning no but wanting to have sex] and due to religious reasons - I tend to relate this way. Premarital sex is a sin. I have been responding in this way with my boyfriend. ... sexual intercourse is a sin for muslims. My mother would always say "play with fire and you will get burnt" (meaning pregnancy).</p> | <p>To say "yes" would be almost too untraditional - so you will rather say or suggest "maybe". Heaven forbid that you actually say what you want, or initiate the process. So, you play hard to get. I can only be less traditional and more provocative if I am with the man I feel comfortable with ...</p> | <p>This was a place where I used to be - say no but mean yes - for religious and societal reasons. This is a place where I was stuck for a while ... It makes you feel better ... even if it is not congruent with your behaviour. "No" helps to ease my conscience. To say no helps - because you can rationalise I said "no", he pursued, so blame it on him.</p> |



The following are depictions of how women concede to the difficulties of direct communication and thus their decision to use token resistance.

I can't say 'yes' straight, I say it indirectly but not directly. I got this thing [awkwardness] about saying 'yes'. But I don't really know why.

When I say 'no' and he is confused - he tries to persuade me, he will keep on and keep on. And I will say "listen here, I said 'no' and I meant 'no'", but I really meant 'yes'. But in the end we would get it together [have sex].

Token resistance is imbued with feelings of confusion which are expressed as mixed messages. If messages are misread, women can be exposed to severe trauma, violation, and even rape. On the other hand, if token resistance is 'correctly'

detected it could have favourable and desired outcomes - intimacy. However there is a thin line between the two positions as illustrated in the following examples:

One of the participants describe her experience of token resistance and how it has led to rape. In this case this woman's intentions and messages were misread.

If you in a situation and you say 'no', they can pick up that you don't really mean 'no'. I might say 'no' but the way I act will mean 'maybe'. When I say 'no' and mean 'no' - I will look straight in the person's face and have a tone in my voice, [which says] strictly 'no', I would not be loud, but firm. Sometimes it feels right to say 'no' and mean it - other times it does not. ... Sometimes I will say 'noo' (smiling broadly, coyly, and laughing), with a smile and with my eyes. Before the rape I said 'no' and meant 'maybe'. But on the night of the rape I said 'no' and I was firm about it.

Another woman describes how token resistance yielded favourable and desired results for her, there was mutual understanding and her signals were correctly detected .

I was in the student cafe and this friend of mine, we like each other and, we get into each other now and then [physically]. He just comes to me and he shows me his baby face - and says to me, "shall we go". I'll look at him - his so nice and I like him so much, and I trust him. Then I'll say 'noo .. mann' [she shows a shy face and laughs] but I mean 'yes'. And he knows it is 'yes'. This has happened a couple of times in the past 6 months.

To the question, "How will you say 'maybe' and 'no', when in fact you mean 'yes'?", women responded:

Through body language more than words. Or, say 'no' but carry on touching. We say 'no, no, no' (shyly). Maybe if he is kissing you, and his hands are travelling and you say 'noo' but you are not bringing his hands up again, you not stopping him. This could be a 'maybe'.

I say 'no' but I continue [to relate physically or sexually] because often I don't know what I want - and I hope that by continuing at some point I will come to a decision. This is a 'maybe'.

So, I will give him a clue that I actually enjoy this - by not resisting and not stopping him or myself. This is my 'maybe'.

Or whisper in his ear softly 'noo'. This is a 'maybe'.

For instance - I say 'no' but my body does not say so. I will say 'no' - but I will keep on holding the person - and brushing his hair and body, like you are leading this person on.

4.5.5 OBSERVATIONS AND REFLECTIONS

My observations based on the groups' verbal and non-verbal communication are that the women felt more comfortable when they discussed their responses to the first two scenarios than when they responded to the third. The third scenario, unlike the first two, is direct. Women withdrew and often became introspective and silent. Their resistance was associated with the explicit dishonesty the women felt uncomfortable to admit. When confronted with the actual situation they expressed their discomfort with what they regarded as their disempowerment in relationships.

Some women are quoted as saying the following to the **first two scenarios**:

It makes you feel better ... even if it is not congruent with your behaviour, 'no' helps to ease my conscience.

To say 'no' helps - because you can rationalise I said 'no', he pursued, so blame it on him. Otherwise I need to confront that I have crossed the line I have created for myself, and that which my parents and religion have created. It is almost like not wanting to take responsibility for saying 'yes'.

