



Brothers for Life: Pre-testing TV scripts for the Rape prevention campaign

Stakeholders

United States Agency for International Development, Centre for Communication Impact

Date

22 May 2017



Brothers for Life: Pre-testing TV scripts for the Rape prevention campaign

Research conducted by:

Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation (CADRE)

CADRE ©2017

www.cadre.org.za

Primary authors:

Hajiyiannis H, and Orr NM

Recommended citation:

Hajiyiannis H, Orr NM, Motuba, T., Mahlasela L, and Goldblatt B. (2017). *Brothers for Life: Pre-testing TV scripts for the Rape prevention campaign*, CADRE (Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation): Johannesburg, South Africa.

Acknowledgements:

This formative research was made possible with the financial support of the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) through the United States Agency for International Development (USAID)¹ and with the support of the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI).

We acknowledge the contributions of Lusanda Mahlasela and Brenda Goldblatt for providing overall technical oversight.

We gratefully acknowledge the generous contributions of focus group participants.

Focus groups were conducted by Helen Hajiyiannis (CADRE). Co-facilitation was provided by Tsedi Motuba. Translation was provided by Tsedi Motuba, Clifford Gwensa and Nkosinathi Mgwenya. Transcriptions were conducted by Lynn Areda, Thibeli Moloi and Leigh Story.

¹ The opinions expressed herein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the United States Agency for International Development

Acronyms

AIDS	Acquired immune deficiency syndrome
ART	Antiretroviral treatment
B4L	Brothers for Life
CADRE	Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation
CCI	Centre for Communication Impact
FGD	Focus group discussion
GBV	Gender based violence
HIV	Human immune-deficiency virus
IPV	Intimate partner violence
LSM	Living standard measure
MMC	Medical male circumcision
PEP	Post-exposure prophylaxis
PEPFAR	President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief
PLHIV	People living with HIV
PMTCT	Prevention of mother to child transmission
SGBV	Sexual Gender Based Violence
STI	Sexually transmitted infection
SVAW	Sexual violence against women
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
VAW	Violence against women
VAWC	Violence against women and children

Contents

Acronyms	2
Executive Summary	6
<i>Brothers for Life & Zazi</i> SGBV violence prevention campaign.....	6
Purpose and objectives of the pre-testing study	6
Methodology	7
Results	8
Evaluation of Script 1: <i>‘It’s your choice’</i>	8
Evaluation of Script 2: <i>‘Not just anyone’</i>	10
Evaluation of Script 3: <i>‘Unexpected victim’</i>	11
Participants’ overall most-liked script: Reasons.....	12
Participants’ choice of script with strongest rape prevention message: Reasons	12
Preferred script endings	12
Conclusions and recommendations	13
Background	17
Background to the <i>Brothers for Life</i> Campaign	17
<i>Brothers for Life</i> campaign objectives.....	17
Gender based violence and sexual violence against women.....	18
Framing and defining the issue: GBV, SGBV and SVAW	18
Formative research into community perspectives on VAW in South Africa	18
Background.....	18
Methodology.....	19
Findings	20
Discussion.....	21
Recommendations	22
Conclusions	22
<i>Brothers for Life & Zazi</i> SGBV violence prevention campaign.....	23
Purpose and objectives of the SGBV campaign	23
<i>Brothers for Life</i> Rape prevention campaign.....	25
Defining a target audience and message	27
Call to action	27
Purpose and objectives of the pre-testing study	27
Campaign key communication messages.....	27
Key insights of the scripts under review.....	28
Objectives of the pre-testing	28
Target audience.....	29
Methodology	30

Recruitment of participants.....	31
Method.....	31
Ethical considerations	33
Referrals.....	35
Data analysis and findings	36
Results.....	37
Demographic description of participants	37
Age of participants.....	37
Participant highest level of education.....	37
Relationship status of participants	38
Participant’s children.....	39
Languages spoken by participants	39
Employment status of participants.....	39
Cellular phone ownership and usage	39
Findings	40
Evaluation of Script 1: ‘It’s your choice’	41
Script narrative	41
Clarity and understanding of the scripted events.....	41
Likes, dislikes and aspects that stand out	44
Setting.....	50
Realism and resonance	50
Ascription of Themba’s desire to rape.....	53
Themba’s choice.....	56
Woman’s voice-over: Clarity, identity, and benefits	57
Final voice-over statement: ‘None of those things were your choice but raping me will be’ ...	59
Closing announcer statement: ‘Choose to be a good man’	60
Main message	61
Calls to action.....	64
Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention: Qualitative	68
Anticipated interpersonal communications about rape.....	72
Perceived target audience	73
Toll-free number: Type of help and recipients of help offered	75
Participant recommendations and suggestions	76
Evaluation of Script 2: ‘Not just anyone’	77
Script narrative	77
Clarity and understanding of the scripted events.....	78
Likes and dislikes	82
Setting.....	84
Realism and resonance	85
Ascription of Thami’s desire to rape	88
Thami’s remorse for raping Lerato.....	91

Male voice-over statements	94
Closing announcer statement: ‘Men can stop rape’	98
Main messages received	98
Unintended messages	101
Calls to action	102
Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention: Qualitative	106
Anticipated interpersonal conversations about rape	110
Perceived target audience	111
Toll-free number: Type of help and recipients of help offered	112
Participant recommendations and suggestions	117
Evaluation of Script 3: ‘Unexpected victim’	118
Rejection of script 3	118
Voting preference outcomes for Script 3	120
Script preferences: Participant voting results.....	121
Most liked script overall: Reasons for choices	123
Script with the strongest ‘do not rape’ message	129
Preferred script endings	138
Conclusions and recommendations	139
Appendix 1: Participant demographics	143
Appendix 2: Scripts.....	147
Script 1: It’s your choice.....	147
Script 2: You’re not raping just anyone.....	148
Script 3: Unexpected victim	149

Executive Summary

Brothers for Life & Zazi SGBV violence prevention campaign

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) South Africa has mandated the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI) to develop and implement a Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) prevention campaign in 2016 – 2017 in fulfilment of the HIV prevention activities undertaken in the USAID *Communities Forward Strategic Communications* award. The national SGBV campaign is a combined effort with the Department of Social Development (DSD), USAID, and CCI. The overall vision of the SGBV campaign is to reduce the incidence of rape and sexual and gender based violence within South Africa to the point that we live in a violent-free society. The overall campaign objective is to limit HIV infection through rape.

A national rape prevention campaign is being developed as a sub-component of the SGBV campaign.

The primary target audience of the rape prevention campaign is men 18-34 years. This includes men who have perpetrated rape previously and who are amenable to change, men who are at risk of perpetrating rape, and all other men including male partners and family members who have experienced rape themselves or of a female loved one. The target audience was limited to focus on rape not taking place within the context of intimate partner violence, as well as to exclude habitual rapists.

The secondary audience of the rape prevention campaign is women 18-34 years. Other influencing audiences are police, criminal justice personnel, politicians and the media.

Purpose and objectives of the pre-testing study

The purpose of the current research (informed by prior formative research conducted by CADRE in 2015, regarding community perspectives of violence against women in South Africa²) is the pretesting of three creative treatments (scripts) focused upon rape prevention. These were:

Script 1: It's your choice: Many rapists and potential rapists have been brought up in 'difficult' environments through no fault of their own. But while they cannot change what happened to them they can choose how to shape their future as adult men.

Script 2: You're not just raping anyone: While men may de-humanise the women they rape, our target market still cares about the women in their lives (e.g., mothers, sisters, daughters).

² Clarfelt A, Hajjiannis H, Orr NM, Stern E, Myers L, Matekane T, Makhubele MB, Delate R, Mahlasela L, and Goldblatt B. (2016). *Formative research findings into community perspectives on violence against women in South Africa*. CADRE (Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation): Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa.

Script 3: Unexpected victim: Most rapists fail to consider the effects that rape has, both on their victims, but also on those closest to them, such as the rapist’s family.

Pre-testing objectives included: Assessing whether the scripts would prompt men at risk of perpetrating rape and rape perpetrators to think about their intended actions, not to rape, and to get ‘help’ by calling the toll-free number provided (thus linked them – and rape victims - to support services); Encourage discussions that challenge gender inequitable social norms that enable rape; Reflect on situations that increase vulnerability as either rape perpetrators or victims of rape; Trigger discussions on community attitudes to rape perpetrators and survivors of rape; Assess what the received messages are, perceived primary calls-to-action, the clarity of the messages, and any potential for misunderstanding; To assess which creative treatment is preferred by participants and why; To assess which creative treatment is perceived by participants to have strongest rape prevention message.

Methodology

Seven focus group discussions (FGDs) were conducted in three South African provinces: Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal and Mpumalanga in 6 health districts. Participants were recruited from urban, peri-urban and rural localities. Focus groups were conducted across different locality types, gender and age groups. Age groups were divided as: 18-24y; 25-34y. In total, 57 participants took part in the pre-testing: 41 males and 16 females. Focus group discussions were predominantly conducted in English with some discussions in isiZulu, isiSwati, seSotho and Setswana. One of the 7 FGDs was conducted with a group of self-reported rape perpetrators.

Table 4: Focus groups according to province, locality, age group, and gender

Province	District, sub-district: Site	Site Type	Age group	Gender	
				Males	Females
Gauteng	Sedibeng District, Evaton	Peri-urban	25-34y	7	-
	City of Tshwane, Soshanguve ³	Peri-urban	25-34y	9	-
	City of Johannesburg Region D, Protea Glen	Urban	18-24y	-	8
Mpumalanga	Ehlanzeni District, Chochocho	Rural	25-34y	8	-
	Ehlanzeni District, Hazyview	Urban	18-24y	8	-
KwaZulu-Natal	eThekweni (West), KwaNgqolosi	Rural	18-24y	9	-
	eThekweni (North), Ntuzuma	Peri-urban	25-34y	-	8
Total:	6 Districts	2 x Urban 3 x Peri-urban 2 x Rural	3 x 18-24y 4 x 25-34y	41	16

Study sites correspond to districts that the South African government (SAG) have identified as ‘priority’ districts. Male and female participants (total 57) were in unisex groups, in 18-

³ This group of males are self-reported perpetrators of rape. All other participants were not screened for prior experience of being a victim or perpetrator of rape or other forms of SGBV.

24y and 25-34y age groups. One group of peri-urban males 25-34y were self-reported rape perpetrators. All other males were unscreened in terms of previous rape perpetration.

Minimum criteria for inclusion in focus group discussions (FGDs) were that participants: Were of the specified gender, age range and locality type; Were willing to talk openly and to share their opinions about the topics to be focused on; Would provide permission and informed consent for the audio-recording of discussions and the use of data in a way that protects their identity; Understood and spoke English as the scripts to be pre-tested were only provided in English. Ethical considerations were reasonably addressed, including referrals to service providers. All focus groups were audio-recorded and transcribed. Where necessary, transcribers translated the audio from vernacular to English, verbatim, during the transcription. Data was coded using Hyperresearch 3.7.2 and analysed.

Results

The average age of unscreened males was 25.2 years, females, 25.9 years, and 28.2 years for self-reported rape perpetrators. All participants were unemployed.

Evaluation of Script 1: *'It's your choice'*

Clarity and understanding of the scripted events: Overall, all males and females understood the storyline presented and found it clear. There were no reported confusions in this regard. Across all focus groups participants indicated that they understood the central message of the script, namely that the script emphasises choice.

Likes and dislikes: The most commonly-expressed 'like' and aspect of the script that stood out identified by unscreened men and women was the phrase *'You can't change your past, but you have a choice now about what kind of man you want to be'*. Participants particularly liked the final voice-over statement *'None of those things were your choice but raping me will be'*, the rejection of an abusive past to be a good man, learning that abused men were themselves abused, and that the male character was not a bad person, that he responded to verbal reason, and that he understood that rape was wrong. The most often-stated term used to describe the script was *'powerful'*.

Realism and resonance: Overall, participants in all groups viewed the scripted scenario as realistic, and often painful due to being reminded of their own personal experiences of being abused, or witnessing such abuse (domestic violence). It is notable that across groups, many men talked about being abused as children, witnessing domestic violence at home and or currently are abusive to intimate partners. In addition, several men talked about witnessing SGBV in their communities. This is in contrast to female participants, where only one participant talked about growing up in a home where her father abused her mother. Other female participants talked about knowing others who were in intimate partner violence relationships and or witnessing SGBV in their communities.

Ascription of Themba's desire to rape: The majority consensus was that the script was saying that men rape because they were raised in an abusive environment which causes these men to consider such abuse as normal, and thus resulting in these men committing similar abuse on others as adults.

Themba's choice: The perceived choices of the male character were: To rape or not to rape the woman; To live in the past or move forward and live a better life; To be like Themba's father and his uncle, or be a better man (or the man he wants to be), and not to abuse or rape.

Woman's voice-over: Clarity, identity, and benefits: All participants stated that the terminology was clear and understandable. The use of a female narrator was perceived to be beneficial and a voice that participants perceived men will respond to.

Final voice-over statement: 'None of those things were your choice but raping me will be': The final voice-over statement was considered to be powerful, understandable, and to convey hope, and was appreciated for its simplicity and clarity by all groups.

Closing announcer statement: 'Choose to be a good man': Men had a broad view of what a 'good man' was: A 'good man' was variously defined as someone who has self-respect, respect from and for others, makes 'good' decisions, is focused on the future, a man who does not hit women or abuse other people, treats others with respect, and leads a moral life. Women described a 'good man' in terms of how he should treat women and his family with love, a man who refrains from violence, and a man who is protective, respectful, and caring.

Main message: The most frequently-stated received message by all groups was: *Put the past behind you - You have a choice to be different from those who abused you – You can have a better future.* There were no disagreements or confusions regarding this central message.

Calls to action: The most often-mentioned call-to-action mentioned was that men must stop abusing women and children, followed by the call that parents must not fight in front of their children. Other calls-to-action included that a man should think before he acts, that he should be a 'good' man, that people should speak up when they witness abuse, and that abused women should report the abuse.

Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention - qualitative: Overall, participants were divided on whether the script had a strong rape-prevention message. Among those who perceived the script to contain a rape prevention message, these centred on: *Strengths:* The story directly addresses and includes men; The story promotes rape prevention through emphasising personal agency; The script emphasises the long-term impact of violence on children; Strong rape prevention plus strong prevention of domestic violence message. *Weakness:* The script focuses on domestic violence more than on rape.

Anticipated interpersonal communications about rape: The majority of participants said the advert would result in constructive interpersonal conversations.

Perceived target audience: Overall, the perceived target audience was broad, and included men (abused, potential abusers, and abusers), females, parents of children, and children. Self-reported rape perpetrators stated that the target audience were men, women and children (abused, potential abusers, and abusers).

Participant recommendations and suggestions: Few suggestions were made. One suggestion was that there should be some message included that if a man rapes, he should be punished. Another suggestion was that there should be messaging promoting counselling for men's anger, and replacement of the implied male rape of the young boy with a less shocking image of a man beating the boy.

Evaluation of Script 2: 'Not just anyone'

Clarity and understanding of the scripted events: Overall, the storyline was perceived to be clear and understandable. However, there were notable exceptions among some older males and females of all ages who expressed confusion regarding who raped the male character's sister (and why), and whether his remorse was only due to the rape of his sister.

Likes and dislikes: The most often-stated 'like' among males and females concerned the realism of the drink-for-sex expectation, which was stated to be a common cause for rape in participants' communities. Other participants liked that the main character was remorseful for his actions, and that the script states that raping a woman means you are raping someone's sister, mother or grandmother.

The most often-stated dislike was the apparent superficiality of the main character's remorse for raping a woman. The most commonly-used word used to describe the script was '*painful*'.

Realism and resonance: Overall, participants said that the drinks-for-sex expectation is highly prevalent in the communities and the majority of participants related to this scenario. Assigning blame for the rape exclusively on Thami was a complex issue with a range of disparate views.

Ascription of Thami's desire to rape: The most-commonly stated view regarding why Thami raped Lerato concerned the expectation of sex in exchange for alcohol. Some participants said that the rape of Lerato within the context of a tavern and consumption of alcohol makes the ascription of responsibility for the rape complicated, and not clear-cut. This led to animated and long discussions in the focus groups.

Thami's remorse for raping Lerato: For the majority of participants the man's remorse was viewed as personal and superficial. Few participants believed that his remorse would have occurred had his sister not been raped. However, at the same time, participants believed that Thami had learned – through the rape of his sister - that women are not depersonalised sex objects, but people who are loved and have families.

Male voice-over statements: Most participants understood the basic story being narrated. However, a small minority of participants confused the two raped women with each other. The statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter'* was the most widely discussed voice-over statement.

Main messages received: The main messages received were: Seeing a woman as a sexual object was wrong, and that men should respect women; The script warned against raping because *'what goes around comes around'*; When a man rapes a woman, he is raping someone's loved one; The harm caused by the drinks-for-sex expectation, and that it is wrong for both men and women to engage in this social expectation. A small minority of participants expressed views indicative of inequitable social norms held about women and rape. These included: She didn't have self-respect, that's why he raped her. Three men expressed that because Thami was not punished, this would encourage men to rape.

Calls to action: Prominent calls-to-actions included: Don't take advantage - men should not expect sex in exchange for drinks or gifts; Think about your future, and consider your future before you act; Rape is not right – Stop raping – Get help; Stop expecting sex in exchange for drinks; Stop raping – Get help – What goes around comes around; Think about your future, and consider your future before you act.

Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention: Most participants stated that the advertisement would help prevent rape in some groups of men (e.g., men who cared about their families; those who engage in drinks-for-sex), but not in other groups (e.g., sociopaths; habitual rapists; men with rigid gender beliefs of a man having authority over women).

Anticipated interpersonal conversations about rape: The consensus was that the advertisement would stimulate conversations between people, particularly concerning changing men's attitudes towards women, and the drinks-for-sex expectations.

