Abstract

This qualitative study of adolescent males in Mamelodi, South Africa explores concepts

surrounding gender relations that influence and perpetuate rape culture and the impact of male

centered rape prevention groups on these beliefs. During this study, participants took part in male

only rape prevention groups; with each participant engaging in one group. These groups were

held at three schools consisting in a cumulative total of eight one-hour groups with an estimated

260 participants from grades eight to 11. Data was collected via semi-structured pre-group

interviews and post group surveys. Completion of a survey at the conclusion of the group was

voluntary and, of the estimated 260 group participants, a total of 112 surveys were completed.

The findings of this study indicate that acceptance of gender inequality and rape are common

amongst these adolescent males. However, at the conclusion of this rape prevention group, many

students expressed favorable views toward women; indicating the effectiveness of adolescent

male centered rape prevention interventions. The outcomes of the present research have many

implications for rape prevention interventions.

*Keywords*: Sexual Violence, Adolescent Psychology, Gender Relations

Chap Chat: Gender Relations and Perceptions of Rape Amongst Adolescent Males in Mamelodi,

South Africa

Adolescence is the intersection of ego development and socio-environmental exploration. This is often the beginning of independent exploration of both one's environment and negotiating social relationships. In these years, youth are at a critical point in personality development and often have difficulty navigating the murky social and emotional waters of developing unique and stable personalities while simultaneously making sense of their environment (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006). This period within the lifespan ". . . serves as the foundation for the behavioral, affective and cognitive commitments to career, relationships and political and religious belief systems that will be made in adulthood" (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006, p. 298).

Theoretically, adolescence has been characterized by Erikson as a time of crisis. He further described it as a stage in which the youth assert themselves and make decisions that either bring them closer or further away from a meaningful sense of self. However, the teen years may be more accurately described as one of the peak periods of transition over the lifespan (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006). Maria (1966) as cited in Konik and Stewart (2004), explains this process of transition with four categories: diffusion, moratorium, foreclosure, or achievement. The diffusion phase is dominated by an absence of exploration and commitment; the youth is not seeking options or attached to any specific outcome. While in moratorium the teen continues to lack commitment to outcomes, but are actively exploring. During this phase an adolescent may change their goals and views often, and the contributions of cultural influences, seeking social validation, their environment, peers, and family members play a key role in the decisions made (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006). Regarding influence, research has found evidence of an indirect

association between parent personality and beliefs and the personality development of their adolescent children (Schofield, Conger, Donnellan, Jochem, Widaman, & Conger, 2013). Furthermore, based on a study of South African male students grades 8 to 11, by Bester (2007), indicates that though parental personality characteristics effect adolescent personality development, peer group has a more significant impact on their personality. This study also states that the correlation between peer group characteristics and individual personality development was stronger amongst males than females (Bester, 2007).

For their final phase of transition adolescents either experience foreclosure or achievement. Foreclosure occurs when little exploration was sought during the moratorium phase. As a result, the outcome is an individual who predominantly incorporates the values of others (e.g., peers, people they admire, and parents) with little introspection when making life decisions. These individuals tend to start on a life path that is somewhat rigid and seemingly predetermined. On the other hand, those that reach achievement have sought out various alternatives during the moratorium phase and make decisions that incorporate the findings of their exploration and self-satisfaction. Adolescents that attain achievement tend to be more flexible in their future decision making (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006).

As previously mentioned, sociocultural and environmental factors, including peer and parental contributions, play a significant role in the framing of adolescents' views. As their ideas and experiences surrounding sexuality, gender roles, and gender relations are peaked during this time of development, influences also impact these beliefs (Schuster, Eastman, & Corona, 2006). Schuster et al. (2006) point out that the adolescent-parent relationship and parenting behaviors are associated with sexual risk behaviors in teens. Adolescents who are regularly monitored by their parents are more likely to initiate coitus at a later age and engage in safer sex practices than

youth who are not regularly monitored. Similarly, adolescents with involved parents (e.g., parents who are familiar with their school activities and friends) are less likely to begin sexual activity at a young age, engage in drug use and other risk behaviors, or engage in sex regularly (Schuster et al., 2006). However, despite the pivotal role knowledgeable adults play in adolescents' developing sexual identity, gender roles, and sexual behaviors, these topics are rarely openly discussed between teens and adults (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006). This gap in communication, combined with sociocultural factors, can lead to misinformation and affect how adolescent males view their female counterparts, the manner in which they navigate heterosexual romantic relationships, and their attitudes toward rape.