I did what I had to do from my side [saying 'no'] and the rest was up to him.

Sometimes if I want sex, I am shy to ask for it. But if you had a name for it, like a code?, it would be easier. I become shy because the man must dominate and I must be subordinate - its nothing wrong with initiating but we have been brought up not do so. The way they see women out there is as a subordinate, who don't have rights or are not able to exercise your rights ... so if you do have some needs it is not right for you to ask for it.

To the third scenario, women were quoted as saying:

I can relate to the third scenario, but it feels very uncomfortable that I could say 'no' and wanted it 'yes'. I can rather see myself saying 'no' wanting it but saying or indicating 'maybe'.

... it is too confusing a situation, and I am generally not dishonest especially with people - I think that it is not fair. And I am hardly ever dishonest in a relationship and for me relationships are based on this. So even in the first two scenarios it does not feel this way.

The person will always wonder do we say 'no' when we mean 'yes'. I think it is unfair - because you not sure and they will also not be sure. You must say what you want and not let people go thinking there may be some hope.

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Another woman spoke of how she related to the third scenario, which is different to how the majority of her group responded:


I think it is a very difficult situation, I don't think there is anything wrong with it [token resistance]. In a certain sense it just shows that no one is infallible. For me to say 'no' but mean 'yes', I don't know if that person will respond, but hopefully he will understand that it has happened because of no specific reason that I am lying to him - but just that I have some difficulty in coming forward and being assertive, and may be we can then deal with it as such.

It was also apparent that women do not always convey their feelings with their verbal skill. Many indicated that they use other forms of communication:

I will indicate 'no' by using body language - by pulling slightly away. And 'yes' by moving closer. I seldom actually say it - I tend to use body language instead. To initiate something I tend to rub his hair or something like that.

My eyes will say 'yes' even when I actually say 'no'. So, I say 'no' but when he looks at my eyes he knows its 'yes'. I was in a situation when I said 'no, no, no' - I never looked at him - he kissed me and held me and everything felt right safe again.

It was evident that women experienced a shift in paradigm to some extent. They often come from conservative and traditional backgrounds and through their tertiary education and other related affiliations they began to negotiate certain "givens" in their lives, for example, premarital sex. However, this shift in their intellect has not necessarily been parallell with their emotional shifts. Consequently, they feel locked into a particular pattern.



I've reached a point one day in my life when I said 'enough is enough'. Why must we always wait for men to initiate - I decided I must just go out and do it; practice what I preach. That is where the whole shift in my attitude came. Why marry a lawyer - become a lawyer. 'Go out and do it!'

Some women felt that by saying 'yes' to sex that they sacrifice their sense of power and control:

Sometimes when I make love - I feel that I lose control, I should not have done something, or said something ... and this feels like I give away the power in the relationship.

When I say 'no', it gives me control, but when I say 'yes' - I feel guilt (I don't know how to put it). I become happy when I say 'no' - it shows I got control over my body and my feelings.

Women conceded that power and control are very important to them but felt equally strong about affection:

For me a relationship is not about power and control all the time - because most times I really want to make love.

Even though the majority of women said that they used token resistance some did not:

Men don't consider women, they think they can do what they like. For me when I say 'no' I mean 'no'. I have seen so many women who allow men to trample over them. This has helped me to be more assertive.

4.5.6 SUMMARY

The qualitative results confirm the themes highlighted in the quantitative findings. Importantly, most women in the study identify and engage in token resistance. Many women were initially less aware in engaging in this phenomenon and tended to view this as normative for women in general. When insight into their behaviour with regard to token resistance was highlighted, they were able to acknowledge their contribution.

There was generally support for the Practical, Inhibition-Related and Manipulative Reasons for women engaging in token resistance. Careful focus on the data reveal differences in interpretation and perception of the definition and domain of token resistance. These result in women offering a number of reasons across categories without being limited by traditional perceptions or their own role designations.

Finally, the explanations offered for token resistance which were explored in the study are listed below.

4.6 HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses explored in the study are confirmed by the quantitative and qualitative analyses:

- 4.6.1 Token resistance exists within heterosexual relationships of black women students.
- 4.6.2 Women engage in token resistance for Practical Reasons.
- 4.6.3 Women engage in token resistance for Inhibition-Related Reasons.
- 4.6.4 Women engage in token resistance for Manipulative Reasons.