Perceived target audience: Most participants said that the advertisement was aimed at both men and women, of all ages, mainly those likely to engage in sex-for-drinks at taverns, and drinking alcohol in general.

Participant recommendations and suggestions: One recommendation concerned remedying the lack of perceived depth to Thami's remorse for raping Lerato. Another recommendation was to portray Thami being punished for the rape.

Evaluation of Script 3: 'Unexpected victim'

Rejection of script 3: Detailed and full results of the analysis of Script 3 are not included in this report, and the script was not presented to the final group of self-reported rape perpetrators, mainly because responses from all unscreened males and females indicated a high rate of confusion regarding the script. Most of these participants misunderstood the narrative.

Participants' overall most-liked script: Reasons

Most liked script overall: 'It's your choice'

- The script was considered straightforward, simple, and not confusing;
- The message – described as powerful - was easily discernible;
- The male character did not rape;
- The focus was on making positive and good choices for the future;
- The scenarios of childhood abuse were considered highly realistic.

Second most-liked script overall: 'Not just anyone'

- Reminded men to consider that they have women in their family before they rape, and that the impact of rape on the woman and her family is very painful;
- Promoted independence in women (women not accepting drinks from men).

'Unexpected victim'

- The script showed the punitive aspect of this script (the rapist is in prison);
- The script promotes support for rape victims.

Participants' choice of script with strongest rape prevention message: Reasons

The script obtaining the most overall support was *Script 2 – Not just anyone* (49%), followed by *Script 1 – It's your choice* (28%) and then *Script 3 – Unexpected victim* (27%).

'Script 2 – Not just anyone': A wide range of inter-related rationales were provided. Cluster 1: The main character learned a lesson because his sister was also raped; He suffered the emotional consequences of his actions, that he realised he was wrong; What one does to others can return to harm you; The script showed the pain that rape causes to victims and their families. Cluster 2: The strong focus on rape (as opposed to the broader focus on several types of violence and abuse in *'It's your choice'*); directly addressing men and telling men not to rape, and to treat women with respect instead. Cluster 3: The focus on a common venue for sex and rape (taverns), and sex-for-drink expectations; Teaches men not to expect sex for drinks; Teaches women to buy their own drinks.

'Script 1: 'It's your choice': A man can choose to overcome his past, and choose not to rape; The diversity of abuse depicted, and that this addressed many different audiences.

'Script 3 - Unexpected victim': The consequences of rape - for the rapist (prison), and for victims, and the families of victims and rapists (pain, heartache, rejection); The need for community and family support for victims of rape.

Preferred script endings

Two-thirds (65%) of all participants preferred Option 1: *If you need help call us on this number'* and one-third (35%) chose Option 2: *'If you or someone you know is at risk of raping, call*

this number'. The preferred standardised ending was due to it being perceived as addressing both victims and perpetrators of rape and SGBV.

A few men objected to the implications in the '*if you feel there's a chance of you raping*' statement that the desire to rape was an emotion, and that it could be pre-planned. Instead, several of these men said that wanting to rape was a thought, not a feeling.

The most frequently-mentioned service that the toll-free number would (or should) offer was counselling or therapy, followed by advice to men on what to do not to rape; the reporting of a man at risk of raping, and reporting of a woman at risk of being raped. The most-commonly mentioned type of user was men who are considering rape for any reason, those men who have been abused, followed by perpetrators of rape, and victims of rape, and both victims and perpetrators.

Conclusions and recommendations

The findings from the pre-testing study indicate that two of the three scripts – *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* – emerged as '*powerful*' potential advertisements, as described by participants. The first – *It's your choice* – was clearly favoured in terms of overall script, but *Not just anyone* was considered the script with the strongest rape prevention messaging. The third script – *Unintended victim* – was misunderstood and rejected by most participants in terms of the overall storyline, and yet garnered significant support by many women in terms of its rape prevention message.

In considering which script to develop into a televised advertisement, various factors need to be taken into account:

The vision and overall objective of the rape prevention campaign:

'The overall vision of the rape prevention campaign is to reduce the incidence of rape within South Africa to the point that we live in a violence-free society. The overall campaign objective is to limit HIV infection through rape'.

Based upon the analysis, both *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* would achieve this vision and primary objective, but for different reasons: *It's your choice* because it addresses a spectrum of sexual and non-sexual violence and abuse, and *Not just anyone* because it focuses exclusively on rape and upon a highly prevalent situation (drinks-for-sex) that participants considered a common setting and cause of rape.

The causes, effects and situational contexts of rape are complex and varied

In the *Its your choice* script, the focus is upon domestic violence, IPV, abuse of children, and how exposure to these events traumatise young boys, and normalise sexual and non-sexual violence as a means of behaviour. Many participants – including rape perpetrators – recognised the veracity of this concept, and stated that this was a new and useful insight, with counselling interventions suggested, as well as the scripts' strong message to parents

concerning how domestic violence and IPV affects children, and its long-term consequences in terms of sexual and other violence within the community. The recognition of the impact of child-rearing practices and other forms of violence and abuse in shaping a person's adult behaviour is indicated by the majority (77%) of participants choosing this script as their overall preference.

In *Not just anyone*, participants recognised the script as depicting a common cause of rape, namely the drinks-for-sex expectations that occur in social drinking settings, such as taverns. Participants also highlighted the emotional pain caused by rape, and how rape can be prevented through emphasising the human-ness (versus being sexual object) of women as a loved one. I.e., the script emphasises social norms, including drinks-for-sex expectations, and some men's views of women as having lesser value. The selection of this script as having the strongest rape prevention message by half of the participants (49%) indicates the importance of this specific scenario in rape prevention, and it was notable that the discussions were animated regarding the social norms informing this script.

Messaging addresses audiences amenable to change.

Script development was guided by the principles that scripts need to address those who were amenable to change. This was also recognised by participants, some of whom explicitly excluded sociopaths - 'Sgoras' – and habitual rapists from impact of the scripts.

Participants identified *Its your choice* as having the strongest explicit message regarding non-sexual and sexual forms of violence (intimate partner violence, sexual abuse of children, abuse, harassment of women, rape), as the male character commences rape, and – through internalised reason – chooses to reject his past, and not rape.

In *Not just anyone*, change occurs in the main character, and is produced internally through a rapists' realisation of the pain caused by rape, after the fact.

It was notable that although several participants questioned the depth and sincerity of the rape perpetrator's remorse initially in *Not just anyone*, there was overall recognition by most participants that the main character had experienced a profound attitude change towards women as a result of his own sister getting raped. The main character was seen to have transformed his attitude of seeing women as 'objects' or as 'owing sex', to seeing women as human beings, with families and loved ones.

When one of the main rationales concerning why many women chose the third script – *Unexpected victim* – as their preferred rape prevention script is considered, namely that the rapist is imprisoned for his actions (i.e., punitive consequences), it is possible to postulate that a modification of the *Not just anyone* script to include the man being in prison for his rape, would possibly resolve any outstanding questions regarding this script.

Key communication message and objectives of the rape prevention campaign

'The key communication message of the rape prevention campaign is to challenge masculinities that presume that men are entitled to sex and provoke discussions on the social norms that enable rape - traditional masculine and feminine identities and norms'.

Not just anyone led to long and thoughtful discussions among participants in relation the key objectives of the campaign:

- Discussions that challenge masculinities that presume men are entitled to sex;
- Provoke discussions on social norms that enable rape – traditional masculine and feminine identities and norms;
- Reflection on situations that increase men and women's vulnerabilities as rape perpetrators or victims of rape.

However, there was minimal discussion in *It's your choice* among participants in relation to the above objectives. Discussions primarily centred on cycles of violence and how these are perpetuated or broken by 'choosing' a different pathway than violence. How the main character gets to the point of 'choice' was not engaged with deeply, besides alluding to him receiving counselling and or making a conscious decision not to repeat his own abusive past.

The scripts were not presented visually

The scripts did not have the benefit of visuals, and evaluations by participants relied upon their understanding of the printed word. In this regard, some participants confused some characters (e.g., the sister and the raped woman in *Not just anyone*). It is likely that these confusions would be resolved through visual identification of the characters in a televised advertisement.

Core narratives cannot be directly compared

It is apparent that the *Unexpected victim* script cannot be considered as a potential campaign script, for three reasons: First, the script produced great confusion. Secondly, even if the confusions were resolved through rewriting, most participants did not resonate with the concept that rape victims (conjectured by participants, not stated in the script) are isolated and rejected by the community. Thirdly, for those few participants who understood the intended storyline and who said that isolation and rejection of the family of rape perpetrators does sometimes occur, it is also a reality that rape convictions in South Africa are low, and the scenario presented would probably not hold sufficient reality for audiences.

However, the dilemma in identifying which of the other two scripts – *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* – should be the recommended script for development into a televised advertisement lies in the fact that the two preferred scripts cannot be compared directly, for reasons previously stated:

- In one script, rape is prevented through the transformative effect of reason and rejection of the past (*It's your choice*), while in the other script (*Not just anyone*), future rape is prevented through the transformative effect of a rape perpetrator's new-found awareness that a woman who is raped is someone's loved one, and that great emotional pain is caused by rape.
- In one script (*It's your choice*), the underlying causes of how a man can become a rapist is presented, which involves a variety of social forms of sexual and non-sexual violence, including domestic violence, child abuse, and IPV. In the other script (*Not just anyone*), rape is placed within the context of a specific (and common) setting and widely-understood aberrant expectation, which is understood by most men and women.

Both scripts can be expected to generate wide discussion. However, which script would produce the greatest impact in reducing rape? In the final analysis, the second script – *Not just anyone* – was identified by participants as the script with the strongest rape prevention message. The primary reason stated was that it was specifically addressing rape, and a common context for rape.

Other recommendations include:

- Suggest 'good man' changed for phrasing from participants as the *Brothers for Life* campaign is non-judgemental and the use of the word 'good' introduces binary language;
- 'It's your choice' is a powerful script and can be used for the launch of broader SGBV campaign;
- Clarify who the helpline is; it was assumed the helpline was for *Brothers for Life*.
- Many questions on whether toll free means can call from a cell phone or only landline. Suggest free call from any number including cell number.
- Rural participants suggested a rural setting as they expressed that rural contexts are under-represented on television.
- Critical that services for counselling men as perpetrators of SGBV and rape, men at high risk of rape, as well as for victims of rape and SGBV are in place for this campaign. Many male participants requested referral for counselling and support after the focus group discussions.

Background

Background to the *Brothers for Life* Campaign

Brothers for Life is a national campaign that promotes the health and wellbeing of South African men, targeting men between the ages 18 to 34 years, with a specific focus on HIV prevention and treatment, Medical Male Circumcision (MMC) and Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV). The campaign is a partnership between the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI, previously JHHESA), the SANAC Men's sector, the Department of Health, and USAID/PEPFAR. The campaign is supported financially by the US President's Emergency Plan for AIDS Relief (PEPFAR) and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

Brothers for Life campaign objectives

Brothers for Life seeks both to influence some of the social norms that define masculinity and influence gender norms as well as to impact on specific areas of knowledge and practice in HIV prevention and treatment. The normative focus of *Brothers for Life* centres on promoting an alternative definition of masculinity to *'the dominant notions of masculinity [which] are predicated on the control of women and infused with ideas of male sexual entitlement'*⁴.

Brothers for Life strives to influence and entrench a masculine role based on the values of personal responsibility, mutual respect and support between men and women in intimate relationships, and responsible and active parenting. In particular, the campaign seeks to reduce both the acceptance of and incidence of sexual and gender-based violence. The direct HIV-related objectives are to:

- 1) Increase correct and consistent condom use by men.
- 2) Increase HIV testing by men.
- 3) Increase number of men who initiate antiretroviral treatment (ART), adhere to ART and who achieve viral load suppression.
- 4) Reduce the number of sexual partners among men.
- 5) Increase men's support for and participation in the prevention of mother-to-child transmission (PMTCT) of HIV.
- 6) Increase the number of men who understand the benefits of MMC in preventing HIV infection.
- 7) Increase the number of men who undergo MMC.

⁴ Seedat M, Van Niekerk A, Jewkes R et al (2009). Violence and injuries in South Africa: prioritising an agenda for action. *The Lancet Special Edition on South Africa*: August 2009.

- 8) Increase awareness of excessive alcohol use and other substance use as a risk factor for HIV.
- 9) Reduce sexual and gender based violence.

Gender based violence and sexual violence against women

Framing and defining the issue: GBV, SGBV and SVAW

The current pre-testing research is focused upon the prevention of rape perpetrated by men against women. Therefore, a distinction is made between *sexual gender-based violence* (SGBV) as a *general* term, and SGBV affecting women specifically, referred to as *sexual violence against women* (SVAW).

GBV (the older term for SGBV) is an umbrella term concerning any harm (sexual and non-sexual) harm perpetrated by any person (male or female) against any other person (male or female) against their will, that is based on socially ascribed (gender) differences. GBV is not synonymous with violence perpetrated by males against women and girls, although it is widely recognised that GBV is often perpetrated against women and girls by men and boys.⁵

Sexual GBV (versus non-sexual GBV) of any nature can be committed by men, women, and children, against men, women and children: It is not a gender-specific (or age-specific) offence.⁶ However, SVAW (sexual violence against women and girls) is gender-specific, and refers only to sexual violence perpetrated against females, usually by males.

Formative research into community perspectives on VAW in South Africa

In 2015 CADRE conducted formative research into community perspectives of violence against women in South Africa⁷. This research provides key findings that have been used to inform the development of a national SGBV campaign, which has as a sub-component, a national rape prevention campaign. Findings from the formative research have been used to develop the key messages focused upon in the current research, and these are briefly summarised below:

Background

CADRE conducted formative research in 2015, along with a literature review, to provide the evidence base for the development of a national SGBV campaign in South Africa, a sub-component of which will be a rape prevention campaign. The primary purpose of the

⁵ International Rescue Committee, 2015; Inter-Agency Standing Committee, 2005; Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2008; Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2008

⁶ Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, 2008

⁷ Clarfelt A, Hajiyanis H, Orr NM, Stern E, Myers L, Matekane T, Makhubele MB, Delate R, Mahlasela L, and Goldblatt B. (2016). *Formative research findings into community perspectives on violence against women in South Africa*. CADRE (Centre for AIDS Development, Research and Evaluation): Johannesburg and Cape Town, South Africa.

formative research was to explore drivers of, and ideational factors pertaining to, sexual violence against women and girls (SVAW).

A literature review on Sexual Violence against Women (SVAW) was conducted prior to the study. The review indicated that between 25% and 55% of women have experienced physical intimate partner violence (IPV) in South Africa, and that so-called ‘stranger rape’ is also a strong reality in South Africa. Underreporting of sexual violence is a significant issue.

Significant drivers of SVAW included:

- Gender identities and inequality (traditional masculine and feminine identities and norms);
- Poverty;
- Substance use (especially alcohol);
- Re-victimisation after childhood sexual abuse;
- Perpetrators’ previous experience of violence and the cycle of abuse;
- Levels of education;
- SVAW is driven by a complex interplay of personal, situational, and sociocultural factors.

Methodology

The study (13 focus groups – 52 women and 46 men; 6 individual interviews (4 women and 2 men; and interviews with 9 service provider staff) was conducted in urban, peri-urban and rural sites in 6 health districts (City of Johannesburg; West Rand; City of Tshwane; Lejweleputswa; Gert Sibande; eThekweni) across four South African provinces (Gauteng, Free State, Mpumalanga, and KwaZulu-Natal). These sites correspond to districts that the South African Government have identified as ‘priority’ districts.

Criteria for inclusion in 9 of the focus groups were that participants should have first or second hand knowledge of violence against women (female participants), or be a partner or close family member of a woman who had experienced VAW (male participants), and be open to sharing their thoughts and experiences with the researchers towards the study’s aims. Priority was given to potential participants who had direct or indirect need for PEP services, thus limiting participation to those with direct or indirect experience of SVAW.

The other 4 focus groups were not screened for first or second hand knowledge or experience of violence against women. Recruitment criteria for individual interviews were that participants had direct or indirect experience of SVAW. Criteria for service provider interviews included staff from organisations working directly with SVAW, specifically those providing or PEP to clients (where possible), or referring clients for PEP.

Findings

Forms of violence against women

Both male and female participants reported a high level of sexual and non-sexual VAW in their communities. The most commonly referred to form of VAW was intimate partner violence (IPV). IPV partner violence includes physical, emotional and sexual violence, and often an abusive relationship was reported to comprise a combination of these types of violence.

Numerous examples were provided by both female and male participants of women being raped by unknown men while walking down streets, by casual acquaintances at social activities (e.g., parties and taverns), by men who had propositioned the women and been rejected, by men who had taken advantage of the woman's inebriation, by family members such as fathers, uncles, cousins and brothers, and men raping women because the man had provided free drinks or gifts.

Gang rape was also reported to be common. Often alcohol fuels these situations of gang rape. Another form of gang-related sexual violence involved targeting the female partners and family members of male gangsters by rival gangs for the purpose of retaliation.

It was reported that some men use the economic vulnerability of women (e.g., obtain or retain employment; obtain promotion) to coerce the woman to have sex.

Girl and boy children were reported to be vulnerable to sexual abuse, even those who are very young. Children who are in foster care are more vulnerable to abuse because it was reported that they are not perceived to be equal to other family members.

Drivers of sexual violence against women

Violence against women – both sexual and non-sexual - was highly prevalent in all the communities researched. The two manifestations of violence – sexual and non-sexual – often coincided, such as robbery and rape, or beating of a partner followed by forced sex, and are presented together. This violence is underpinned by a number of factors:

Traditional masculine and feminine norms: Traditional gender norms, in terms of what is expected from men and women within relationships and socially, were reported as a major direct and indirect cause of violence against women. Several participants asserted that the community condoned social norms for a woman to respect the authority of her husband. Such acts of violence are not considered or perceived to be abusive, including forced sex.