Rape myths are defined as ". . . attitudes and generally false beliefs about rape that are widely and persistently held, and that serve to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women" (Lonsway & Fitzgerald, 1994, p.133). These myths include: the idea that there is a "right way" for females to respond to rape, females are to be blamed for their own rape, the victims "ask for it", if the victim doesn't fight back they are consenting to the sexual act, and that victims enjoy being raped (Hamlin, 2001). The acceptance of these myths is particularly strong amongst adolescent males. For example, High school [Secondary school] males tend to hold more strongly to myths about rape (e.g., victim blaming) than both their female peers and college counterparts (Blumberg & Lester, 1991). This rape myth acceptance increases the risk of sexual aggression in teen males (Reyes & Foshee, 2012). In addition, it is correlated with hostile attitudes and behaviors towards women and heterosexism (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010).

Specifically, this risk for sexual aggression and hostile behaviors toward females in adolescent males gradually increases from grades eight to nine; peaking in the 10th grade and declining thereafter (Reyes & Foshee, 2012). Prior research emphasizes the importance of

tackling these issues at this critical age, and interrupting the perpetuation of beliefs around rape, as they can be carried into adulthood. According to Jewkes, Mduna, Shai, and Dunkle (2012), South African men who commit rape regularly state that their ideas about sex stem from notions of entitlement; and they are therefore able to justify committing rape to themselves. By the same token, these men tend to hold more inequitable views on gender relations, have demeaning/ hostile views on women, and believe in rape myths (Jewkes et al., 2012).

Rape culture is the acceptance and legitimization of rape myths on a cultural and societal level. Specifically, this term is utilized to explain the sociocultural normalization of male perpetuated sexual assault and the disempowerment of female sexual assault victims (Burt, 1980). The phenomenon of rape culture is rooted deep in patriarchy, possession, and masculinity. The beliefs that fuel this mentality remain pervasive in many communities, and significantly impact the budding morality and gender relations of adolescent males (Kheswa, Dayi, & Gqumani, 2014). The role of the sociocultural environment in adolescent males is further implicated by the findings of Kheswa et al. (2014); who state "Adolescent males are most likely to rape when raised in communities characterized by low levels of morality; where adults perpetuate violence against women. . . and culture oppresses the rights of women." (p. 541). As such, the culture of rape extends beyond the individual, and for it to be eradicated women must be thought of as equal. Therefore, there must be a psychological shift from dominance to cooperation in gender relations.

Currently, there is a dearth of research on how perceptions of rape and women impact adolescent males in South Africa. This study seeks to explore the sociocultural beliefs and the perceptions of women and rape held by this population. More specifically, the researcher sought to investigate: (a) current perceptions held by adolescent males regarding plutonic relationships

with members of the opposite sex, (b) their views on sexual relationships with females and rape, and (c) the effectiveness of a rape prevention group on augmenting adolescent males' maladaptive concepts regarding rape and gender relations.

*Demographics of Research Area*

South Africa ranks as one of the highest countries for rape prevalence in the world. Twelve times more South African women are raped per year than in the United States alone (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2016). This study took place in Mamelodi, South Africa; a township within the Gauteng Provence with an estimated population of 335,000 (City Population, 2013). South African Police (2016) state that 182,933 assaults were reported from April of 2015 and March of 2016 with 51,895 being rape (South African Police, 2016). Moreover, 15,790 of these rape cases were child rape (Africa Check, 2016). Previous studies indicate that more than one in four (27.6%) men in South Africa rape. Twenty-five percent of men interviewed in KwaZulu-Natal and Eastern Cape provinces admitted to committing at least one rape, and more than one-half of those individuals admitted to raping more than one person (United States Department of State, 2013; Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2009). Integrated Regional Information Networks (2009) states ". . . 23.2 percent of men said they had raped two to three women, 8.4 percent had raped four to five women, 7.1 percent said they had raped six to 10, and 7.7 percent said they had raped more than 10 women or girls" (Integrated Regional Information Networks, 2009, n.p.). In a 2011 study conducted in Gauteng Province by MRC and Gender Links it was indicated that "37.4 percent of men admitted to having committed one or more rapes. In most cases attackers were acquaintances or family members of the victim, which contributed to a reluctance to press charges. . ." (United States Department of State, 2013, p.26). These crimes not only perpetuate community violence, but interface with the spread of

AIDS/HIV. According to the Sexual Violence Research Initiative, women who have been raped suffer and increased risk of sexually transmitted infections, and more specifically HIV/AIDS (Kheswa et al., 2014).