The implications for these results will now be discussed in the next chapter.



CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS AND CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The findings of this study confirm that women use token resistance at times to respond to the pressures and intricacies of heterosexual relationships. This study also identifies the presence of the traditional role in relationships; in the way women construe their roles in relationships, and how they perceive men in relationships. This study therefore has both theoretical and practical implications for women regarding their sexuality. These implications will be highlighted in this chapter through the discussion of the results presented in the previous chapter.

The groups of women interviewed acknowledged that they use token resistance. They did so for various reasons, **Practical**, **Inhibition-Related** and **Manipulative**. The results corroborate Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) research which confirms the stereotype that women still enact passive and restrictive behaviours in particular situations, for example, in their resistance to initiating sexual contact. This is congruent with the traditional sexual script. However, with regard to responding to initiations they have reported responding in a non-traditional manner by often engaging intimately rather than restricting this behaviour.

A sizable percentage of women in this study reported using token resistance to negotiate sexual intimacy for Practical Reasons (14.3% - 59.5%), confirming the hypothesis. According to Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) **practical reasons** refers predominantly to the belief that token resistance is "normative" behaviour. Women who use token resistance primarily for these reasons to negotiate sexual relationships, may be particularly vulnerable to the pressures of the sexual double standard. Inherent in the sexual double standard is the expectation of women, as opposed to men, to always display fidelity and enjoy sex only when they feel overwhelming affection. In addition, women are prohibited from sexual initiation (Komarovsky, 1976; Laws & Swartz, 1977; LoPiccolo & Herman, 1977; Schur, 1983). Yet, despite the restrictions imposed on women, it is considered socially desirable for a woman to be "sexy". Yet if a woman projects that image, she may be considered too "blatant" or too "extreme" and she may encounter stigma (Muehlenhard, 1988; Schur, 1983). This category also highlights the struggle women are encountering which has been influenced by the rise of feminist and liberation movements in South Africa. The change of attitudes regarding women's roles in society by men and women, the protection our constitution provides women and people, and the consequent shift from the more traditional sexual role are also important. Women now may find themselves belonging to neither the safety of the traditional script nor feel empowered or comfortable enough to occupy a more liberated role. Consequently they find themselves in an intermediate and ambivalent position, responding from both traditional and liberated perspectives. In addition,

women who cited Practical Reasons for token resistance shared how this behaviour provides them with a sense of protection. Today, however especially since the late 20th Century, there is the perception that people have grown to be more materialistic and individualistic, and that many of the traditional values have been challenged even though they have not all crumbled. Given these shifts in society, it seems that token resistance is not merely a coincidence but rather that it serves a protective function for women whose sexual scripts have undergone several amendments. Token resistance for Practical Reasons suggests a response which signifies that women are incorporating a more liberated approach to their sexuality in certain aspects whilst they hold on to (or feel they should hold on to) particular protective mechanisms of the traditional sexual script.



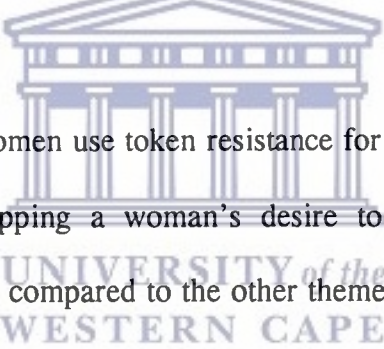
5.3 **INHIBITION-RELATED REASONS FOR TOKEN RESISTANCE**

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The majority of women in the study confirmed the hypothesis that they used token resistance to sex for **Inhibition-Related** reasons. Women rated this area significantly high with religious beliefs being the highest. Of significance was the participant's religious conflicts with openly acknowledging their sexual desires and consequent behaviour. Religion and morals form the core of the Inhibition-Related category for token resistance. Women who believe that it is religiously sinful for a woman to engage in premarital sex may encounter excessive guilt and anxiety. As a means of remedying and alleviating the discomfort, women report that they use token resistance. These results parallel those of Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988), where Inhibition-Related Reasons for token resistance were positively correlated with

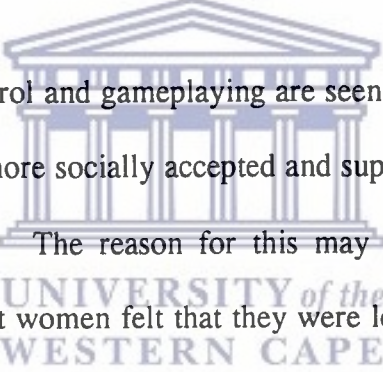
the traditional sexual script. The women who had emotional, religious or moral concerns also had more traditional gender role attitudes than other women (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). Even though religion is put forward as an arbitrary category, it is not seen as homogeneous. Beliefs may vary from fundamentalists to indigenous with varying latitudes within particular religious orientations. However, for the purpose of this research the discussion on religion is guided by how the sample responded to this factor, and offer the information within this context.