Abusers' personal background of abuse: Participants provided some insight into why some men rape or abuse women due to modelling parent's behaviours of abuse, as well as experiencing the trauma of violence within their home.

Perceptions that inappropriate behaviour in public justifies violence against women: There were instances where men thought a woman deserved to be raped or to be physically abused if their behaviour or dress was deemed inappropriate.

Men's 'natural' aggression, sexual drive, and insecurity: Men were often considered to have a stronger sexual drive than women, and that this sexual drive was sometimes uncontrollable. Men are also believed to be sexually insecure, leading to jealousy and possessiveness regarding their female partners, and violence against female partners who are seen associating with other men.

Economics, gender, and violence: Several economic phenomena were described as driving SVAW, including norms that a man is the breadwinner, pay-day violence in intimate relationships because of a lack of financial income, control over women who earn income, and female and child economic dependency, male financial insecurity when dating, and sexual expectations for buying women drinks.

Substance use: The use of alcohol and drugs - especially to excess - was frequently mentioned by participants as associated with SVAW, for both perpetrators and survivors.

Discussion

Within the parameters of the age group of 18 to 35 years, the study appears to have produced an in-depth and detailed description of the variety of types of VAW (particularly SVAW) in South Africa, including risk factors, potential causes, the impact of such violence, community responses, and the strengths and weaknesses of post-violence support services.

Violence against women - whether sexual or non-sexual- was found to occur in a wide range of situations, within and outside of intimate relationships, and is perpetrated by intimate partners, family members, peers, strangers, and gangs. Based on the evidence presented by the women and men in this study, sexual and non-sexual violence against women is not confined to a specific setting or residence type (urban, peri-urban, and rural).

The reports from both men and women regarding why and how sexual violence against women occurs, and the responses by friends, partners, family members and the community, contained a wide range of data that are largely consistent with previous studies.

The most commonly reported types of violence against adult women were sexual and non-sexual IPV, and rape, perpetrated by family members, former partners, acquaintances, and strangers. There were also instances of economic abuse reported, and gang rape.

The most common justifications and explanations for sexual violence – from both women and men – focus upon six central concepts: Traditional gender roles; The community-wide entrenchment of traditional gender roles; Economic factors; Alcohol and drug use (by both women and men); The distrust of service providers; Violence for the sake of revenge.

Most striking was the description of VAW (sexual and non-sexual) as being either ‘deserved’ (i.e., the woman was responsible for creating the stimulus for the violence) or ‘undeserved’. Directly related to the deserved/undeserved explanations for VAW was how partners, families and the community responded differently to reports of VAW, depending upon whether the woman was perceived to ‘deserve’ the acts of perpetrators or not.

Recommendations

CADRE’s recommendations focus mainly upon addressing the drivers of SVAW, and the prevention of SVAW and non-sexual VAW:

- 1) Shift norms around masculinity and femininity;
- 2) Promote healthy, gender-equitable intimate relationships;
- 3) Include messages for families, partners and the community;
- 4) De-normalise violence within families at an early age;
- 5) Address the stigma surrounding being a rape survivor;
- 6) Promote non-violent community action;
- 7) Provide clear, simple steps on how to act after experiencing violence.

Conclusions

A fundamental recommendation from the formative research concerns the profound negative impact of stereotyped gender norms, and how this is central to understanding and addressing the causes of violence against women, including sexual violence against women.

There is also an urgent need to shift social norms that stigmatise the survivor rather than holding the perpetrator and society in general, accountable.

Brothers for Life & Zazi SGBV violence prevention campaign

The United States Agency for International Development (USAID) South Africa has mandated the Centre for Communication Impact (CCI) to develop and implement a national Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) prevention campaign in 2016 – 2017 in fulfilment of the HIV prevention activities undertaken in the USAID *Communities Forward Strategic Communications* award. The national SGBV campaign is a combined effort with the Department of Social Development (DSD), USAID, and CCI.

The SGBV prevention campaign is aligned with the following DSD strategy:

‘Prevent VAW from occurring through a sustained strategy for transforming attitudes, practices and behaviours’.

The campaign will contribute towards the achievement of the following indicator:

Indicator 1: ‘By 2018, a national enabling environment is created to transform attitudes, practices and behaviours leading to women and children living free from violence in line with human rights principles’.

Measures of the success of the campaign will include the percentage of women who indicate that they feel safe as measured by the Victim of Crime (VOC) survey, and the percentage of target population (men and boys) who reject violence against women and children (VAWC).

Purpose and objectives of the SGBV campaign

The overall vision of the SGBV campaign is to reduce the incidence of rape and gender based violence within South Africa to the point that we live in a violent-free society. The overall campaign objective is to limit HIV infection through rape.

The SGBV prevention campaign objectives are:

- 1) To provoke discussions on how to change gender inequitable social norms that enable SGBV and rape;
- 2) Link perpetrators and survivors to services and support;
- 3) Link families and communities to intervention tools;
- 4) Encourage men and women to reflect on situations that increase their vulnerabilities as SGBV and rape perpetrators or rape targets;
- 5) Provoke discussions on child-rearing to prevent violence;
- 6) Provoke discussions on community attitudes to SGBV and rape perpetrators and survivors of SGBV and rape;
- 7) Trigger public debate on how South African health, police and judicial services can be improved and why there are such high levels of rape in South Africa.

The primary target audience of the campaign is men 18-34 years. The secondary target audience is women 15-34 years. Influencing audiences include the police, politicians, and the media.

Table 1: SGBV campaign elements

Content	Channel	When	Objective
TV PSA	TV + Commuter TV	August – December 2017	Encourage reflection and debate about rape, link men to services, ‘interrupt’ would be-rapists
Rhythm City storyline integration	eTV + online	August – September 2017	Challenge inequitable gender norms that enable rape, link to services, model survivor support and process
Rhythm City Commuter TV short films	Commuter TV and Facebook	August – September 2017	Challenge norms, provoke discussion and explore issues in detail
Social media	Facebook, Twitter, Instagram	May – December 2017	Popularise campaign, link to services and information, normative stories
Digital advertising	Search, ads and content	May – December 2017	Popularise campaign, link to services and information, normative stories
IEC materials and website	Community	May – December 2017	Information, link to stories

Brothers for Life Rape prevention campaign

The vision of the *B4L* rape prevention campaign is to reduce the incidence of rape within South Africa to the point that we live in a society where there is no rape or sexual violence.

The rape prevention campaign is a combined effort with the Department of Social Development, USAID, and CCI.

The objectives of the rape prevention campaign are to:

- 1) Encourage perpetrators and men at risk of perpetrating rape, to think about their intended actions and not to rape;
- 2) Provoke discussions that challenge gender inequitable social norms that enable rape;
- 3) Link perpetrators of rape and survivors of rape to services and support;
- 4) Encourage interpersonal discussion about the causes of rape in South Africa and how these can be ameliorated;
- 5) Encourage men and women to reflect on situations that increase their vulnerabilities as rape perpetrators or victims of rape.
- 6) Encourage men who have perpetrated or are at risk of perpetrating sexual violence to recognise the need for support and to act on this by reaching out for support.
- 7) Trigger discussions on community attitudes to rape perpetrators and survivors.

The campaign will address ideational factors for males and females. These are described in tables 2 and 3 below:

Table 2: Ideational Factors - Men

Knowledge	Self-efficacy	Norms	Attitude	Risk Perception
Men know legal definitions of rape and abuse and its consequences	Men are willing and able to find help to address violent behaviour	Men aspire to live in a society free of sexual violence	Men believe that women have equal rights in society	Men can assess their risk of perpetuating rape
Men know how to identify triggers for sexual violence in themselves and others	Men know how to intervene to stop sexual violence in others	Men see strength in caring rather than dominant behaviour	Men believe that they have the power to live in a violence-free world	Men recognise the legal consequences of perpetrating rape
Men know that they are not entitled to sex with any person unless they are willing partners	Men are able to negotiate equitable relationships with sexual partners	Men value identities based on the quality rather than quantity of sexual relationships	Men believe that they are responsible for their own sexual gratification	Men recognise the vulnerability of women and girls to sexual violence in their families and communities

Men know how to mobilise interventions to stop sexual abuse Men know that violent men can change their behaviour.	Men are capable of acting within their communities to mobilise rape preventions interventions	Men value equitable rather than dominant relationships with women Men are engaged, nurturing fathers	Men believe that women can never be responsible for rape	Men recognise the risk children face of developing abusive behaviour
Men know the role substance abuse plays in rape	Men support rape survivors to report offences Men are capable of moderating alcohol consumption	Men see that all rape is the responsibility of the perpetrator and that women cannot be the authors of their own rapes	Men believe that children should be cared for, and nurtured in violent-free homes	Men recognise the risk that excessive alcohol consumption plays in the perpetration of rape
Men know the value of engaged parenting and the importance of raising children in violence-free homes	Men nurture children in violence-free homes	Men value moderate alcohol consumption	Men believe that moderate alcohol consumption lowers rape risks	

Table 3: Ideational Factors - Women

Knowledge	Self-efficacy	Norms	Attitude	Risk Perception
Women know legal definitions of rape	Women can access rape support services	Women value caring men who do not express aggressive and dominant masculinity	Women believe that women have equal rights in society	Women know how to recognise abusive behaviour in men
Women know where to access services for rape survivors	Women report rape to police and pursue prosecutions	Women support and protect others who experience sexual violence	Women value equitable relationships with men	Women know how to recognise situations that may lead to sexual violence and protect themselves
Women know how to mobilise community interventions to stop rape	Women can mobilise family or community members to intervene to stop rape	Women chose equitable relationships	Women believe that they have the power to live in a violent free world	
Women know that protecting rapists perpetuates rape Women know that they can exit abusive relationships	Women are able to exit abusive relationships.	Women see that all rape is the responsibility of the perpetrator and that women cannot be the authors of their own rapes	Women believe that women can never be responsible for rape	Women recognise the risk children face of developing abusive behaviour
Women know that rapists can change	Women are able to negotiate equitable relationships with sexual partners	Women exit relationships in which they are at risk of rape	Women believe that rape and any form of GBV is unacceptable	
	Women can mitigate rape risks	Women are engaged, nurturing mothers		
Women know the value of engaged parenting and the importance of raising children in violence-free homes	Women nurture children in violence-free homes			

Defining a target audience and message

The target market for the rape prevention campaign is, ideally all men and women 18 – 34, with a primary focus on people with the highest risk of HIV infection - taking into account demographics and Living Standard Measure (LSM) 1-7. The challenge of such a campaign would therefore be to find one message that speaks to both men and women.

It is impossible to develop one campaign that targets such a broad audience. After lengthy discussions among key stakeholders, it was agreed that the current rape prevention campaign would target men aged 18-34 who have perpetrated rape or who are at high risk of perpetrating rape who are amenable to change; and all other men including male partners and family members who have experienced rape themselves or the rape of a female loved one. The target audience was further refined to focus on rape not taking place within the context of intimate partner violence, as well as to exclude habitual rapists.

The secondary audience of the rape prevention campaign is women 18-34 years. Other influencing audiences are police, criminal justice personnel, politicians and the media.

Call to action

A key issue requiring resolution in the development of this campaign is to understand what the call to action is, what we are asking people to do, and where the boundaries of individual choice lie. By its very nature rape is something experienced differently by men and women, adults and children, perpetrators and survivors. While it is primarily experienced between one or several people, its existence within families and communities is often sustained through communal norms and the complicity, acts or omissions of others, including health and police services. Most perpetrators of violence are themselves survivors of childhood trauma and abuse. Choosing to remove oneself from a violent relationship or situation or choosing to alter one's own abusive behaviour, is, for the most part, not a simple choice that a person can make and sustain on their own. For this campaign to have value and effectiveness it needs to *open a door to possibilities of change*, in the knowledge that once this door is open *support* is available.

Purpose and objectives of the pre-testing study

The purpose of the current research is the pretesting of three creative treatments (scripts) focused upon rape prevention. These three treatments are based upon a prior literature review and formative research concerning community perspectives on violence against women in South Africa, conducted in 2015 (described briefly in previous sections).

Campaign key communication messages

The rape prevention campaign seeks to challenge masculinities that presume that men are entitled to sex and provoke discussions on the social norms that enable rape - (traditional

masculine and feminine identities and norms) - while telling men that they can change themselves and their environment.

Key insights of the scripts under review

Three creative treatments (scripts) were pre-tested. These were:

- 1) ***It's your choice***: Many rapists and potential rapists have been brought up in 'difficult' environments through no fault of their own. But while they cannot change what happened to them (e.g., exposure and witness to GBV and/or SGBV), they can choose how to shape their future as adult men.
- 2) ***You're not just raping anyone***: While men may de-humanise the women they rape, our target market still cares about the women in their lives (e.g., mothers, sisters, daughters).
- 3) ***Unexpected victim***: Most rapists fail to consider the effects that rape has, both on their victims, but also on those closest to them (e.g., the rapist's family).

Participants discussed each of these scripts, and at the conclusion of the focus group discussions, voted for (a) which script they preferred, and (b) which script had the strongest anti-rape message.

Participants were also presented with two closing statements concerning actions to be taken, and asked to choose which one they felt would be most likely to stimulate action by viewers:

- *Option 1*: (Announcer): "If you need help call us for free on 0800 428 428. *Brothers for Life*. Yenza kahle".
- *Option 2*: (Announcer): "Call 0800 428 428 if you or someone you know is at risk of raping. *Brothers for Life*. Yenza kahle".

Objectives of the pre-testing

The objectives of the pre-testing were:

- 1) To assess whether the scripts will lead to perpetrators and men at risk of perpetrating rape, to think about their intended actions and not to rape;
- 2) Encourage discussions that challenge gender inequitable social norms that enable rape.
- 3) Encourage men and women to reflect on situations that increase their vulnerability as rape perpetrators or victims of rape;
- 4) Trigger discussions on community attitudes to rape perpetrators and survivors of rape;

- 5) To assess whether the information offered in the scripts will persuade men (who have perpetrated rape or at risk of perpetrating rape) to get 'help' by calling the number in the advert;
- 6) Link perpetrators and men at risk of perpetrating rape and survivors of rape to services and support;
- 7) Assess what the primary call to action is, what is most likely to galvanize viewers to action, and how this should be communicated.
- 8) Evaluate scripts for clarity of the messages and any potential for misunderstanding;
- 9) To assess which creative treatment is preferred by participants and why.

The pre-testing discussions and analysis included a focus on:

- Originality, likeability, interest and appeal of the adverts;
- Identification with characters and their life worlds/or settings;
- Gender and cultural sensitivity and avoidance of stereotyping;
- Message or lesson takeout including unintended messaging;
- New learning;
- Preferred call to action (closing statement);
- Questions participants may have.

Target audience

The primary target audience of the rape prevention campaign TV scripts is men 18-34 years. This includes men who have perpetrated rape previously and who are amenable to change, men who are at risk of perpetrating rape, and all other men including male partners and family members who have experienced rape themselves or of a female loved one. The target audience was further refined to focus on rape not taking place within the context of intimate partner violence, as well as to exclude habitual rapists.

The secondary audience of the rape prevention campaign is women 18-34 years. Other influencing audiences are police, criminal justice personnel, politicians and the media.

Methodology

The pre-testing consisted of seven focus groups conducted in three provinces, across different locality types, gender and age groups. The groups were male- or female-only groups. The FG discussions provide the overall insights, opinions and feedback on the scripts that were pre-tested.

The research was conducted in urban, peri-urban and rural localities in 6 health districts: eThekweni West, eThekweni North (KwaZulu-Natal); the City of Johannesburg Region D, Sedibeng and City of Tshwane (Gauteng); and Ehlanzeni (Mpumalanga) districts. These sites correspond to districts that the South African government (SAG) have identified as ‘priority’ districts, given their high HIV prevalence rates and for having highly mobile / migrant worker populations. The location, site type, age group, and gender of participants are described in Table 4.

Participants were chosen to represent two age groups (18-24y and 25-34y) from various localities. Five groups took place with males (2 x 18-24y; 3 x 25-34y). Two groups took place with females (1 x 18-24y; 1 x 25-34y). Groups comprised 7-9 individuals in each group.

Overall, there were 57 participants; of these, 41 were males and 16 females.

Table 4: Focus groups according to province, locality, age group, and gender

Province	District, sub-district: Site	Site Type	Age group	Gender	
				Males	Females
Gauteng	Sedibeng District, Evaton	Peri-urban	25-34y	7	-
	City of Tshwane, Soshanguve ⁸	Peri-urban	25-34y	9	-
	City of Johannesburg Region D, Protea Glen	Urban	18-24y	-	8
Mpumalanga	Ehlanzeni District, Chochocho	Rural	25-34y	8	-
	Ehlanzeni District, Hazyview	Urban	18-24y	8	-
KwaZulu-Natal	eThekweni (West), KwaNgqolosi	Rural	18-24y	9	-
	eThekweni (North), Ntuzuma	Peri-urban	25-34y	-	8
Total:	6 Districts	2 x Urban 3 x Peri-urban 2 x Rural	3 x 18-24y 4 x 25-34y	41	16

⁸ This group of males are self-reported perpetrators of rape. All other participants were not screened for prior experience of being a victim or perpetrator of rape or other forms of SGBV.

Recruitment of participants

Minimum criteria for inclusion in focus group discussions (FGDs) were that:

- Participants are of the specified gender, age range and locality type;
- Participants express a willingness to talk openly and to share their opinions about the topics to be focused on;
- Participants must provide permission and informed consent for the audio-recording of discussions and the use of data in a way that protects their identity.
- Participants must understand and speak English as the scripts to be pre-tested were only provided in English.