As of 2013, countrywide, the South African government operates 86 rape crisis centers, Thuthuzela Care Centers (TCCs). At these centers rape survivors receive medical, psychological, and legal assistance. For women and children who utilize these centers the conviction rate of their perpetrators is 75 percent; in contrast to the estimated 65.8 percent conviction rate for perpetrators whose victims do not seek assistance in TCCs  (United States Department of State, 2013). Though there is much left to be done, overall; there have been many strides in advocating and supporting survivors of rape and domestic violence in the country (Rape Crisis Cape Town Trust, 2016). However, there is a lack of progress in working with men and young boys on rape. Therefore, it is essential to not only intervene with men on this issue, but to work with the minds of young boys to influence societal change (Bohemia, 2009).

*Chap Chat: Group Overview*

Chap Chat is a program developed, administrated and funded by the non-profit organization One Healing, Educating, and Renewing Through Therapy, Inc. (One HEARTT, Inc.). This program is identified as a rape prevention program for adolescent males attending secondary schools in the Gauteng Provence. Each one-hour group is centered on youth perceptions on relationships, rape, conflict resolution, boundaries, and sexual assault prevention. During groups, participants attain knowledge on inter-gender dynamics and how to act proactively to reduce physical and emotional abuse in their current and future relationships. In addition, through directed peer to peer interaction and sustained reinforcement from school staff, these youths are encouraged to internalize the healthy perceptions needed to continue healthy

relationships. The goals of this group are: preventing first time perpetration, reducing risk factors while building protective factors through mutual understanding and education, reinforcement of healthy relationships, enhancing community solidarity by encouraging the transition from bystander to active participant in social change.

Methods

Convenience sampling was utilized to obtain participation from Secondary schools in Mamelodi. Several secondary schools were contacted, but unable to participate due to student examination and inability to contact administration. In total three schools gave approval for student participation in Chap Chat. Five groups were held at one school over the course of two days, two groups were held at another school in one day and one group was held at the third school.

Groups were one-hour sessions limited to males in grades eight to 11. These groups were facilitated by two males and two females. For six of the eight groups, at least one school instructor was present.

The semi-structured pre-group interview was conducted orally within a group format and consisted of the following open-ended questions:

Q1: What is a woman?

Q2: Who are some important women in your life?

Q3: What makes these women important?

Q4: How do you feel about the important women in your life?

Q5: How do you deal with girls in [intimate] relationships?

Q6: How do you know when you and your girlfriend are ready to have sex?

Q7: How do you know when she doesn't want to have sex?

Q8: How do you feel about having sex with people that you aren't in a relationship with?

Upon the completion of the interview, students and facilitators discussed the topics of
male entitlement, rape, consent, a woman's right to choose, the generalization of respect for
women from a few select women whom they currently respect (e.g., mothers, sisters, and
grandmothers) to women as whole, and difficulties they currently experience in gender relations.
To incentivize participation, students that actively engaged in the discussion received a t-shirt
after answering a question or making an on-topic statement.

During the course of the group two vignettes were presented to specifically address rape
and consent. The first vignette described a situation in which the participants were initiating
sexual intercourse while alone in the bedroom and the female rejected his sexual advances. The
second vignette depicted a scenario in which the participants were engaged in sexual activity and
post-penetration when the female stated that she no longer wished to continue with coitus. To
each of the vignettes, the participants were asked the following question:

Q1: What would you do in this situation?

Q2: Why would you choose that course of action?

Q3: If one of the women that you previously stated that you cared about was in that situation,
what would you like the man to do?