5.4 MANIPULATIVE REASONS FOR TOKEN RESISTANCE



The hypothesis that some women use token resistance for Manipulative Reasons was confirmed. The theme tapping a woman's desire to be in control was rated significantly higher (59.5%) compared to the other themes concerning game-playing (7.1% - 26.2%), and anger towards a partner (19%). Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh (1988) found in their study that Manipulative Reasons were positively linked to the liberated sexual script. The authors assert that their findings support the notion that the more liberated group of women in their study indicated that whilst they enjoyed men using force during sex, they did not accept overall male dominance in other situations (Muehlenhard & Hollabaugh, 1988). However, unlike Muehlenhard and Hollabaugh's (1988) findings, most women in the sample expressed discomfort in acknowledging their choice to use token resistance for Manipulative Reasons. This particular category, more than the previous two, highlights the incongruence of token resistance and forces women to confront their own culpability and contributions.

Although a fair amount of women openly acknowledged their use of token resistance for this reason, many may have felt too much inner conflict and discomfort to openly admit to their experiences. The nature of this topic and particularly this category is extremely sensitive, given the sometime negative connotation of the term manipulative. Even though the dictionary meaning suggests a positive connotation, '**manipulate** to handle something skilfully; the act of manipulating, such as the moving of a body joint beyond its normal range of movement, any skilful or artful management' (Heinemann English Dictionary, 1987, p.654); the women in the study interpreted the category to reflect on their lack of integrity.



The themes, power and control and gameplaying are seen as dissenting. The theme, the desire to be control, is more socially accepted and supported by liberated women and feminist in the groups. The reason for this may be that this theme has an ideological grounding in that women felt that they were less exploitative and instead see it as their right to reclaim control. It was interesting how women construed power and control in male terms. There was no acknowledgement in the groups that other forms of power exist. Women did not ever see their coy or other traditionally stereotyped behaviour in terms of power, instead there was a sense that the traditional feminine script needed to be reworked. When the women promoted a "male code" of power it felt fragile, as if it had been imposed. Women frequently adopted the male script and mainstream voice as the norm, especially when they referred to women's social and political role and rights in society, yet in the groups when they discussed sexual negotiations in relationships, they primarily embraced a feminine script.

An analysis of this category highlights the shift in gender role stereotypes in that women are beginning to increasingly engage proactively in relationships. This implies that women who embrace or align themselves with a more liberated sexual script will also have the responsibility to act more assertively in relationships.

5.5 SUMMARY OF DISCUSSION

This study confirms the assumption that token resistance is used extensively in dating and courting heterosexual relationships. It appears that token resistance is an option women choose in the absence of more appropriate responses. Women university students find several factors militating against the traditional injunctions and norms they have internalised. In an attempt at mediating these conflicts women may respond with token resistance to alleviate their experience of vulnerability. They thus use token resistance to negotiate sexual relationships to both respond to the situation and protect themselves.

Token resistance does not necessarily represent a passive, unassertive and/or subordinate position for women. In fact, in certain cases the contrary is more accurate. Token resistance may be a symptom of how women have moved from playing out a purely traditional sexual script to acquiring some more liberated behaviours. Token resistance may also be a symptom of the pressure women confront to engage sexually. Women thus find themselves in an inbetween situation, oscillating between what has strongly been inculcated -the traditional script - and what is strongly being advocated - the liberated script. Token resistance may therefore be

used to allay the tension, confusion and the guilt experienced from this intermediate position.

This scenario highlights that token resistance is complex and may be accounted for by arguments promoting the influences of internal processes and external influences. The psychological internalisation of particular traditional values which are fed and maintained by socialisation. In addition, the enigma of the tensions inherent in communication and relating also contributes to the use of token resistance. Therefore arguments promoting assertiveness as the primary remedy for token resistance must be reviewed. According to Fiedler and Beach (1978) assertiveness is not a present or absent trait, instead, people weigh up the response that would yield the best results for them from either behaving assertively or not. They then elect the behaviour which they think will give them the most rewarded outcome. In line with this view, women choose to use token resistance for various reasons including being rewarded.