For 6 of the 7 groups (excepting Soshanguve, Gauteng), CADRE researchers briefed recruiters with the selection criteria, who obtained names and contact telephone numbers of eligible participants. Researchers then contacted potential participants, and briefed them regarding the nature of the focus groups, and then invited them to participate. These participants were not screened for prior experience of being a victim or perpetrator of rape or other forms of SGBV; neither were they screened for childhood experiences of abuse, specifically growing up in a home where father or male figure abused mother and or the participant directly. These groups are hereafter collectively referred to as the ‘unscreened’ participants.

For one male group (Soshanguve), CADRE was provided with a list of names from *Heaven’s Defence Force Ministry*. These men had stated that they had raped before, but not necessarily convicted for the offense. The findings from this group are thus reported separately, as they represent self-reported rape perpetrators. This group is hereafter referred to as the ‘self-reported rape perpetrator’ group.

Focus group discussions occurred predominantly in English but for some participants who were not comfortable in English, discussions took place in the preferred language of participants, through the assistance of a translator. A basic demographic survey was conducted prior to FGDs. See *Appendix 1: Participant Demographics*.

Method

Participants were welcomed to the FG and the purpose of the focus group was described, allowing for any questions from participants about the purpose and process of the FG. The process followed during a FGD was explained as were general principles of FGDs that there are no right or wrong answers, rather it is a sharing of thoughts, opinions and feelings; that participants will all be given a chance to speak and to show respect to each other (no shouting at each other, listen carefully, may disagree with someone’s opinions and that this is the nature of FGDs; to switch off all cell phones during discussions). The principles of

confidentiality were explained and participants were given stickers with numbers that would be used throughout the FGD to identify and refer to each participant. The use of a number is to provide anonymity as the participant's name is not used during the FGD nor during analysis and presentation of findings; the use of a number to identify one's self when speaking is also to assist the transcriber identify who is speaking for the purposes of transcription.

The use of a number instead of real names also facilitates participants' sharing their thoughts and feelings freely, with no fear of reprisal or of being linked to what they have shared.

Informed consent was explained and participants were requested for permission to audio record the FGD.

Participants were not required to talk about anything they were uncomfortable with. In addition, measures were taken to make participation as comfortable as possible for participants: To counter the potential that a participant became upset, it was explained to all focus group participants that they do not need to answer any questions that they are uncomfortable with and that they could decide to end their participation in the focus group at any point, should they wish.

Participants had the aims and objectives of the research explained to them and were provided the opportunity to withdraw from the research should they decide to.

An informed consent form was signed by all participants explaining the use of the audio recorder and that the data will be used in a way that provides participants with confidentiality and anonymity. Participants were reimbursed for time, inconvenience and travel costs.

The importance of confidentiality and treating everything that others in the group share as confidential was emphasised, but it was also noted that this could not be guaranteed, and so participants were advised not to share anything that might cause them problems later if someone else were to find out. The informed consent process emphasised participants' agency in the process. If anyone felt the need for additional information or psychosocial support, referrals to the GBV toll free Helpline were made or to other local service providers

During FGDs the facilitator used a standardised FGD guide. The following methods were followed, as per this FGD guide:

Participants were welcomed, and asked to introduce themselves and say a little about themselves, e.g., place where live; live with whom; whether employed and where; if unemployed, what they do during the day; general interests. The purpose of this discussion was to introduce each other in the group and was an ice-breaker. The findings are not reported upon in this report.

The facilitator explained that there are scripts/treatments to be discussed, and that the FGD process would involve going through each script to get participants' thoughts and opinions about the scripts.

Participants were provided with a copy of each of the scripts. These were collected from participants at the end of the FGDs. Each script was read out in English and translated into the home language of participants in all the FGs. Scripts were translated because despite stating that they could understand and speak English, most participants requested to hear the scripts in their home language.

Ethical considerations

There was no risk of harm to participants as a product of the general nature of the questions explored. However, the pre-testing process can evoke memories and experiences if participants identify with situations and or with characters in the scripts. Given that the scripts focus on sexual and gender based violence, the facilitators planned to refer participants who requested support or more information about HIV, rape or SGBV to one of the following, depending on the nature of support or information requested:

- 1) The national AIDS Helpline (0800 012 322);
- 2) The DSD GBV toll free Helpline (0800 428 428) which is for survivors of rape and or GBV and for perpetrators of rape and or GBV;
- 3) The *Brothers for Life* website (which has specific helplines, as well as fact sheet and toolkits that are freely downloadable)

In 6 of the 7 FGDs, participants were not screened for being perpetrators or survivors of rape, SGBV, including childhood experiences of SGBV and abuse. Personal accounts of experiences of SGBV and rape, including childhood experiences of SGBV (living in a home where there was intimate partner violence) and child abuse were self-reported in the context of the FGDs.

When CADRE was requested to conduct an FGD with men known to have raped, there were several ethical issues that needed to be considered. These are listed below, with the way the ethical issue was resolved.

- 1) Would these men be asked about the types of sexual and gender based-violence they have perpetrated, including their own childhood experiences of GBV and abuse?

It was resolved that the FGD with men who had self-reported rape, would not be asked about the types of sexual and gender based violence they have perpetrated, nor about childhood experiences of GBV and abuse. This is because a) despite having access to men who were open to talking about the rapes they had perpetrated, the researchers chose to remain focused on the aims and objectives of the research, which

was to pre-test 3 scripts. By not focusing on the rapes and interpersonal violence perpetrated by these men, the same method of pre-testing was used across all the focus groups; b) self-reported acts of perpetrating rape and or intimate partner violence and or personal accounts of having experiences of GBV and rape, including childhood experiences of GBV (living in a home where there was intimate partner violence) and child abuse emerged in the context of all the FGDs as a response to the scripts and or discussion that followed. The ‘screened’ focus group were therefore not exceptionalised or treated differently from the other FG participants.

- 2) Did the sexual offenders form part of the target or secondary audience of the rape prevention campaign?

The primary target audience of the campaign includes men who have perpetrated rape and who are *amenable to change*. The FG with men who self-reported that they had raped, form part of the target audience. However, no participants in the research underwent psychometric testing and psychiatric evaluation to ascertain whether they are amenable to change. The FG with perpetrators of rape and intimate partner violence were not assessed to ascertain whether they are amenable to change. It was, however, thought to be useful to get the perspectives of men who self-reported perpetrating rape and intimate partner violence. However, the responses from the ‘screened’ group cannot be explained or understood in terms of those who are amenable and those not amenable to change, as a full personal history, mental status and clinical history, and history of criminal acts was not conducted.

- 3) Had these sexual offenders been through the criminal justice system and through a rehabilitation programme?

The group of self-reported men had all perpetrated rape and some also intimate partner violence were not asked by the researcher whether they had served prison sentences, nor whether they had been through rehabilitative programmes. The FG was set up by CCI partner organisation *Heaven’s Defence Force Ministries* at short notice and the only criteria given to the recruiting organisation was that men should have raped previously. The only information that emerged regarding the criminal justice system and whether any of the sexual offenders had served time in a correctional facility emerged spontaneously during the FGDs and was self-reported. It is noted that some participants in the sexual offender group had served prison sentences, sometimes for the rape, and sometimes for an unrelated crime. Again, it is noted that participants in the ‘unscreened’ FGs may have been perpetrators of rape and intimate partner violence and may have been through a correctional facility to serve time or not but that they were not asked about this directly. What emerged from participants was spontaneous and self-reported.

Ideally, men who are habitual rapists, those who show no remorse (psychopaths) and men who sexually abuse children should have been excluded from the FGDs as they are not part of the primary or secondary audience.

No participants were screened for whether they had raped more than once; the same principle applied to the group of self-reported sexual offenders. There was no mention by any participant of perpetrating sexual violence against children. Had any information emerged in the FGDs relating to current or intended sexual abuse of children, the researchers would have been obligated to report this to the police.

The ethical obligation of researchers is to report the planning of a crime or intention to commit a crime to the police. This includes the law that if an adult knows about the sexual abuse of a child, they are bound to report it.

Referrals

Many participants requested support after the FGDs. Participants were referred to the DSD GBV toll free helpline (0800 428 428) which is for survivors of SGBV and or rape and for perpetrators of rape and or SGBV and to the South African Depression and Anxiety Support Group.

All participants who requested support were male. Among the unscreened participants, requests usually followed descriptions of growing up in home environments where fathers or stepfathers were abusive to their mothers and sometimes directly to the participants. A common theme among the unscreened male participants who requested referral for support and counselling were descriptions of currently feeling uncontrollable anger (and often not knowing or understanding why); having grown up in homes where they were exposed to gender based violence (mothers being abused in the context of intimate partner violence), feeling helpless and powerless to change the situation, and never having talked about this experience with anyone, nor received support or counselling.

Some unscreened participants who did not talk about the reason for requests for referral from facilitators, were not asked to say why they wanted a referral.

One male from the unscreened participants requested help after the FGD, stating he had many issues: he was in the middle of a divorce; his childhood was abusive, where he witnessed his father abuse his mother and stated that he had never 'got over' this; the participant noted that he had previously been diagnosed with depression and treated with antidepressants but was not currently on treatment or in therapy; he reported he was depressed and thought of killing himself; he alluded to other issues of the kind that were discussed in the FG but said he did not want to talk about it right then. This participant's needs were immediate, and after spending time with him after the FGD, it was agreed with him that he wanted to speak to someone immediately and in the longer term, wanted counselling or therapy. The facilitator

and participant agreed that the facilitator would locate a counselling service he could access immediately and would contact him with the numbers upon return to the office (on the same day). This was done immediately upon the facilitator's return to the office, and the participant was referred to the South African Anxiety and Depression Support Group.

Among the screened 'perpetrator' group, some participants described perpetrating rape. Some participants openly talked about having grown up in home environments where fathers or stepfathers abused their mothers and sometimes they themselves were abused; some of these men talked about having been exposed to violence against women in their communities as well as violence against women modelled by peers. One participant also described witnessing the murder of a child by its mother (his neighbour).

Among the males in the screened FG, one participant asked for help not to rape again. Based on this participant's descriptions in the group, the facilitator spoke to him afterwards and strongly suggested that he contact the toll-free helpline for counselling. During the FGD, this participant repeatedly raised that he was 'shy' of girls and 'did not know how to approach them'; that when he had tried to approach a woman that he had just seen 'with a 'proposal' she rejected him, and he reports, 'I raped her violently'. The participant repeatedly mentioned that he did not know how to 'approach girls' because of his 'shyness' and because he gets sexually aroused around women, he chooses to go to taverns which are frequented by 'prostitutes'. During the FGD, when asked who the toll-free helpline was for and what kind of help was being offered, this participant said, 'it's for people like me... the people on the helpline will offer you a prostitute for free'. These and other comments made by this participant, in particular around impulse control, were seen as indications that this participant was at high risk of perpetrating rape again. In addition, the participant talked a lot but was difficult to understand at times, and it was not known whether he had learning and or psychiatric difficulties. It was noted that he had a low level of education – Grade 3 – compared to the rest of the 'screened' group who had all had a Grade 11 or 12 education level.

Three participants from the screened group self-reported rape perpetrators reported perpetrating intimate partner violence in the past or currently, citing that this is the reason they have chosen to be single, to avoid beating and abusing women. One participant however, who defined himself as single, is living with his partner and reported that he did not know how to stop abusing his partner, as talking gets him nowhere.

Data analysis and findings

All focus groups and interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed. When the language used in the focus group was not English, transcribers translated the audio from vernacular to English, verbatim, during the transcription. Detailed notes were taken during and after the groups. Data was coded using Hyperresearch 3.2, and analysed.

Results

Demographic description of participants

A full description of all participants is contained in *Appendix 1: Participants demographics Table A1.1: Participant demographics; Table A1.2: Cellular phone usage*. An overview of participant demographics is presented in Table 5, to follow. All questions were responded to by all participants.

Age of participants

The total number of unscreened males was 32, unscreened females 16, and self-reported rape perpetrators was 9. Their respective average age was 25.2 years, 25.9 years, and 28.2 years.

Participant highest level of education

The majority of participants reported having a Grade 12 education. A total of 54% of unscreened male and female participants (50%, 63%, respectively) and 44% of self-reported male rape perpetrators had Grade 12 education. Among participants who reported having less than a Grade 12 education, 29% of unscreened participants had less than Grade 12 (34% males, 19% females) and 44% of male self-reported rape perpetrators had less than Grade 12 education. A small minority of participants reported having a post-Grade 12 education: 17% of unscreened males and females (16% and 19%, respectively) and 11% of self-reported rape perpetrators had post-Grade 12 education. One unscreened male participant is currently studying towards a post-graduate university degree.

The lowest level of education among unscreened participants was Grade 6. The lowest level of education among the male self-reported rape perpetrators was Grade 3.

Table 5: Participant demographics

	Unscreened males and females						Self-reported male rape perpetrators	
	Males		Females		All unscreened			
Site								
# groups per site type	Urban x 1 Peri-urban x 1 Rural x 2		Urban x 1 Peri-urban x 1		Urban x 2 Peri-urban x 2 Rural x 2		Peri-urban x 1	
Age								
Age groups	18-24y: x 2 25-34y: x 2		18-24y: x 1 25-34y: x 1		18-24y: x 3 25-34y: x 3		25-34y: x 1	
Average age	25.2 years		25.9 years		25.4 years		28.2 years	
Number of participants	32	67%	16	33%	48	100%	9	100%
Highest educational level achieved								
Grade 11 and less	11	34%	3	19%	14	29%	4	44%
Grade 12	16	50%	10	63%	26	54%	4	44%
Post-Grade 12	5	16%	3	19%	8	17%	1	11%

Relationship status (self-reported)								
Single	18	56%	8	50%	26	54%	8	89%
Casual	0	-	4	25%	4	8%	0	-
Multiple	1	3%	0	-	1	2%	0	-
Long-term	9	28%	4	25%	13	27%	1	11%
Married	4	13%	-	-	4	8%	0	-
Has children								
Yes	9	28%	14	88%	23	48%	4	44%
Languages spoken								
English	21	66%	11	69%	32	67%	7	78%
isiZulu	14	44%	14	88%	28	58%	4	44%
isiSwati	14	44%	0	-	14	29%	0	-
Sesotho	5	16%	2	13%	7	15%	3	33%
isiXhosa	0	-	4	25%	4	8%	0	-
Afrikaans	2	6%	0	-	2	4%	0	-
Xitsonga	1	3%	0	-	1	2%	1	11%
Setswana	1	3%	0	-	1	2%	6	67%
isiNdebele	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	22%
Sepedi	0	-	0	-	0	-	2	22%
Employment status								
Employed	0	-	2	13%	2	4%	0	-
Unemployed	32	100%	13	81%	45	94%	9	100%
Student	0	-	1	6%	1	2%	0	-
Cellular phone								
Owens a cellular phone	32	67%	16	33%	48	100%	9	100%
Cellular phone has internet	26	81%	13	81%	39	81%	4	44%

Relationship status of participants

The majority of participants reported that there were single: For unscreened male and female participants, 54% stated they were single (56% males, 50% females), and 89% of self-reported rape perpetrators said they were single. I.e., male self-reported rape perpetrators appear more likely to report being single than other male and female participants.

The second most-frequently stated relationship status was long-term relationships: 27% of unscreened participants (28% males, 25% females), and 11% of self-reported rape perpetrators stated the same.

Only 1 unscreened male (2%) said he was in multiple relationships, 8% of unscreened males said they were married, and 8% of unscreened females said they were in casual relationships.

Participant's children

Among unscreened participants, 48% said they had children (28% males, 88% females), while 44% of self-reported male rape perpetrators stated they had children. Self-reported rape perpetrator males appear to have more children than unscreened males, but the small size of the rape perpetrator group (n=9) makes the significance of this difference questionable.

Languages spoken by participants

The most commonly-stated language spoken by unscreened participants was English (66% males, 69% females), followed by isiZulu (44% and 88%, respectively), and isiSwati (44% and 0%, respectively).

In self-reported male rape perpetrators, the most commonly-spoken language spoken was also English (78%), followed by Setswana (67%), and isiZulu (44%).

Employment status of participants

Almost all unscreened participants (94%) and all self-reported rape perpetrators (100%) said they were unemployed. Two unscreened participants reported that they are self-employed.

Cellular phone ownership and usage

Cellular phone ownership

All participants (100%) said they owned a cellular phone.

General phone usage

The great majority (95%) of all participants said their primary use of their phone was to make phone calls, followed by sending and receiving SMS-es (88%). A few participants (5%) used their phone to send 'please call me' messages; and one participant (an unscreened male) used his phone to listen to music and the radio.

Phone has internet access

Overall, 75% of all participants (73% males, 81% females) said their cellular phone had internet access.

Most (81%) unscreened participants said their phone had internet access, while *only 44% of self-reported rape perpetrators said their phone had internet access*. However, when cellular phone and cell-phone usage patterns of self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) are compared with the gender/age/site-type equivalent group of unscreened males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province), no significant differences in cellular phone usage could be found, nor in the percentage of those whose phones had internet access (44% versus 43%, respectively). I.e., it appears that the differences between the group of self-reported rape perpetrators and the overall patterns for unscreened participants are not significant when age, gender, and site-type are considered.

Therefore, the following reported cellular phone usage results are presented for all participants, including unscreened males and females, and self-reported rape perpetrators.

Internet-based cellular phone usage

Overall, for those 43 participants (75%) who reported that their cellular phone had internet access, social media applications use was dominant: The most widely reported internet use was for *WhatsApp* (79% overall, 73% males, 92% females), followed by *Facebook* (77% overall, 80% males, 69% females). *Twitter* use was relatively low (19% overall, 23% males, 8% females).

Other than social media usage, the second-most commonly-reported use of the internet on cellular phones was *Google* (72%, males 67%, 85% females), followed by *email* (65%, 57% males, 85% females), and the *downloading of applications* (60% overall, 63% males, 54% females).