At the conclusion of the group participants were offered the opportunity to complete a
simple questionnaire and sentence completion regarding their sentiments on women, which
asked:

Q1: Name (optional)

Q2: Grade:

Q3: A woman is____

Results

Approximately 260 students attended the Chap Chat group with most participating in the pre-group interview. The number of participants was difficult to ascertain due to the open and informal nature of the groups. Students were allowed to enter and leave the group at their discretion, occasionally instructors brought in additional students during the course of the groups, and two groups were held during a recess period in an open area with a crowd of learners gathering at will.

One hundred and twelve completed and returned the post-group survey. Demographic information and Surveys and demographic information were not used to collect data at the beginning of the group in an effort to increase participant comfort in the group. In the pre-group interview, the complexity of the responses to the question "What is a woman?" ranged from the profound "A creator", to the objective "Something with a [vagina]". Overall, the adolescents showed great variability in their responses to this question. When asked "Who are some important women in your life?" all participants answered with mother, grandmother, and/or sister. The participants were then further probed on what makes these women important.

Answers to this question all described their admiration for the previously mentioned persons. Responses revealed their recognition of the aforementioned individuals sacrifices and assistance the participants receives from them. One participant responded:

> My mother takes care of me. I see her work hard to do things [for me] and she never complain[s]. Even when she [is] tired, she don't complain. When I'm sick she take[s] care of me until I feel better. She cooks for me. [She] shows me love. No matter if I mess up she loves me. Unconditional. It's something I can't explain. She is everything.

Another participant shared:

*My sister's good at maths (sic) and she helps me with my [school] work.*

The question "How do you feel about the important women in your life?" intuitively followed. The most common response to this was "love", with "respect" being the second most common. "How do you deal with girls in [intimate] relationships" was answered with great variability. Some participants described their female peers as "annoying" and "pests"; and stated that they would not want to be in a relationship with their classmates. In the same vein, a few stated that their female peers do not seem to respect themselves because of their dress and behaviors. On this a participant stated:

> All these girls just want [is] money. They do anything for money. They date taxi drivers for the money and they drop them to school and get rides with them. They get money from the taxi drivers and if you don't have money they don't want you. [These females] dress in short skirt and only want old men. Some [of the men] are married and they don't care. Money!

This notion was seconded by another participant saying "[These females are] sluts." On the other hand, some participants spoke about their personal romantic relationships in an affectionate manner. One participant described how he responds to his girlfriend being upset with him. He stated that he listens to her and tries to understand her point of view. He ended with telling his schoolmates that they must be patient with their female peers and show them respect. When asked about how they become aware of when they and their partner are ready for intercourse, most participants displayed difficulty in verbalizing responses. Participants within the groups often laughed during this portion of the semi-structured interview, and responded with answers such as "You just know" and "I can tell." Upon being further probed, most answers were founded in biological and behavioral signals. Replies included: "When my penis is [erect]", "You know when the girl start (sic) kissing on you, touching on you. . .", "When my manhood is ready" and "When the mood is right and you just feel it." Alternatively, participants shared that when their partner does not want to have coitus that she ignores them, says no, gets an "attitude",

or says that she is menstruating. The final question of the semi-structured pre-group interview

inquired about their sentiments on having intercourse with individuals with whom they are not in

a romantic relationship. To this, most participants stated that they always use contraception and

tend to have less respect for the female.

       The first vignette described a situation in which the adolescent male group participants'

sexual advances were rejected by their female partner. It stated:

> What if you are alone with a girl in your room. You know your parents won't be home
> for a while. You feel ready for sex, maybe you all are kissing. When you go to make your
> move, she says "No."

       Though there was some variability in responses, the most common answer was that the

participants would "get it the chicken way"; which is a local colloquialism for rape. This answer

was provided and agreed to by the majority in every group except one; in which participants

unanimously agreed that they would respect their partners wishes. When facilitators queried the

adolescents on why they would choose this, respondents stated if the female did not want to have

sex she should not have come to the room and that by kissing them she was leading them on.

Some participants said that their female peers actually wanted to engage in intercourse, but

would say no due to the fact that they did not want to appear "easy" or "like a slut". Others said

that they would continue with intimate behaviors (i.e., kissing and touching) until their partner

agreed to intercourse.