Over the past two decades feminists have worked hard to equalise gender relations and have had a tremendous impact worldwide. However, until now women and men have not yet been fully emancipated to occupy equal gender and sexual roles in society. Even though South Africa does not historically have a comparable feminist background to the United States and European countries, it has been affected by the shifts in other countries. There is the notion that the world is a global village, where boundaries between countries are less stark, and through the media, films, reading material, television, and international news, information reaches us from abroad and has an effect on our society and inevitably on people's psyches.

For feminist research to be of even greater importance, women's experiences need to be listened to and understood more completely, given the societal and personal expectations enveloping their sexuality. It is therefore imperative that before policies are adopted which appear to be in women's best interest women's views and feelings about these policies and their potential enactment in their personal lives must be negotiated. If this can be accomplished it will prevent women from experiencing added guilt if they think they should be doing something which they are not.

Women in this era of transition need to express and understand their inner experiences and as clinicians and feminists it must become a research imperative to best provide this framework for women. Muehlenhard and McCoy (1991) speaking to possibilities of remedying token resistance suggest that a meaningful intervention would have to be levelled at changing the larger social context in which women live, by emphasising the unfairness of the traditional sexual script. Further, by highlighting the advantages to both genders if they embrace a liberated sexual script, in which they can be free to choose to engage or refuse sex without being disparaged (Muehlenhard & McCoy, 1991).

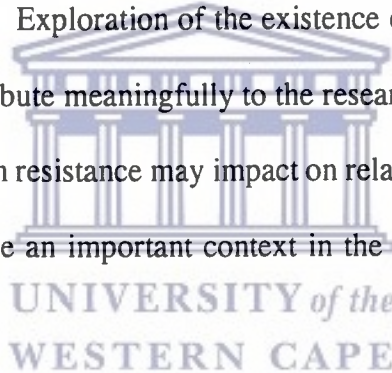
5.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to the limited size of this sample and the nature of the study it has been difficult to fully unravel the controversy and contention pertaining to token resistance. In addition, the exclusion of male participants presents a limitation as their understanding

and utilisation of token resistance as a communication style will provide richer knowledge and understanding.

5.7 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research in token resistance is indicated to enhance social relationships and to understand the role of token resistance in abuse in an attempt to ameliorate the high incidence of abuse and exploitation of women in society. An important future intervention should incorporate both qualitative and quantitative methods to explore if men use token resistance. Exploration of the existence of token resistance in other relationships will also contribute meaningfully to the research repertoire. In addition, future research on how token resistance may impact on relationships concerning issues of safe sex may also provide an important context in the era of AIDS.



In line with the above, and moving from the assumption that the formation of core identity issues, such as, race, gender, sexuality occurs early in life - in relation to sexual identity, it makes sense for future interventions to focus on the young as it has implications for our future generations. Children's personalities are influenced by various factors in their environments including their families, peers, communities and schools. It is my belief that schools and particularly, teachers play a significant role in imparting important lifeskills and challenging misperceptions through their teaching and practice in the classroom setting. It is often in the classroom setting that important inter- and intra-personal relationships are formed. Intervention should therefore be focused in a way that it provides teachers with guidelines of ways to

improve children's sense of who they are holistically and sexually and to assist them with their communication thereof. As an extension to this intervention, teachers should also be provided with assistance to construct their personal and professional scripts by confronting their own biases and value systems to exacerbate the efficacy of such a programme.

5.8 CONCLUSION

This research highlights the tensions in relationships when sexual activity is introduced. According to this research, women still affiliate themselves in part to the traditional sexual script. Therefore when they engage sexually they experience guilt, which may lend itself to the use of token resistance, and consequently have several negative spin-offs including their compromised sexual experiences. In addition, the experience of guilt regarding sexual behaviour and the subsequent use of token resistance, could directly affect both women's physical and emotional wellbeing in relationships. Emotional repercussions could speak to the lack of trust, honesty and clarity which could dilute a fulfilled experience and compromise women's own growth. Physically, token resistance if misunderstood can have dire and traumatic consequences, such as, rape. Furthermore, in the era of AIDS and the increase of STDs, this area of communication in relationships is of paramount importance. These results also indicate the significant amount of energy women invest in the emotional content of relationships. The implications of this may be a consequent lowering of priorities of the physical and health components in sexual relationships.