Reported *YouTube* use was comparatively low (26% overall, 33% males, 8% females), and *Skype* use was reported by only one female participant (2% overall).

Findings

Findings are presented per script according to major aspects focused on in the pre-testing. Each aspect is preceded by a short summary of overall findings, followed by presentation of findings divided between the target and secondary audiences. If there were differences noted between the two age groups, these are presented separately. Findings from the self-reported rape perpetrator group are presented separately under each sub-heading.

Evaluation of Script 1: *'It's your choice'*

Script narrative

Script 1 – *'It's your choice'* – concerns a young man (Themba) who witnesses his father abusing his mother as a young child, sees a male stranger sexually harassing a girl as young boy, and who is then himself sexually abused by his uncle.

The narrative concerns the present-time situation of Themba as a young man commencing the rape of a young (unnamed) woman, whose voice-over states: *'None of those things were your choice. But raping me ... will be'*.

The main message is that, despite his past history of abuse, Themba has a personal choice of whether to do what has been done to him.

Clarity and understanding of the scripted events

Overall, all unscreened males and females understood the storyline presented in the script, and found it clear. There were no reported confusions in this regard. Terms used to describe the clarity and understanding of the narrative included *'clear'* and *'straightforward'*.

Various statements from all groups – such as *'Even if you are, just like Themba, he grew up in an abusive family, he can be a good man or a better man ...'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) indicate that the groups understood the central message of the script, namely that a history of being abused can predispose a man to being abusive himself, but that he has a personal choice to be abusive or not. I.e., the script emphasises choice.

Unscreened males 18-34 years

All male participants in the unscreened male groups agreed that the message and storyline was *'clear'*, and *'straightforward'*.

M3: This advert it's straightforward ...you don't have to think a lot about it. If you read it you can just see what is happening and understand it.

M8: It's straightforward ... This advert tells us that Themba grew up around abusive people. As he got older ... [he] didn't see the wrong of doing these things up until this woman told him, 'none of those things were your choice but raping me will be'.

M4: This advert tells us that Themba grow up with cruel information ...the information that he took to [from] his father ... to abuse.

M3: I think what that advert is telling us is that Themba grew up under abusive father... even if he went outside the only thing that he could see and attract his eyes is abuse because he was used to it from home. So growing up, seeing all those things made him angry so he grew up to be exactly like his father. ... that's exactly what happened to him until he realised that he was turning into his father.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Among unscreened males in both age groups (18-24y; 25-34y), it was understood that Themba witnessed SGBV and experienced sexual abuse as a child, and that he faced a choice

in being a rapist himself or not because '[you] ... shouldn't allow your past [to] determine your future' and 'We all have choices to make in life, we don't have to make excuses because of our past' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). I.e., despite Themba's background, it is not right to rape, and as an adult, Themba is faced with a choice to rape and repeat his past or to change (exercise choice).

According to another young urban man, 'Even if you are, just like Themba, he grew up in an abusive family, he can be a good man or a better man ...' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). Several young men from urban Hazyview, discussed the point that despite one's past, a person has choices about the person one chooses to be as an adult

M4: I think it teaches us that you can ... be raised by a monster, but you can live differently ...

M2: He has to be determined to be the kind of man he wants to be.

M6: I think [it] encourages us that [you] ... shouldn't allow your past to determine your future ...

M7: [Themba] has realised that this thing's wrong, it's not right ... it educates us to accept the situations where we grew up in. Look at Themba, he grew up in abusive family and he has changed because he saw that what he was doing was wrong, he could not go on to rape that woman.

M8: I think this advert's trying to tell us a certain message that you don't choose to grow up in an abusive family or a rich family or in a poor family but you can be a better person one day. Even if you are just like Themba, he grew up in an abusive family, he can be a good man or a better man. The situation at home doesn't mean that Themba must be an abusive person or hurt other people.

M1: By doing the right thing, learning from his father's mistakes and then grow with an attitude that whenever I come across such things I'll handle them in another way, in a different way than what my father did in the past.

M3: I think the advert is clear and straightforward. We all have choices to make in life, we don't have to make excuses because of our past.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Some men in the age group 25-34 years (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said that they understood that the male character did not have a choice in being abused, but that he had a choice in being abusive himself. One man in a peri-urban group, referring to the abuse his mother suffered at the hands of his father noted that 'it is not that easy ... to forget' One rural older man pointed out that the abuse of children results in 'trouble' within the community.

M7: ... So it was not his choice... to be abused and brought up in a family where you find his father abuse his mother or his uncle abuses him, but for him to go on that road of wanting to rape, it will be his choice ... [and] it will teach people who will be in a similar position like me that being brought up in that environment, being abused, it does not mean when I have grown I must continue like that.

M1: ... You can't forget that when your father is beating your mother and then somebody is telling you that you are going to forget that, it's not that easy.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M3: This advert ... talks about how Themba grew up, the way he was treated, and how he became the man he never wanted to be because ... he has seen things that he should have never seen at the young age.

M2: The point is that you...cannot choose where to go, but you can choose to be the man that you want to be.

M1: The story also tells us that we should not abuse children or kids or anyone, because we end up creating... trouble in the environment or community.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Unscreened females 18-34 years

The responses of females of both age groups concerning the clarity and understanding of the scripted events closely echoed those of the unscreened males, stating that *'the script is basically clear'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province), and *'it's talking about abuse, and focus on your future, not your past'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

F7: I think the script is basically clear, don't let your past determine your future, choose wise, everything they did to him, I think he was supposed to just leave it in the past and move forward, forget about everything and go for counselling, try other ways to move forward.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F2: It's talking about abuse, and focus [on] your future, not on your past.

F6: In this advert, it's about a young man who is Themba, who is raised in a family where there is an abusive father, and even in the community, he sees people are abusing other people ... and he ended up doing what he grew up seeing happening in his family.

F4: This advert is about Themba who always sees abuse around him, and he ended up trying to abuse a girl, but he didn't continue with the rape.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Based on statements made by several self-reported rape perpetrators, this group of men had a clear understanding of the storyline of the script:

M9: What causes rapes [is] because of things that he saw that was being done in front of his eyes as a young boy. They taught him what to do because he didn't know what they're doing, he's being seen at the moment right now it's wrong. But when time goes on, he was doing the same thing ...

M7: There is a young boy called Themba, this boy he grew up in a family whereby his father was abusive and whereby his uncle was also abusive and whereby in the street, in the local community he also saw men abusing young children. Then that ended up leading him into being an abusive person. He ended up abusing the other ladies... At the end he was caught with the lady who made him think of who he is and who he will be at the end of his life if he keeps on ... She made him aware of the wrongs which he was doing.

M5: Here is a young boy named Themba...whose life was very hard to live and was living in a family that was very abusive. So he reached the age of 21 and living with the past that.... his family was very abusive ... Themba ended up abusing other ladies ... He wanted to beat them ... And then the girl told Themba that it's not the way that you can live, focusing on the past that Themba has.

M8: Then one day he ... wanted to rape the lady, then that lady told him, 'you know what... don't blame your past, in fact don't take your past out on me because I'm not the one who did that to you and then you should man up and focus on the right future for yourself'.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Likes, dislikes and aspects that stand out

The most commonly-expressed 'like' - or aspect that stood out from the script - identified by unscreened men and women was the catch-phrase *'You didn't choose this, but you have a choice now about what kind of man you want to be'*. This phrase was described by several men and women to be powerful, understandable, simple and hopeful.

Overall, unscreened men and women of both age groups liked most aspects of the script, particularly:

- The final voice-over statement *'None of those things were your choice but raping me will be'*;
- The rejection of an abusive past to be a good man, learning that abused men were themselves abused;
- That the male character was not a bad person, that he responded to verbal reason and that he understood that rape was wrong.

Self-reported rape perpetrators liked that Themba was redeemed by the unnamed woman's voice, and that it was possible for Themba to put the past behind him, and to exercise choice and change.

Only two dislikes were stated by unscreened men, both related to being reminded of personal prior experience or witnessing of abuse and the inclusion of the child sexual abuse scene. Two women disliked the script because of the discomfort of the focus on child sexual abuse. In other words, dislikes noted were largely because of the painful reminders of participants' own history and or discomfort or dislike of a behaviour - such as sexual abuse of boys - and not of the advert per se.

Words to describe the narrative

The most often-stated terms used to describe the script were *'powerful'*, and the overall sentiments were *'touching'*, and *'emotional'*. There was emotional discomfort with the subject matter of child abuse, but the redemption of the abused man through reason and making a choice not to be like his abusive father, was perceived to be hopeful and inspiring and made the male character a *'good man'*.

Likes (unscreened males and females)

Specific likes or aspects that stood out stated by participants were:

- 1) The final voice-over statement: ‘None of those things were your choice but raping me will be’

Unscreened participants described the final voice-over statement as ‘*powerful – shoots straight to the point*’ (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), ‘*simple and you can understand them clearly*’ (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province), and that the statement ‘*gives us hope and [is] encouraging*’ (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

M2: Ja, I think this one is powerful. It shoots straight to the point ... The point is that you...cannot choose where to go, but you can choose to be the man that you want to be.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

F2: I love the message that says you can't change the past but you can choose the man you become because with this message that says that no matter what the past you're coming from, they are there for you.

F6: I love the messages, these messages because you know, not only is he saying something but it gives us hope and encouraging, you know.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

2) Insight into why abusers become abusers: Multiple learnings

- Shows causes of abuse
- Addresses different kinds of abuse, including rape of males
- Nothing is hidden – Realism of abuse

Several sub-themes emerged in participant ‘likes’ and aspects from the script that stand out, particularly related to learning that some abusers were themselves abused as children.

For example, one young urban female liked that the script teaches about one of the causes of abuse, namely that abusers are sometimes abused themselves as children, ‘*which can break you in two inside*’ (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province), resulting in the person abusing others.

F7: I think it's telling us that violence can kill a person inside, it can break you in two inside. You can pull a stunt and be strong outside but inside, you know, it's actually draining you, killing you and it comes out, it gets to the point where you're just tired and you want to take it out and you take it out in wrong ways.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

One young rural man noted that he liked the script because the script addressed ‘*different types of abuse*’ (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province). This

sentiment was indicated in other statements, addressed in other ‘likes’. This participant also indicated that Themba *‘did not see these people [abusers] as doing something wrong ... this is how we live – we abuse one another – this [is] what I must do to get what I want’*, alluding to the normalisation of abuse within abusive families and environments, and that the abused become abusers.

M8: ... It’s showing us different types of abuse. As Themba saw all these abuses he didn’t see these people doing something wrong. He saw them, he thought... okay this how we live, we abuse one another. That’s why when he got to 21 he thought maybe now this what I must do to get what I want because they all did that before to get what they wanted.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One young urban woman (*Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng*) also liked the ‘reality’, and that *‘there’s nothing hidden here’*, referring to the domestic violence depicted.

F2: Themba didn’t have a choice...he didn’t choose those things. So it was not based on free will, whereby you’re just choosing to do this, but it did impact him [in] a way.

F6: I like the fact that there’s nothing hidden here, you see, rape is rape, the father abused the mother right in front of the boy and it is something that’s a reality at the end of the day.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

3) Sexual abuse of young boys

One peri-urban female (*Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province*) liked that the script shows that *‘not only women are being raped, also boys can be raped’*, referring to the rape of Themba as a young boy by his uncle.

F4: The advert is good because it also shows that not only women are being raped, also boys can be raped as well.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

4) Rejecting an abusive past to be a good man

Some men (*Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province; Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province*) and one woman (*Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province*) stated that they liked the advertisement because the male character – Themba – rejected his abusive past, and chose to be a *‘good man’*, unlike his father.

M4: I like this advert because as Themba grow up he rejected his past ... because he showed that he’s grown up now, he wants to be a good man.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M7: I liked this advert because it shows... it does not mean when you have been abused, it will lead to [you] being abusive [of others].

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

F5: I also like that he did not rape the woman, he didn't become like his father [who] was beating her [his] mother.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

- 5) The male character was not a bad person, responded to verbal reason, and understood that rape was wrong

Two young participants, one male, and the other female (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng) liked the fact that the main character responded to verbal reasoning, and that this indicated that he was *'not a bad person, he just had a bad influence all these years'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province), and that, as a result, he did not rape the young lady, instead *'he just chose to listen to whatever it is that she was telling him'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng).

M3: ... The girl only just told him that none of these things were your choice ... [she] didn't have to fight a beast on top of her, she only had to tell him that what you're doing is wrong and he understood then he got off of her, and he didn't do anything. So that shows that Themba is not a bad person, he just had a bad influence all these years.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

F1: I like the fact that he didn't rape...the young lady, instead he just chose to listen to whatever it is that she was telling him, so her words hindered him from, you know, raping her.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng).

Dislikes (unscreened males and females)

A notable observation made by the researchers during the focus groups concerned participants' non-verbal responses to the script. In all groups, the reading of the script was followed by silence unlike the responses to the other scripts where conversation was immediate. There was also visible discomfort observed, such as shifting in chairs, and one man walking out, and then returning. This is discussed in the section concerning realism and identification with the script.

One older man (Per-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that he did not like the script and that the advertisement did not work for him because *'it opens up wounds'* for him. He revealed that he had been abused as a child, and had not received counselling for this

experience. Another man from the same group said he found the advertisement painful because he saw his mother abused by his father.

One young woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng) voiced her discomfort, and said she did not like the advert because *'it is painful as you cutting yourself'*, and explained her discomfort in terms of parents and uncles needing to protect children, not hurt them. She also said that *'the only thing I liked about this script is the voice - none of those things were your choice but raping me will be'*. An older woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) echoed the younger woman's discomfort regarding children being abused.

Another young woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) said that the script *'leaves me with pain, the fact that Themba is hopeless'*. Several other women expressed sadness, anger, and pain over the fact that Themba was abused as a child, and that his parents fought in front of him as a child (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province). In the following quotation, participants describe aspects they do not like in the advert, some of which are later clarified to mean they do not like the behaviours, not the advert per se; however, in some instances there were calls for the removal of the sexual abuse scene of Themba as a child.

F3: The only thing I don't like there is what they do, Themba's parents fight in front of the kids because ... these children learn something because they think it is right because even outside they see these things. So they grow up thinking that it is good.

Facilitator: Okay, so you're saying you don't like the behaviour, it's not the advert?

F3: Yes, I don't like.

Facilitator: Anything else about this advert?

F2: I think it's a good idea because there is no one allowed to abuse someone else, or feel like you are not comfortable at home.

Facilitator: Okay, so you're saying it's good because no one has got the right to abuse anyone.

F2: Yes.

F6: It's a good advert because it gives awareness to other people or other young boys. It shows them that there are families who are having these problems of being abused, and it also helps to be not afraid to talk to other people because there are other people who have the same problem as them.

F4: The advert is good because it also shows that not only women are being raped, also boys can be raped as well.

F3: The only thing there I don't like, it's when Themba is trying to do her [his] homework, and his uncle is interrupting him because he is trying to rape the kid, and so on.

Facilitator: So, why don't you like that? Is it that you don't like it again, do you think it shouldn't be here, or do you think you don't like the fact that children get [sexually] abused?

F3: Yes, I don't like that.

Facilitator: So, would you keep that or take it out?

F3: Take it out.

Facilitator: I want to understand why. Tell me why. Why do you want it to be out?

F3: Because I think Themba is losing focus, and I don't think that is right.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Overall, the negative sentiments expressed by participants *did not* reflect their opinion of the advertisement *per se*, but rather the fact that it evoked emotions regarding abuse.

Unscreened participants were asked to describe the advert in a single word, and also how the advert made them feel. The responses to these two questions closely coincided. For example, when asked to describe how the advert made them feel, young men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said that the script was *'powerful ... because the person who's about to become a perpetrator has been victimised before but here the advert tells us that, it shows us that Themba is a good guy'*. Another man from the same group said that the script *'shows us that there are still people who have hope even when they've been abused many times ... and this advert made me feel good'*. Yet another man in the same group said he felt *'humiliated'* because the script shows that *'most of the time males are the one who abuse, who are abusive to females'*.

M1: This one it's powerful.

Facilitator: What makes it powerful for you?

M1: For me, because the person who's about to become a perpetrator has been victimised before but here the advert...shows us that Themba is a good guy even though he's been victimised before he's still got a heart for other people. So I think it's got a nice ending, the advert. It teaches people.

M3: ... It shows us that there are still people who have hope even when they've been abused many times.

Facilitator: How did this advert make you feel? M3?

M3: This advert made me feel good because it shows us that if you are still stuck in a past there's no way forward.

Facilitator: Anybody else, how did you feel when you heard this advert? M5?

M5: Humiliated because...it shows that most of the time males are the ones who abuse, who are abusive to females.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

The most often-repeated positive term used by participants to describe their sentiments about the script, was *'powerful'*. The overall results are summarised below:

Positive sentiments:

- Powerful; Interesting; Motivated; Superior; Perfect; Fantastic; Strong; Hope; Feel good; Good (*Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province*)
- Powerful; Touching; Sympathy; Hopeful (*Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province*)
- Powerful; Strong script; Touching (*Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng*)

Negative sentiments:

- Humiliated / Feel bad (to be a man) (*Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province*)

- Opens up wounds; Painful; Scared; Not hopeful (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)
- Emotional; Angry; Pain; Depressed; Helpless (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Overall, men in this group liked the script because, despite the abusive background, the male character was redeemed by the female character.

M7: I like the point that Themba did see the wrong things which his father and his uncle did to him and to her [his] mother. But then the bad thing for me is that at the end, the thing that makes me sad is that at the end Themba end up doing the thing that he hated mostly from the beginning ... [but] ... he didn't rape this woman but he tried to.... Then the other good thing is that the lady made him come to his senses.

M2: What I like about this advert is that Themba has turned out to be a better man than the man that he grew up seeing abusing women and stuff.