       In groups where the majority of participants spoke of rape, the occasional dissenting

responses to this vignette reflected views of respect for females. In some groups respondents

stated that when a female says no that one must stop immediately. These rare perspectives were

frequently met with rejection amongst other group members. However, in one group all members

stated that they would not pressure or rape the female in this scenario. When this group was

queried as to why they would choose that option responses included: "You have to care for [a] woman", "Because if I love her, why try to make her do something she doesn't want to do", and "She is a daughter or sister. I wouldn't want a boy doing that to my sister."

Vignette two built upon the first by stating: "If you are in a similar situation. You are alone with a girl in your room. It's all dark and feels romantic. You began kissing and progressed to having sex. While having sex she says 'No. Stop.'"

The notion of committing rape was more common with this vignette than the first. The majority of participants reiterated that they would "get it the chicken way" (rape the female) or insinuated that they would pressure the female to continue with sexual activity. When requested to expand upon their answer, some of the adolescent male students stated that a female has no right to say no after intercourse has begun. Others shared that if they stopped during intercourse they would become "angry" or feared they would have physical discomfort if they did not finish the sexual act. This sentiment was almost unanimous in all groups except one. The same group that unanimously stated that they would stop in the previous vignette responded in the same manner to this vignette.

Post-group surveys were distributed at the end of the group and participants were informed that completion was optional. There were 112 total questionnaires completed and returned. School 1 submitted 18 questionnaires, School 2 submitted 77, School 3 returned 15, and one participant declined to identify their school. The number of responses based on participant grade level depicted in Table 1.

Surveys were also analyzed for positive, neutral, and negative responses to the sentence completion "A woman is". For the purposes of this study, positive responses are considered to be statements which depict favorable attitudes toward females. Neutral responses describe females

in an objective manner or name specific individuals. Responses considered to be negative demonstrate denigrating attitudes toward women. Exempli gratia, "The best thing in my life" is a positive response, and the name "Sofi" is neutral; while "A baby machine" is counted as a negative response. Of the 112 responses received, there were 88 positive responses, 15 neutral responses, six negative responses, and four questionnaires returned when this sentence completion left blank. Table 2 exhibits the categorization of responses based on participant grade.

Of the positive responses, 13 were from Grade 8 students; which is 14.77% of all positive responses and 11.60% of all feedback for this study; 24 were Grade 9; 27.27% and 21.43%; one in Grade 10; 1.14% and .89%; 49 were in Grade 11; 55.68% and 43.75%; and one was unknown .89%. The neutral responses included: eight from Grade 8; 53.33% of answers categorized as neutral and 7.14% overall; Grades 9 and 10 had one participant each; .89% each; and five were from Grade 11; 33.33% and 4.64%. As for negative responses, one was a Grade 8 student; 20% and .89%; three were Grade 9; 60% and 2.68%; and two were Grade 11; 40% and 1.79%. Grade 8 and Grade 9 each had two blank responses; 50% and 1.79% each.

## Conclusion

This study examined gender relations and perceptions of rape amongst adolescent males in Mamelodi, South Africa. Adolescents are at a stage of development in which they are conducting the groundwork for the personality and behavioral characteristics that will carry them into their adult selves. Specifically, this period is critical in their formation of ideas circumferential to gender roles and relations (Brodrick & Blewitt, 2006). Moreover, previous research has indicated that the parent-adolescent relationship serves as one of the building blocks to inter-gender beliefs and behaviors (Schuster et al., 2006).

In the present study, almost all participants were able to identify positive relationships with their mothers, sisters, and other significant female family members (e.g., gogo's [grandmothers]). Participants often shared sentimental stories regarding their mothers, discussed how other female family members were key figures in their lives, and spoke of a matriarchal family structure.  However, many had difficulty generalizing these feelings and seeing females as deserving of equal treatment and regard.

Once groups moved from discussing familial relationships to non-consanguineous relations and interactions, groups became divided amongst those that considered their female peers "pests", participants with an attitude of indifference, and those with disparaging ideas. As group discussions moved in a linear manner from plutonic gender relationships to romantic/ sexual encounters, the pendulum of opinions towards females swung further from admiration toward denigration. When vignettes describing sexual rejection were discussed within the various groups, the consensus amongst most groups was rape being acceptable and even warranted; with the exception of one group that unanimously stated that males must honor the choices of their partners. Often the views presented by participants represented patriarchal concepts and female inferiority. During this portion of the group discussions, participants generally demonstrated a strong adherence to rape myths and a culture of acceptance regarding rape. The correlation of the acceptance of rape as a viable option when males are presented with sexual opposition and the belief in gender inequality found in this study demonstrates the manifestation of cultural ideals within an individual and the manner in which societal subjugation impacts everyday interactions. Many of the rape myths indicated in this study, such as victim blaming and females secretly desiring sex, concur with Hamlin (2001).