An investigation into the area of relating must be considered in order to enhance other investigations into ways of ameliorating unsafe sex and subsequent diseases.



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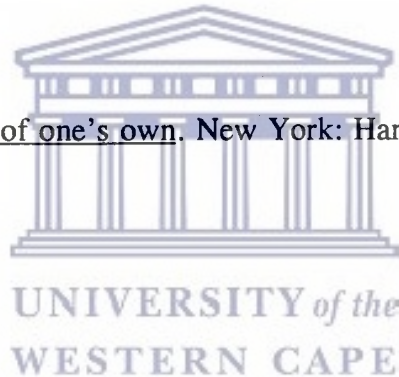
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APPENDICES



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APPENDIX A

VIGNETTE

1. The first situation involved the woman being with a man who wanted to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse - the woman feels she wants this too - but says no and means no, even though in a way she wanted to have this too.




2. The situation is the same as in (1) above; the woman however, indicated no and meant maybe.
3. "You were with a guy who wanted to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse and you wanted to also, but for some reason you indicated that you did not want to, although you really had every intention to and were willing to engage in physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse. In other words, you indicated "no" but you meant "yes".

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE

SECTION 1

1. AGE
 2. SEX
 3. MARITAL STATUS
 4. COURSE
 5. RELIGION
 6. ARE YOU CURRENTLY IN A PRIMARY RELATIONSHIP
 7. HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN IN THIS RELATIONSHIP
 8. IF YOU ARE NOT IN A RELATIONSHIP HAVE YOU BEEN IN ONE PREVIOUSLY?
- 

SECTION 2

9. ARE YOU CURRENTLY SEXUALLY ACTIVE?
10. HAVE YOU BEEN IN THE PAST
11. DO YOU USE CONTRACEPTION?

SECTION 3

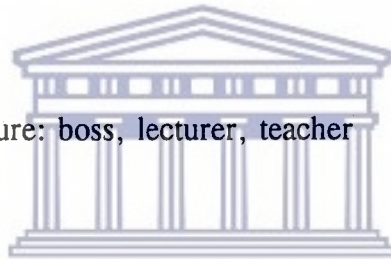
EVEN THOUGH YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE PHYSICAL (KISS, TOUCH) AND/OR SEXUAL INTIMACY:

12. DO YOU SOMETIMES SAY NO BECAUSE YOU ARE AFRAID OF:

- a. appearing too eager, or too aggressive?
- b. of being hurt or being used?
- c. appearing as if you are easy or loose?
- c. him telling other people?
- e. it is too early in the relationship?
- f. the relationship is moving too fast?
- g. you don't know him well enough?

13. WITH WHO HAVE YOU EXPERIENCED THE ABOVE:

- a. boyfriend
- b. friend
- c. authority figure: boss, lecturer, teacher
- e. co-worker



DO YOU SOMETIMES SAY NO BUT MEAN YES BECAUSE YOU:

14. When you are in doubt about what to do physically or sexually in a relationship?.
15. Because you feel unsure of how your partner feels towards you?
16. Because you do not want your partner to know how much you care?
17. When you relate sexually or physically because you are afraid that because you are concerned about contracting a sexually transmitted disease?
18. When you relate sexually or physically because you are afraid of falling pregnant?
19. Because you don't have a place for privacy, eg. parents are around, roommate, etc.

SECTION 4

20. Do you consider yourself to be emotionally ready for a sexual relationship?
21. Do you have religious beliefs which may be conflictual to having sexual intercourse?
22. Is having sex against your moral values?
23. Are you afraid of being physically hurt during sexual intercourse?
24. Are you unsure how it would feel to have sexual intercourse?
25. Are you embarrassed/self conscious to expose your body?

SECTION 5

26. Do you sometimes say **no** but mean **maybe** and at times **yes** to physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse:
 - a. to make him more physically aggressive
 - b. because you wanted him to talk you into it
 - c. because you wanted him to beg you to have physical intimacy and/or sexual intercourse?
 - d. because you wanted to get him more physically aroused by making him wait?
 - e. because you sometimes feel angry with your partner, and would like to get back at him?
 - f. because it makes you feel powerful and you want to be in control and be the one to decide?