M4: What I like about Themba is that he changed. I was also like him ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Several of these men liked the message that it is possible to choose to change – despite an abusive background – and put the past behind you: *'if you want to change, then you can change'*.

M7: I say this advertisement is clear, that's because it shows that nothing can't change in life; if you want to change, then you can change.

M8: And the other thing, it shows that there's no one who could determine your future, you can change from what you saw maybe while you were growing up and then to become a better person ... You're the only one who has a choice, to choose what you want.

M3: For me it's clear because at the end Themba has changed, he became a man who does not want to remember his past.

M9: You can't choose your past but you have to choose...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Setting

Apart from one group of rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), no other group commented on the setting. The rural men said they would have preferred a rural setting as rural contexts were underrepresented on television: *'I want them to be rural, where it can show dusty roads, big trees, mountains, and people will also see how, the way we live, and the way we understand things.'*

Realism and resonance

Overall, participants in all groups viewed the scripted scenario as realistic, and often painful due to being reminded of their own personal experiences of being abused, or witnessing such

abuse. There were high levels of identification with Themba among male participants, particularly of the scenario of a child watching his mother being abused.

As previously described, the script evoked visible non-verbal discomfort, during and after the reading of the script. Across FGDs, reading of script was followed by silence (in contrast to other scripts) and indications that the script was disruptive, unsettling, evoked own experiences and was emotionally hard-hitting e.g., moving in chairs expressing discomfort; avoidance of eye contact, shaking of head 'no', and utterances of 'eish', 'haai, haai' and 'yoh'.

After reading the script, participants were probed regarding how realistic the depicted script was, and whether they resonated with the characters and situation. Overall, unscreened participants – both male and female – described the script as being realistic, and several participants related personal experiences of being abused and witnessing abuse.

M4: There was this woman who tried to rape me.... I ran away.

Facilitator: How old were you when that happened?

M4: I was 11, ja, I was 11.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M6: I think that it is painful...it is just painful because I saw my mother going through the same situation.... my uncle never tried to rape me, but I saw my mother on the same situation of being abused by a man who [was] not even my father, he was my stepfather. So I saw it a lot and I have a lot of anger like M1. I grew up with a lot of anger because my mother was beaten everyday while I was watching. She was always abused, that's why it is painful.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Notably, only one young man (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi) said he had never witnessed such abuse.

Several men described growing up abused by a parent or step parent. A rural male participant described that his father took him to live with him and his new wife, who abused him emotionally and physically. After several years, the participant's biological mother fetched him and took him to live with her:

M5: I know this situation, because I have been there.... I have been abused, I know the feeling of that. So when you grow up in a situation like this, hey, you're not going to make it as a good person. You will end up leaving school or stealing on the street. Such things like that, as him, bad things will happen to you if you have a family like this. So we don't encourage the father to abuse them.... I was taken away. My father was taking me away with another wife, and I left my mother behind here. So when I get there, that mother was abusing me very much.... Physically and emotionally. I know the feeling.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Several statements by males and females focused upon the commonality of such abuse, which ranged from - direct experience of or exposure to - bullying, domestic violence perpetrated by violent fathers, abuse of children (including of young boys), and rape. For these participants, the scenario described in the script clearly resonated with those with such past experiences, and some men described it as ‘...*too [painful] to talk about*’ (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province).

M1: It happens, yes ... Like this one of Themba, I think this one is [raping a woman], that is the one that happens most ... Yes and living with a violent father.

M4: All the things that are happening here are common, guys [boys] are being raped by more especially uncles, they rape their nephews and their niece....

M4: We’ve seen it ... A stepfather or your own father, mostly stepfathers.

M3: Men who made it seem like it is okay to harass women ... [it happens] a lot ... mostly by older men who are owning cars.

M4: There was this woman who tried to rape me ... I was 11 ...

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M8: Ja, it does happen but people tend to not tell everyone that my husband is beating me ...

M4: I heard ... some father hit his wife ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M3: Some of us we lived this ... it’s too [painful] to talk about it ...

M1: For me it does not work. It opens up wounds

M6: [My] uncle never tried to rape me, but I saw my mother on the same situation of being abused ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

M3: Yes, we see stories like this, some of the young men, they get into drugs because of the abuse happening at home.

M5: Ja, for the young boy, Themba, I know this situation, because I have been there ...

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

F2: I had a neighbour who used to abuse his wife and in my community they didn’t say anything ...

F6: We’ve seen [this] ...

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Only one older woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal) disagreed with the narrative that an abused child will grow up to be an abusive man, sharing her own personal experience of growing up with her father who abused her mother. She described her

father as ‘very, very abusive’ and that she had enquired from his parents and family whether he had been abused or bullied as a child, and was told that he was not abused as a child.

Overall, more male participants talked about their own experiences of abuse, living in a home where there was domestic violence and exposure to violence against women in communities, as opposed to female participants, where only one participant talked about growing up in a home where her father abused her mother.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Among some self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), the storyline resonated with their own personal experiences of being abused and or growing up in a home where the father or male figure abused the mother. It is noted that among the self-reported rape perpetrator group, experiences of childhood abuse, living in homes where there was domestic violence and being a witness to violence, included descriptions of murder. For example, one male participant (M9) described that he and his mother were beaten by his father repeatedly until one day his mother killed his father. This participant was subsequently abused and rejected by his stepfather, and at the age of 8, he ran away from home, choosing to live on the streets.

M9: What I don't like because of what Themba he went through ... way back they used to do this to me, to my mother also, my father. And my mother end up doing the bad thing because she wasn't feeling good about it, killing him because he was abusing the family in the house. Because of why, money, my mother wasn't working and he was the only person working in the house.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Another participant described that when he was 10 years old, an older man tried to kidnap him but failed; however the older man killed the participant's father. The same participant also described that he had witnessed his next door neighbour, a woman, murder her own child.

Among the self-reported rape perpetrators who volunteered information about their abusive childhoods and being witness to violence, participants were often *victims and perpetrators* (but not always). All participants had perpetrated rape, and a third (3 out of 9) described previously or currently perpetrating intimate partner violence.

Ascription of Themba's desire to rape

Participants were asked what the advertisement was saying regarding what causes men to rape. The majority consensus of all unscreened groups – males and females – was that the script was saying that men rape because they were raised in an abusive environment – ‘*the situation you grew up [in]*’ (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) - which causes these men to consider such abuse as normal, and thus resulting in these men

committing similar abuse on others as adults. It was also noted that, in terms of the script, the main character knew that, what was done to him and others, was wrong.

A few unscreened male and female participants said that there are also other causes for men abusing and raping others, such as some '*men wanting to demonstrate their power over women*'.

One self-reported rape perpetrator stated that his abuse of women did not stem from an abusive family background, but instead resulted from his peers encouraging him to abuse his girlfriend to control her and from his own need to control her. The participant described how he did not grow up poor and had access to a lot of money:

M3: I was abusive towards my girlfriend. My parents were not abusive towards each other. My friends would say 'if a girl does this to me, beat her up'. So they encouraged me to beat her up. I only date one girl at the time and I would give her money so that I could control her and sometimes I would beat her up.... So I would control her so that she does not cheat on me.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Unscreened males 18-34 years

The background of the main character – Themba – that participants presented as his reason for wanting to rape the woman, was variably described as his '*family background ... the past; an abusive family*' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), '*a bad influence*' (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province), and a '*jungle ... not a home ... it's a home of violence*'. Notably, in the latter group, one young man stated that Themba's desire to rape was triggered through alcohol: '*when he got to the tavern obviously he was a bit drunk*', although alcohol is not mentioned in the script.

Facilitator: What is the advert saying causes men to rape?

M3: I think it's because of ... the situation you grow up in ... It consumes us.

M8: I think it's hatred, Themba grew up with hate, anger, so I think that's what caused him.

M4: The causes of rape in this advert is family background. It's the past.

M2: It's because Themba grew up in an abusive family.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M9: I think Themba was grow with a bad influence because then his father was abusing his mother in front of him without doing anything. And I think that Themba know that if he want to get something you must use violence or be abuse someone.

M3: ... Themba grew, like I said earlier, grew up around people who got away with abusing women so, you know, when he got to the tavern obviously he was a bit drunk so he wanted to feel that he had the power to, or he had the guts to rape a woman or abuse her.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M5: It's a jungle, it's not a home, because it's a home of violence. If a child is growing up with violence, he will end up with violence in future.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

However, not all male participants accepted the premise that rape and other forms of abuse originate from being exposed to such violence during childhood. Other causes for rape were said to be the environment - 'like ghettos, slum ghettos' that include 'tsotsi taal' (gangster language), drugs, peers 'teaching other attitudes that are not good', wanting to 'look cool', and 'peer pressure' (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal).

Females 18-34 years

In both female groups, participants focused upon insight into how and why Themba became a man who was likely to abuse and rape.

Young women ascribed Themba's desire to rape Lerato to his family background: 'everything happens from when you were young; an abusive family' (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

F2: It tells us ... everything happens from when you were young... like what you see. ... my mother used to be beaten, my uncle used to come and rape me so I have a right to go and do the same thing.

F1: Our families have a big impact in our lives. If someone grew up in an abusive family then it is likely that when they...have their own families in the future they will also abuse wives and their children.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Older women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) also noted that there were reasons why men do 'wrong things', and that Themba 'wasn't born a bully - there is a reason', pointing to his background of violence and abuse.

F4: The advert...shows us that if a young person grew up with violence or abuse, sometimes he ends up doing the same thing he used to see happens around him.

F6: It also shows us that there are young men who are doing wrong things, but it's because of the reasons behind that caused them to do the bad things to other people.

F8: Themba is a bully now, he wasn't born a bully. There is a reason.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One woman in this group disagreed, saying there are other causes of rape and abuse by men:

F1: And some other men do it just to test their powers.... Some men do it just to test their powers, not because of their background and stuff. Like my father, he did it because he wanted to prove himself that he's man enough if he could do that to my mum, not just because he had a bad experience back where he lived before.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

According to one self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), the male character (Themba) *'got it from his father ... his father groomed him to be the way he is'*. Another man said that the predisposition to rape *'depended on how we grew up in our families ... if you grew up in a house with rough people, violent people ... even a married man can go rape another woman because of the way he grew up'*. A third man said that *'what causes rapes [is] ... things he saw that was being done in front of his eyes as a young child'*. In other words, these men agreed with the narrative that Themba's inclination to rape stemmed from his childhood of abuse.

M3: This thing that Themba is doing for me is ... because he got it from his father, the thing about abusing women. So in a way his father groomed him to be the way he is. And what I also don't like is that he is abusing his mother in front of him...

M4: These things are dependent on how we grew up in our families. If you grew up in a house with rough people, violent people, when you grow up in that household.... You see even a married man can go and rape another woman because of the way that he grew up. It could be that he grew up in a rough environment.

M9: What causes rapes because of things that he saw that was being done in front of his eyes as a young boy. They taught him what to do because he didn't know what they're doing, he's being seen at the moment right now it's wrong. But when time goes on, he was doing the same thing.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng province)

However, one man in this group disagreed, and said that *'my parents were not abusive towards each other'*. Instead, he said, his friends were the ones who encouraged him to abuse his girlfriend *'so that I could control her'*.

M3: No, I mean I grew up like I was abusive towards my girlfriend. My parents were not abusive towards each other. My friends would say if a girl does this to me, beat her up. So they encouraged me to beat her up. I only date one girl at the time and I would give her money so that I could control her and sometimes I would beat her up.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng province)

Themba's choice

When asked what the script depicted in terms of what Themba's choices were at the closing of the narrative, some unscreened males and females identified the following choices this character had:

- To rape or not to rape the woman
- To live in the past or move forward and live a better life
- To be like his father and his uncle, or be a better man (or the man he wants to be), and not to abuse or rape

Males 18-24 years

There were several young men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) who sympathised with Themba's past, and were happy that he rejected his past and decided not to rape the woman: *'... it's not right to grow up with your father and your mother ... [and you are] getting hurt ... [and] when you go out your friends are telling you his mother's great, his father's great, so it made me feel sad. [But, at the end of the script] I felt so happy when he was old because he showed his true colours'*. When asked whether they thought it was possible to make such a change, these men said that *'you can't change the past, it's already happened; but the future - you can change the future'*, and that this can be supported if you *'go to counselling and move on'*.

Females 18-34 years

These sentiments – that it is possible to change through therapy or counselling, but that you will not forget what happened to you – were closely echoed by young women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province): *'I believe with time and therapy he will get better. But I would think you can't forget the things you've seen'*.

One older woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) concurred, and said that *'yes, you can move on with your past'*. However, one of these women cautioned that this could not occur if a man did not seek help, because men *'just bottle things inside - most of them can't change their past, because they can't express their feelings'*. For two of these older women, the possibility that abusive men could be abusive as a result of being abused themselves, was new: *'I am learning this now'*. As previously indicated, one older woman was adamant that being abused as a child does not necessarily make a person abusive, and that people have a choice in not being abusive: *'I grew up under that situation, but I'm not abusive, and none of my siblings are. That's what I know for sure. So sometimes it's by choice'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

Woman's voice-over: Clarity, identity, and benefits

Participants were asked to discuss the clarity of the female voice-over. Of those participants who responded, all stated that the language was clear and understandable, including the term *'abused'*, *'harass'*, and the main statements concerning not having a choice about what was done to the young man, and having a choice over what he did now.

The identity of the person whose voice was advising Themba that his past abusive experiences were not his choice, but that the present rape would be his choice, was variably ascribed to: a) the majority of participants identified the voice as the young woman Themba was about to rape; b) some perceived the voice to be Themba's mother talking to his father; c) a few thought the voice was Themba's conscience; d) a few women were not sure whose voice it was supposed to be. However, these responses were based upon a reading of the script, and thus voice identification was not supplemented by audio recall.

M3: *I think it is the victim that has saved him.*
M5: *The one that Themba wanted to rape.*
M4: *It belongs to the young lady that Themba is about to rape.*
M7: *I think it's Themba's mother's voice ...*
(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M7: *I think it's the woman that Themba nearly raped.*
M4: *I think it's...the girl that Themba wanted to have sexual with at the end.*
M8: *I agree with both of them. It's the girl's voice ...*
M1: *I agree with them.*
(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M1: *I think this voice was the voice of the lady who was being raped by Themba.*
M8: *This voice came from that lady that Themba was trying to rape.*
M7: *I think it's just a voice that's coming out of his mind.*
M5: *The voice is from his mother.*
M4: *The voice is coming from the lady that he wants to rape.*
M6: *I think the voice is coming, it reminds him of his mother when he [she] is telling his father.*
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

F8: *[It is the voice of] Themba's mother.*
F1: *I think it's a woman that Themba is trying to rape.*
F3: *I think it's the girl Themba wants to rape.*
Facilitator: *For others, is it clear who is it, or not? [No] F7, F5, two people. F4, F6, so you don't know who it is?*
F7: *No.*
(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

The value of having a female voice as the narrator of the central messages was probed. Among unscreened men and women who responded, all stated that the gender of the voice was effective and beneficial because it 'woke him up' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province), 'he can understand the voice of a woman' (Rural Males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), and the voice of a woman is 'respected' (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

M5: *It works very much ... because when she started talking to him, he could understand that what he was doing was wrong and he could choose to become a man that he could be. That woke him up.*
M7: *To add on the woman, is that women should not be silent when confronted with situations like this.*
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

M2: Ja, on that voice, just because it's a female voice, it's good because maybe that woman has gone through that situation the same as Themba. So it makes so he can understand the voice of a woman.
(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

In the quotation below, two female participants captured the 'power' of the voice being female:

F7: It's very powerful. It's very powerful because I love the way he just chose to listen to that voices in his head.

F6: In every man there's a woman because I feel that when a child cries, the only thing they think about is someone who's going to soothe them and that person is a mother. So a voice of a woman inside a man, I think it's powerful because, you feel very protected and respected because I believe women are the most powerful human beings and those are the people that are respected.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Final voice-over statement: 'None of those things were your choice but raping me will be'

As previously described (refer *Likes and dislikes*), the final voice-over statement was considered to be powerful, understandable, conveying hope, and was appreciated for its simplicity and clarity by all unscreened groups.

For unscreened rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), the final statement by the female voice (the rape target) was considered 'a good ending' and 'the ending is powerful' because it caused him to 'realise that if he continues doing what he was about to do, it's wrong, so he is choosing to become a good man - he doesn't want to let his past define him now'.

When asked about whether it was realistic to make a choice to change, older rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) stated that, although change may be difficult, it can be done. It was further noted that a man cannot forget about what has been done to him, but he can make peace with it, and move forward into the future.

M6: It's not easy to leave your past behind, but you can be a better man by choosing who you want to be. Each and every one of us has something that... made you to be emotional or angry, that you have passed through. But when you have passed through hard times, then it's not easy to forget about it. It's just that life goes on and you can choose who you want to [be].

M6: To accept what has happened.

M5: Ja, you can make peace, but you can't forget.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Closing announcer statement: *'Choose to be a good man'*

Participants were asked their views on the final statement made by the announcer in the script – *'Choose to be a good man'* - which was followed by *'Call us for free 0800 428 428 and let us help. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle.'*

Overall, unscreened men had a broad view of what a *'good man'* was, in terms of himself, his personal relationships, and the community. A *'good man'* was viewed as someone who has self-respect, respect from and for others, makes *'good'* decisions, focused on the future, a man who does not hit women or abuse other people, treats others with respect, and leads a moral life. Descriptions included: *'a man who respects himself and respects other people'*, *'a real man [who doesn't] hit women'*, *'a man who has takes responsibility and treats others equally'*.

Commonly, women's descriptions of a *'good man'* focused more on male-female relationships and relationship values, and how men should treat women with respect and care. A *'good man'* was seen as someone who loves and protects his family, does not harm women or his family, has manners, and who is not violent. Some descriptions included: *'supports and respects [women]'*, *'knows his responsibilities'*, *'is not violent and short-tempered'*, *'protects women and children'*, *'is loving, caring, respecting, and not judging'*, *'a man who humbles himself in front of a woman'*.