Contrarily to their viewpoints nonfamilial females, when participants were probed on what they would want to happen to a loved one in this situation, they presented polarized sentiments. All participants expressed emotions sadness, anger, and or rage when presented with the hypothetical situation of individuals that they care about being subjected to the actions that many of them stated they would enact on others. When these polarized perspectives were explored, participants appeared to experience cognitive dissonance. For adolescent males with these differing stances, sitting with this dissonance allows for beliefs to be challenged may be an agent of change in rape prevention. Considering research conducted by Schuster et al. (2006), it is hypothesized that key females in the lives of these adolescents, specifically matriarchal figures, have the potential to serve as pivotal figures in transforming their beliefs surrounding rape and women's rights.

Post-group surveys demonstrate predominantly Grade 11 respondents; with this group also providing the largest overall percentage of favorable attitudes toward females. Grade 9 participants had the second highest percentage. These results align with Reyes & Foshee (2012); however, due to the small sample the present study cannot confirm that denigrating views of females peaks in Grade 10. Grade 8 learners submitted the highest percentage of neutral questionnaires. Most neutral responses were names. It is hypothesized that this may be due to a concrete interpretation of the question, their nativity on the topic, and/or their stage of development relative to other group members (Grade 8 learners were the youngest).

Overall, the majority of boys who previously indicated disparaging views of women had some insight as to why they had those previous assumptions and the desire to change them. At the conclusion of the workshop, overwhelmingly, the boys demonstrated and responded with more positive views of women. However, in some of the schools that we visited the young men

were stern in their beliefs; which demonstrates that there is much more work to be done and the

dire need of rape prevention programs in the community. The findings have several implications

for such programs.

It is notable that one group was an outlier and unanimously disagreed with rape. In this

group, none of the participants presented with beliefs in rape myths. Also, all members of this

group stated that they disagreed with rape culture, but acknowledged it as a common belief

system amongst many of their peers.

*Implications*

The findings of this study may be utilized in a variety of settings. As it is evident that the

mother-son relationship is generally positive primary bond between genders, therapists working

with families may use this dynamic as a vehicle to encourage feminist views in adolescent males.

Allowing the opportunity for families to bridge the gap in adolescent males' perceptions of

females based on their degree of relatedness. Thus, allowing for generalization of respect and

equality from exclusively including those familiar with them to all females. These therapists may

also work with parents in developing a family culture that embraces equality amongst genders; as

opposed to patriarchy.

In addition, it would be beneficial for institutions and individuals working with adolescent

males to rape prevention focused interventions. This may be especially beneficial for peer and

mentor programs in which behaviors can be influenced by individuals with whom the teen relates

to and/or admires. Inclusion of open discussion relationship/gender relation groups or courses

within the academia curriculum may also aide in addressing perceptions of rape and gender

relations at this crucial stage.

## Limitations

This study had several limitations. Not all schools participated in Chap Chat and at two of these schools student participation was optional. Also, within the groups not all participants actively engaged and shared their beliefs. Therefore, the sample may not be representative of adolescent male views and there may be attitude differences in those that opted out of participation or engagement. Moreover, the significant range in participant's grades demonstrates great age variation within the groups. The differences in the leaners ages is indicative of their developmental stage and possible understanding of sexual intercourse. This may impact the type and depth of responses provided. Also, in an effort to increase participant comfort in agreeing to explore a sensitive topic, participants were not required to sign-in and numbers within most groups fluctuated due to institutions preferring to have "open" groups. This group also exclusively discussed heterosexual relationships and male perpetrated rape, and during discussion participation was incentivized. In addition, though many students participated in group discussion and responded to the vignettes, less than half completed the post-group survey which also contributed to disproportionate sample representation. As such, the surveys may not be reflective of the majority. In addition, due to the nature of questionnaire data collection, participants did not have the opportunity to expand upon their responses.

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