Self-reported rape perpetrators echoed the views of both unscreened males and females, and this group perceived a *'good man'* as a man who can take responsibility for his family, lives peacefully with other people, recognises the humanity of others, has self-respect and self-esteem, is able to control himself (attitudes and behaviour towards others) and is someone who protects his family (wife/partner and children).

Unscreened males 18-34 years

Unscreened males differed from unscreened females in their opinions of what a *'good man'* meant. For some young men, a *'good man'* meant *'a man who makes good decisions'*, *'a man who respects himself and respects other people'*, *'a man who sets his mind about whatever he wants to do'*, *'a real man [who doesn't] hit women'*, *'a man who has got responsibility and treats each other equally'*, and *'a man who never takes advantage of others and [who is] always willing to help'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province).

Other young men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi) said that a *'good man'* was a man who *'is a person who accepts everything as it is and moving on in life'*, *'[is] being socially acceptable to the people you're surrounded with'*, and *'who doesn't abuse ... [and] who is looking forward for his future'*.

Older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) echoed the understanding of younger men regarding what a *'good man'* was, in terms of having self-respect, respecting

others and his family, not harassing others, *'to be right for everybody'*, and being *'loving and caring'*.

Older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) reiterated the sentiments of the other male groups, in terms of a *'good man'* being someone who *'lives through a moral way'*, *'lives a good life'*, someone who *'doesn't make bad things'*, and a man that *'respects everyone in his community, no matter if it's a child, a daughter, a mother – everyone'*.

Females 18-34 years

Older women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) were more focused on what a *'good man'* meant, primarily focusing on male-female relationships. Such a man was viewed as a man who *'supports and respects [women]'*, *'knows his responsibilities'*, *'is not violent and short-tempered'*, *'protects women and children'*, *'is loving, caring, respecting, and not judging'*, *'is giving and has manners'*, and a man who *'humbles himself in front of a woman'*.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

According to some men in this group, being a *'good man'* meant being a man who can take responsibility for his family, live peacefully with other people, recognises the humanity of others, has self-respect and self-esteem, and is able to control himself (his behaviour and attitudes so as not to hurt others).

M7: It's a man who can take good responsibilities of a child, of a family, of his family and make sure that they don't learn abuse from him.

M4: What makes you a good man is to be able to live peacefully with other people and know what a person is.

M9: To be a good man it's when the first thing you wake up in the morning making sure your wife and your children are happy before you go out your house.

M3: If you want to be a good man you have to have a behaviour, respect and self-esteem.

M9: To control your attitude.

M3: [If not] that means you disrespect your woman, you see, if you beat her.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Main message

Participants were asked what they perceived as the main message of the script. The most prominent message identified by unscreened males and females can be described as: ***Put the past behind you - You have a choice to be different from those who abused you – You can have a better future.*** I.e., a person has a choice to be different from those who abused them, and a person can put the past behind them. This message was the most frequently-stated by all unscreened male and female groups, without exception.

This message was perceived as being hopeful and powerful, emphasising personal agency and choice, because it focuses on making the right choices regardless of what has happened to you, and that although you cannot change the past, you can choose your future.

Self-reported male perpetrators similarly stated that the main message of the script was that a man cannot change his past, but he can put his past behind him and choose a different future.

There were no disagreements or confusions regarding this central message in any group.

Unscreened males 18-34 years

Young urban men described this message as *'having hope and belief – do whatever you want, don't do what your parents did in the past; it teaches us that the choice lies within you; make the right choices'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). Young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi) echoed these sentiments and one young rural man said that *'the main message is that you can leave the past, start your life afresh'*.

M5: The message of this advert is about having hope and belief. Do whatever you want, don't do what your parents did in past.

M1: I think it teaches us that the choice lies with you, even though you have been betrayed before, you must still have hope that there will be a time of happiness.

M1: Don't suppress yourself.

M4: I think it teaches us to make the right choices.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M1: The message is you are who you choose to be.

M8: The message I think is that everything you do in life it's your choice. You can't blame people or the past, everything you do it's your choice.

M7: You must forget the past.

M9: The main message is that you can leave the past, start your life afresh.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Older men appeared to agree with the views of younger men regarding the main message of the script, and said that *'the main message of this advert is about choices'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province), and that *'you can change the future and ... be a better man'* (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga).

M7: ... We learn from the past. ... [It] teaches us when you are being abused that does not mean when you have grown up, you must apply the same attitude that you have been brought up [with]. You see, here at the end, you will find there is a choice for a person that is being abused to decide that I want to grow or I want to go forward being abusive ...

M1: According to me I think the message of this advert is about choices.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

M8: This ad tells us that you can't change the past, but you can change the future and be a better guy or a better man in the world.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-34 years

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng province) described the central message as *'powerful ... I'm honestly touched by this [message] ...[it] tells you that you have your choice'*.

F7: This is a powerful one, I'm honestly touched by this one. ...This thing tells you that you have your choice. It's your choice if you're going to take the past, put it in your future or you're going to leave your past behind, don't forget it, just move on.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Older peri-urban women also resonated with the central message of the script, emphasising the personal agency aspect of the message, namely that *'the message is that there is nothing you can't change ... there is nothing you can't overcome'*.

F1: Well, the message is that there is nothing you can't change, even your past. You can even change your past without talking to anyone, without going to anyone, but you can only tell yourself that now it is the right time to change, and you can change from that person to another person that you want to become. So there is nothing that you can't overcome.

F6: It's your choice to become a better person.

F4: You can't control your past, but you can choose to become a better person.

F7: Don't focus on the past, but focus on the future.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Among self-reported rape perpetrators, the main message of the script was that a man cannot change his past, but that he can put his past behind him and choose a different – better – future.

M5: You can't change your past but you can change the man you become or woman you become.

M9: The man or the woman that you become or the person you become.

M2: You can be a better person than yesterday.

M7: Don't let the past hold your future.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

M7: This ad... shows that nothing can't change in life, if you want to change, then you can change.

M8: And the other thing, it shows that there's no one who could determine your future, you can change from what you saw maybe while you were growing up and then to become a better person.

Facilitator: In other words you're the only one who determines your future.

*M8: You're the only one who has a choice, to choose what you want.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)*

Among the self-reported rape perpetrators, the central message that a man can choose to change, and have a better future, appeared to resonate strongly. However, there were disagreements regarding how easy 'change' would be to achieve.

M7: They say you can't change your past but you can choose the man you can make use of the experiment which you have seen in the past and then be a better person in the future ... For example, you can grow up poor but it doesn't mean you have to be poor when you are old.

M9: Yes, it's possible to leave it on one condition, you learn what is going on and at the end of the day it's a wrong thing, what more you're going to do it to another person.

M2: It will be difficult but you can overcome them if you want to overcome them ...

M4: It is easy to overcome your past. Focus on the present and leave the past behind. For example, if someone abused you and you are still angry, you have to move on and leave the past behind.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Two men from the screened rape perpetrator group said in order to change, it would be necessary to get counselling, and another participant from this group said that it would require moving away from the community that perceives the man as a criminal.

M8: What I'd like to say is that it's not that easy ... we're different....Maybe a kid growing up in that situation [sexual abuse of boys]... [needs] some people to help him, because we're different. Some can hold that for so many years and that thing keeps haunting you ... And when it comes out then you could think maybe that person has changed, like, this is not the person who we know, like, it can just pop up.... Some they'll need proper help, some maybe counselling ... show them what's right from wrong ... maybe even this video could help to bring them out of the closet, to come out and report this....

M7: I think what's happening is that your past, you must share them so that you become free. If you don't share them someone knowing your past, they'll come into the future and blackmail you about your past ...

M4: Haai, it is not easy to change your life when people in the community know that you are a criminal, that you are that guy with that reputation. It is best to change your location, to move to another place where they do not know you or what you have done.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Calls to action

Participants were asked what they perceived as the main calls-to-action in the script.

Although several themes emerged in participants' responses, 3 specific themes and calls-to-action were prominent, and stated by many participants from all unscreened groups of males and females.

The most often-mentioned call-to-action mentioned was that ***men must stop abusing women and children***. Note that the word most commonly used was ‘abuse’ and not ‘rape’ during these discussions.

The second most-mentioned call-to-action stated was that ***parents must not fight in front of their children***.

There were two specific calls-to-action mentioned only by unscreened men, namely that ***a man should think before he acts***, and that he should be a ‘good’ man. One call-to-action mentioned only by one young woman was that ***people should speak up when they witness abuse***.

Among the self-reported rape perpetrator group, the call-to-action echoed unscreened males and females’ call-to-action. However, a notable difference in this group was that several participants in this group were specific when referring to stopping child sexual abuse, and specifically mentioned the child sexual abuse of boys.

One self-reported rape perpetrator noted that the call to action was for women to report domestic violence, as according to him, most women do not report being abused.

Men must stop abusing women and children

‘Men should stop abusing women and children’ was the most frequently-mentioned call-to-action, identified by unscreened men and women. The call-to-action was perceived as stopping the abuse of women and children - sexually and otherwise - and that people should protect their families instead.

M2: I think it's based on men, that they mustn't abuse women and children.

M7: Ja, I do agree with M2.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M3: I think it tell us young men that we have to not abuse women.... I think that's the lesson.

M4: [Be] a person who does not abuse others.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M6: I think it's to make us aware that abusive or rapists it's not the right thing for all of us. I think emotional, physical abuse or sexually.

M5: It shows us that harassment is not a good thing, we have to stop it.

M2: It is to teach us about violence and abuse, that they are not good things.

M6: Our main act is to protect the family, not to abuse them.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

M6: Stop abuse ... Ja, it affects everyone in the community.

M5: Ja, say no to violence, No more women abuse, and children.

M3: Respect and humanity, even the young needs to be respected.

M2: Ja, stop abuse. Abuse is not right.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

F6: For me it says stop abuse, you know, as a whole.

F1: This advert says that we should, like, people should stop, especially men, they should stop using violence to intimidate and humiliate women and children.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Among the self-reported rape perpetrator group, the call-to-action - stopping the abuse of women and children – was echoed. However, among this group, there was a particular focus on the call to stop the sexual abuse of boys, which was also referred to as the ‘*abuse that’s never talked about*’ or ‘*hidden abuse*’, and ‘*abuse that happens behind closed doors*’. It is noted that two participants expressed that the sexual abuse of boys is rare and seldom if ever happens.

M7: This advertisement will help most of the men just because most of the men they love their boy child and while watching that video, seeing that young boy being raped, they will think twice before they do it....

M9: It’s right to put it on TV... because... it’s things that are happening and it’s been hiding from long time ago...[and it needs to be] advertised around the township....

M6: I disagree.... Yabona, this is 2017.... it used to happen long time ago [child sexual abuse]. People right now they’re taking care of their children, no one will want to see his baby girl get molested....

M9: It will help around the township because mostly it’s things that is happening each and every day. Abuse and rape is things that are happening around the township each and every day.

Facilitator: So M9 is saying yes. M8, what are you saying?

M8: I’m also saying yes because these things are the things which are happening behind closed doors...

Facilitator: And what are we talking about here?

M8: Both, rape and abuse because most women they don’t report being beaten up... And at least it will help them come out or if not so, then at least it’s spreading the message out there...

M2: I think it will help, it will help to prevent rape because even the young boys who are being abused, when they see this on TV, they will get courage to talk about it.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

One participant from the self-reported rape perpetrator group expressed that if he had been sexually abused as a child, he would murder the abuser.

M3: This story is offside. I can think of myself being in Themba’s shoes. It’s like the uncle raped me. If I was Themba I would kill him when I grow up.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Stop domestic violence - Parents must not fight in front of their children

The second-most frequently mentioned call-to-action concerned parents, and the call to stop engaging in domestic violence in front of their children, as this affects the children negatively, including possibly causing them to become violent at a later stage of their lives.

M3: I think the main message is based on parents that they must know...that they must not fight in front of their children.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M5: The message tells us that we mustn't do wrong things in front of younger people or children.

M3: I think the message is domestic abuse can affect your children.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M1: To me, I think it tells that we must not abuse women in front of the kids or in front of other people because you might not know what that thing you are doing might do in that child's mind. Maybe it can lead him to be violent.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

F3: We don't have to fight in front of our children because they will be affected.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Unscreened males 18-34y: Think before you act / Be a good man

Two calls-to-action were mentioned only by unscreened men, namely that men should think before they act because actions have consequences, and that men should be 'good men', meaning they should be responsible regarding their actions, and that they should be loving, caring, and protective of their families.

M4: The message wants us to be a good man.

M3: ...it tells us that whatever you do right now it has consequences.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M3: Think before you act.

M1: We must not take irrational decisions, we must think before we act.

M3: To behave, I can say like to be trustful.

M7: Yeah, to add it teaches us to be responsible about our actions. As we have said a man must be a loving and caring husband or person to protect his family and to preserve that so as we can be trusted by his own family.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Females: Speak about it

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen) said that the call-to-action was that people should not be silent, and that they should speak up when they witness something wrong.

F2: I also think it also says that you should stop being silent. If you see something that's wrong you must speak about it.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

A self-reported rape perpetrator expressed that the call-to-action was to encourage women to report domestic violence.

M8: Most women they don't report being beaten up.... And at least it will help them come out or if not so, then at least it's spreading the message out there.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention: Qualitative

After reading and discussing the script, participants were asked to say whether they thought the script would contribute towards rape prevention. The question put to participants was: 'do you think this script will stop men from raping?' It should be noted that all groups were subsequently asked to vote for the script which they perceived had the strongest rape-prevention messaging, and then asked to explain their voting preference (described in a subsequent section). Therefore, participants' responses to the current question are illuminating in terms of the voting outcome regarding rape-prevention messaging.

Overall, participants were divided on whether the script would stop men from raping. About half the unscreened males and females viewed the script as having a strong rape-prevention message, and the other half of the unscreened male and female participants expressed that the script more strongly addressed the broader issue of domestic abuse, and male-initiated violence in general. Specific rape-prevention strengths mentioned by some participants were that the script addressed and included all men, including fathers of children (regarding the impact of children witnessing and experiencing domestic violence), and that the script emphasised personal agency in committing rape and abuse, with the choice not to commit such violence.

The responses to the question are grouped according to the central theme of the response, with respect to strengths and weaknesses in relation to rape-prevention messaging.

Strength: The story directly addresses and includes men

Two young urban males (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) provided several reasons for saying that this script promoted rape prevention, including the fact that it directly addresses and includes men, and it includes and teaches fathers (who were stated to be typically omitted in rape prevention messaging) about how to treat women.

Facilitator: Do you think if we put this advert on TV, it could stop a man from raping?

M1: Yes ... Because many, many fathers are, they think they are being shut out ... in such initiatives like this one. They feel like they are not included enough ...

Facilitator: But with this one?

M1: We're talking about rape and we know, we know mostly men are the perpetrators of rape, but we exclude them. We teach women how they should protect themselves while we don't teach fathers how they should treat women ... Because if we wanted men to end it then it should start with them, speak with them first then we go with the ladies.

Facilitator: So if you want men not to rape you should be talking to men ... [and] this one is direct.

M2: I also think it will work because here it shows that when you are parents you mustn't abuse your partners in front of your kids or whenever because you'll end up passing that thing on to your children and they will do it on other people in future.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Strength: The story promotes rape prevention through emphasising personal agency

Young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng province) were clear in their views that the script promoted rape prevention because 'it would make the man ... think before he acts', and would 'change a man because he chooses to have a brighter future'. i.e., the view of these young women was that the script promotes personal agency in committing rape, which would help prevent rape.

Facilitator: Do you think if a man watched this advert it would stop him from raping a woman?

F1: I think it would, it would make the man ...think before he acts. It would actually make him prevent ... raping a person.

F8: I think it would because raping is the same as being violent... And this script, I think, definitely would.

F2: I think the last message ... will change a man because he chooses to have a brighter future, to put everything in the past. So I think this advert will change a lot of people, a lot of men and a lot of women also.

F6: Ja, for me, definitely ...

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Strength: The script emphasises the long-term impact of violence on children

One young rural man (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) said that he believed the advertisement would be an effective rape-prevention advertisement, because 'it will help because he will see that they must stop the spread of violence because it affects even us as a young boy to continue with this'.

In other words, he believed that violence impacts upon children, which contributes to the continuation of violence.

Weakness: The script focuses on domestic violence more than on rape

Several young rural and older peri-urban men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province; Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province), and all older peri-urban females (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) stated their view that the script was primarily focused on domestic violence, and not rape *per se*, and this weakened the rape-prevention message of the script.

Two young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) expressed that the advertisement would not be an effective rape-prevention advertisement, but that it would instead be an effective advertisement to prevent domestic violence.

M3: When it comes to rape I think there are people that do rape regardless of what people thinking or what is happening, but I think...

Facilitator: So there are people who rape regardless of...?

M3: What other people think or say. But I think this ad can work very well on domestic abuse ...

M1: I think the advert wouldn't do very well specifically with rape but maybe domestic violence... I think it's much more based on domestic violence, that's what it speaks to, about.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

The focus upon '*the abuse in families*' (domestic abuse) – versus rape – was reiterated by older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Facilitator: What do you think of the advert ... How do you feel about the advert?

M2: It is painful, it will work ... Because it will help many men to stop abusing women.

Facilitator – to translator: Are they using the word abuse or rape?

Translator: No, abuse.

M4: That is why I am saying the importance of this advert is that it should continue to address the abuse in the families.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

All older peri-urban females (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) were unanimous in their view that the script focused upon domestic abuse, not rape.

Facilitator: What would you say this advert is about? Is it about domestic abuse mostly, or about rape?

Group: Domestic abuse.

Facilitator: Okay, all of you are saying that?

Group: Yes.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Strength: Strong rape prevention plus strong prevention of domestic violence

However, four men in the Evaton group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng) said that the advertisement would be a strong rape prevention message, as well as being a strong message against abuse. This dual prevention message was reiterated by rural males of the same age group (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province).

Facilitator: Is this advert strong enough ... to stop men raping?

M6 Yes, it is strong enough.

M1: Not only raping, abusing.

M2: Abusing ... Yes, not just to stop raping, but to abuse in general.

M4: I as M4, I think that yes, it is right.

Facilitator: Will it stop men from raping?

M4: Yes, and they will stop abusing.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Facilitator: What do you think, would this advert stop rape?

M8: Yes, because both genders can get raped, which means men can get raped. It doesn't matter your age, at any age you can get raped.

M2: Ja, it can stop men ... from raping and abusing, because it's not only affecting the victim, but it affects everyone around them.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Among the self-reported rape perpetrators, among those who expressed an opinion on whether the advert would prevent men from raping, findings were that the advert contains both a rape prevention message, as well as a message against abuse, in particular, the sexual abuse of boys.

M7: This advertisement will help most of the men just because most of the men they love their boy child and while watching that video, seeing that young boy being raped, they will think twice before they do it.

M9:It's a good thing [to put] on television to teach mostly to other guys that are doing it. To show them, to the young boys...

Facilitator: To show what, rape or about abuse?

M9: Abuse and rape, both of them... Some other things it's things that are happening and it's been hiding from long time ago...

Co-facilitator: So it will change the mind-set of those who want to rape.

M9: Eh, it will change.

Facilitator:If we put this advert on TV will it... prevent rape or will it prevent abuse?

M9: Both... Abuse and rape is things that are happening around the township each and every day....

M8: I'm also saying yes because these things are the things which are happening behind closed doors...

Facilitator: And are we talking about, what are we talking about?

M8: Both, rape and abuse because most women they don't report being beaten up...It will help them come out or if not so, then at least it's spreading the message out there that the result of that, while you are doing it to somebody else as Themba was watching, then those things had led him to be a bad person.

M2: I think it will help, it will help to prevent rape because even the young boys who are being abused, when they see this on TV they will get courage to talk about it.

M8: People will have a fear of doing it because they know now that those things are being reported. Because now they are doing it because they know that there's no one who's going to report me and they keep on doing it time and again.

M9: And with some other, mostly, some other guys why they do it, they bribing mostly children with money to do these things.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Anticipated interpersonal communications about rape

Participants were asked whether they thought people who viewed such an advertisement would discuss the advert and if yes, what they would discuss. The results were mixed, with the majority believing that this advert would result in constructive interpersonal conversations primarily about domestic violence and about parents fighting in front of their children. Responses from female groups were not received.

Unscreened males 18-24y

Four out of the five young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) who responded to the question said they anticipated helpful and constructive conversations about domestic violence in particular between parents, between parents and their children, and within the community, resulting in children learning what not to do to have a brighter future, and for fathers not to commit violence in front of their children. One other man in this group said that viewers will just look at the advert and do nothing.

Facilitator: Will people talk about this advert?

M5: No, I don't think so because I don't see something that might make people want to talk, they'll just look at it and wait for it to pass.

M6: I disagree with M5. M5, he tells us this advert we don't involve people, this advert will involve people because we're talking about abusing, living in home and then how to live in community.

M4: I think it will lead to the conversation because parents will teach their children not to do what is happening [in] the advert in order to have a brighter future.

M1: I think it will lead to people to speak more about domestic violence rather than rape in isolation from domestic violence.

M2: It's going to help our fathers not to do violence in front of their children.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Unscreened males 25-34y

Five of the older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) agreed that the advertisement would elicit conversations in many people – 'family, friends, everyone' - and that the script was 'powerful'. One man – a community leader – said that the advertisement would cause conversations in the community.

Facilitator: Do you think this advert... will cause people to talk about abuse?

M6: Yes.

M1: I think this one is powerful ... It will touch people in more ways than one. Yoh, this one....

Facilitator: If I can ask you, who will you speak to?

M1: Yes, in my family, friends everyone.

M3: Everyone ... Friends and family.

M6: Me, I am saying everyone.

Facilitator: M7 you are a community leader. Can this advert get the community talking?

M7: Yeah, you can because it identifies the problems at an early age where you find people are abused and they are not talking about it. So as they grow up, it affects them ... So they must have choices ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Overall, self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), expressed that this advertisement would make people talk. Aspects that would be talked about were identified as domestic violence, parents fighting in front of children, the sexual abuse of boy children and rape.

Perceived target audience

Overall, for both unscreened male and female participants, the perceived target audience was broad, and included men (abused, potential abusers, and abusers), females, parents of children, and children. Self-reported rape perpetrators stated that the target audience was 'every family' i.e., men, women and children.

Unscreened males 18-34 years

For unscreened men, the target audience was broad: Men, women, children, parents, and families. Male participants were not unanimous on specific target groups. Some men said that the target group was parents of children, 'so that they will not argue in front of the children because it will damage their brain and it will affect them' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). One man said that men are the target audience because 'they are the people who would [be helped] the most' and that 'women are only the victims here so ... they wouldn't be that interested' (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

M3: I think this advert is based on women and children only.

M4: Both men and for women.

M8: I think it's for parents.

M1: It's for men and women.

M2: Men and women but also children

M5: It's for the parent so that they will not argue in front of the children because it will damage their brain and it will affect them.

M8: Yes, I agree with M5.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M9: *I think it's for men and women.*

M4: *I think it's for men and women in order to have a good family.*

M6: *Anybody.*

M3: *I think it's for men because it generally talks about men and I think it's the one that, men, they are the people that this advert would help the most. And I think women are only victims here so, ja, they wouldn't be that interested.*

M1: *I think it's made for the whole family, every single family.*

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M6: *I think for all of us ... Men and women.*

M3: *Also children ... For all of us.*

M1: *Hmm, this one is for the whole family.*

M2: *It's for both men and women and children.*

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Females 18-34 years

Older women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) similarly identified both men and women as the target audiences, but they were more specific in terms of victims and perpetrators of abuse as the target audience, including abused men, and potential abusers. According to one of these women, *'It won't be only for those who have been abused, or those who are abusing, but it will be for everyone. Men, in fact, even those who want to do it, they will learn not to do it at all'*.

F3: *Both [men and women]*

F6: *Abused [women and abusers].*

F4: *I think it's for men who are abused. I agree with F1.*

F1: *It's for all men, because it teaches that at the end you can overcome anything. There is nothing that you can't overcome.*

F4: *I think mostly it's for the abusers that they can change. They can do better and change their life. There are people who can help them to change their life.*

F1: *... Not everyone who will see this advert will be the person who abuses others. But it will be for others also who just see the advert and sees what happens if you could abuse someone, even though you never abused anyone. It educates [these people]. It won't be only for those who have been abused, or those who are abusing, but it will be for everyone. Men, in fact, even those who want to do it, they will learn not to do it at all.*

Facilitator: *So you think it's for any men, it's for abusers and non-abusers?*

F2: *Yes.*

F2: *Not at all, not all men, but especially if you have got a mother and a father in your home, most of the time, your father takes advantage.*

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

According to several self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), this advertisement was aimed at *'each and every family that lives around South Africa and outside South Africa ... all genders, all sizes'*.

Toll-free number: Type of help and recipients of help offered

Participants were asked to comment on the toll-free number at the end of the script, in terms of two aspects: What type of help is being offered, and who would be likely to access this help?

Overall, the toll-free number was viewed by most participants as offering counselling in particular, with one person believing it was for reporting child abuse.

In terms of who would be likely to access this service, participants provided a wide range of possible target users, ranging from men like Themba who had been abused and who had the desire to rape (most frequently mentioned), to those who had been abused, families of abusers, and also victims of abuse.

Services offered

According to all unscreened male and female groups, the primary service being offered was counselling or therapy. One man (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said this service would include anger management and another said that the service would be for reporting cases of abuse.

Among the self-reported rape perpetrators, services being offered were counselling, therapy and advice for perpetrators on how to stop abusing intimate partners/women; also for and victims of abuse (intimate partner violence and childhood victims of abuse).

M2: I think the help that you're going to get is when you are, if you are abusive or you've been in a similar case with Themba you can get help on this number.

M3: I can call this number if I needed counselling.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Potential users of the toll-free number

Unscreened participants identified several possible users of the toll-free phone service (listed below, and ranked according to the number of groups⁹ mentioning this type of potential user).

⁹ (1) Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province
(2) Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province
(3) Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province
(4) Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province
(5) Urban females, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng
(6) Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province – no responses received
(7) Peri-urban males, 18-34, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province – self-reported rape perpetrators

- A man from an abusive background wanting to change, like Themba (2), (3), (4), (5), (7)
- People with anger management problems (1), (2)
- Any person who is currently being abused (3), (5)
- A man who is considering rape or abuse (3), (4)
- Perpetrators of abuse or rape (2), (5), (7)
- Family members of abusers/rapists (2), (5)
- Victims of abuse, children (1)
- Any person (male or female) who has been abused (2), (7)
- Neighbour who wants to report child abuse (4)
- Any man (5)

However, as stated by one young man (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), *'it doesn't specify whether certain people should call. It gives everyone a chance, if you need help call us, anyone'*.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Men in this group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Gauteng Province) identified men who had a background of being abused, and who – like Themba – had a desire to rape a woman, as the main user of the toll-free service, which was perceived as providing counselling to these men.

M2: I think the help that you're going to get is when you are, if you are abusive or you've been in a similar case with Themba you can get help on this number.

M3: I can call this number if I needed counselling ... [and] if I see some other guy out there doing the same thing, I would give them this number to call.

M5: Choose to be a good man and the contact number is there.

M9: I will give it to more other people needing some advices. I can give them advice because I know about it.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Gauteng Province)

Participant recommendations and suggestions

When asked what they would change or add in the script, there were no suggestions from female groups. In male groups, there were relatively few suggestions, with the most prominent suggestion (provided by three young rural men) being that there should be some message included that if a man rapes, he should be punished. Only two other suggestions were made – both by individual men – namely that there should be messaging promoting counselling for men's anger, and replacement of the implied male rape of the young boy with a less shocking image of a man beating the boy.

There should be messaging that if you rape you should get punished

Three young men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) suggested that there *'should be some points here that if you abuse... anybody you should get some punishment ... we should say jail'*.

Keep it unchanged

According to one man from three unscreened male groups (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province; Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), the advertisement should remain unchanged.

Replace male rape with male-male beating

One young man suggested that the implied male rape of Themba by his uncle should be replaced by a scene where the uncle beats him instead, as the male rape was *'unthinkable'*. However, another young man in the same group said it should remain unchanged because it is *'the harsh reality ... and the only way to deal with reality is to expose it'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

Promote counselling for anger

One older peri-urban man suggested that the advertisement should suggest counselling *'for those who grew up with this abuse ... we still have that anger'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng).

Evaluation of Script 2: 'Not just anyone'

Script narrative

Script 2 – *'Not just anyone (You're not raping just anyone)'* – concerns a young man (Thami) sitting on a couch who has raped a young woman (Lerato) in the past. In the background is a woman being consoled by an elderly woman in the kitchen, whom we later discover is Thami's sister – who has recently been raped - and Thami's mother.

The voice-over is of Thami, who explains his reason for raping Lerato: He bought her drinks expecting sex in return, but she did not reciprocate with sex, so he raped her. His remorse stems from not realising that Lerato was someone's mother, sister, or daughter until his own sister was raped, which caused him great emotional pain. His closing statement is that *'I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person. Just as I wish the man who raped my sister, saw her as a person too'*.

The closing title is *'If you rape a woman you're raping a daughter/sister/mother/grandmother (alternating)'*.

The closing title consists of a statement that *'Men can stop rape'*, a toll-free number, and the announcer saying: *'Call us if you feel there's a chance of you raping'* (also presented as a title), and *'Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you feel there's a chance of you raping'*, *'If*

you rape a woman you rape a loved one. Call us for free on 0800 428 428 and let us help. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle’.

Clarity and understanding of the scripted events

For most unscreened participants, the storyline was clear and understandable. However, there were notable exceptions among some older males and females of all ages, who expressed confusion regarding the two rape events depicted, specifically whether Thami raped his own sister, whether the rape of Thami’s sister was revenge for his raping Lerato, and whether his remorse was only due to the rape of his sister.

The results of discussions concerning clarity and understanding of the script narrative are presented in two sections: General responses, and then specific confusions.

Unscreened males 18-34 years

Most young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga) appeared to understand the narrative of the script, namely that a young man – Thami – raped a young woman (Lerato) because she would not have sex with him after he had bought her drinks. When Thami’s sister is raped, he then realises that when you rape a woman, you have raped a sister, a mother, a grandmother. In other words, that women are not objects, but people with loved ones.

M6: This man, his name is Thami, then he raped, I don’t know his girlfriend or his friend while he was bought her drinks ... Lerato refused to sleep with him but he forced herself [himself onto] Lerato... Then in future then he found out that his sister was raped too. That’s where Thami realised that if you rape if you rape a girl, if you raped a woman you rape a mother of someone and that mother of someone became a grandmother in the future ... Ja, that girl will become a mother to someone ...

M2: He thought he was going to get sex. So he thought if Lerato didn’t want it, didn’t want to give what he wants he rather take it for himself.

Facilitator: And then what happened after that?

M2: [He realised] ...he wasn’t raping just someone, he was raping a mother and a sister to some other people.

M1: I think the advert is clear because Thami has learnt a lesson. He now knows that whenever you hurt someone it will come back and haunt you ... Because he’s now feeling the very same thing he did...because now her [his] sister has experienced the very same thing he did.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga)

Young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) reiterated the narrative presented by the urban male group, and added that *‘Thami has learnt a lesson. He now knows that whenever you hurt someone, it will come back and haunt you’*, and that *‘he felt that if he saw Lerato as a person, he wouldn’t have raped her so he’s now wishing he did not rape her’*.

Several older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) and rural older men (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) reiterated the overall narrative described by the younger men.

M1: What I understand from this advert, this guy Thami he is hurt because somebody has raped his sister and he himself used to rape girls. Now that the very same thing has happened to him, he is starting to see that what he did was wrong.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M7: He is having the same thought that she has been raped. But here, there was no relationship in terms of Thami to have sex with this lady, Lerato. There was no relationship. So what M6 was saying is that it can't be if I buy someone soft drinks or liquor, that does not mean I must sleep with her. I must be in a relationship for me to sleep with someone and if she agrees or not. .

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-34 years

One young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) and two older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) described the general sequence of events in the script, namely that Thami raped Lerato because he bought her drinks and she did not reciprocate with sex, and that his own sister was raped at a later time. The latter caused Thami to feel regret for raping Lerato, and for not seeing her as someone's sister, mother, or grandmother.

F2: It sounded like he raped Lerato first, then an incident later happened to his sister, it sounds like that to me. And then that's when everything just hits home that, wow, this is what I did to this woman, like he had flashbacks when his sister was crying with the mother and he had flashbacks that this is what I did to Lerato. Why didn't I think about that would ever happen to my sister...

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F1: It shows that Thami is regretting raping Lerato. He is now having sorrows, and he feels sorry for raping Lerato. He never should have raped Lerato, because she is like a sister, a daughter, a mother. He feels like [pauses], he saw Lerato as someone who owed him sex because he bought Lerato drinks, and now Lerato has to pay with sex. Obviously he forced himself to her ... I think he is sorry when he looks at his mother's picture, sister's picture. It feels like it happened to them, now when he did it to Lerato.

F4: This advert is about Thami who is regretting what he did when he raped Lerato. Now he is feeling sorry for what he did because someone has done it to his sister, now he is feeling very sorry. He wishes that he never done that. Before he did it, he wishes that he could have thought about Lerato as if she was his sister or mother or grandmother.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Several men in the group of self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) explained the story-line of the scripts in detail, and appeared to understand the narrative of the script:

M7: This advert there's a guy who's sitting on the couch thinking about the things which he has done, he has raped a girl called Lerato. And then behind the guy there's his mother and her younger sister. And then his younger sister, she's crying, then her [his] mother is busy comforting her. Then while she's comforting her, the brother she's [he's] looking at the mirror, she [he] sees the photos of her [his] family and she [he] sees the photos of him and her [his] mother, him and her [his] sister and then... telling her [his] parent that I wish I have seen Lerato as... somebody's sister so that the guy who has raped my sister would have seen her as someone's sister, someone valuable. Just because her [his] sister is valuable to him then that's why he gets so angry. And then after there are words which tell you about the rape, that he mustn't rape his sister, he mustn't rape a, someone you rape is somebody's grandmother or somebody's mother, somebody's aunt, so he mustn't rape just because it can happen to you. And if you feel like raping there are contacts which can be called and they will help you. And then the advertisement it works together with Brothers for Life, it will tell you that do not rape, then after it will come back to you.

M6: From my understanding... the advert is telling us something like be careful what you do to someone else because it might turn around and happen to you. You might do something, like Thami, what he did to Lerato, you might do something to somebody's sister and then somebody might do something to your sister or your mother or your grandmother. It's what I understand from this picture.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Revenge rape

One older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) implied that Thami's sister was raped by someone avenging Lerato, the woman raped by Thami.

M1: Ja, many years ago, I think so, because it says I remember raping Lerato because she didn't want to have sex with me, and that thing is happening to his family. So, if he can pay, because he once done it, and now they've done it to his sister.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

The notion of revenge raping was also mentioned by two young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) who said that, were they in Thami's position when his sister was raped, they would take revenge and make the perpetrator pay, and rape again.

M4: Listen guys, if you're in this situation as Thami, what will you do?

M3: Pay revenge for my sister and rape again. [Group giggles].

M4: I will make the perpetrator pay ... Ah, there are different ways, I'll punish you, beat him, I'll not rape. I'll not punish his family for his wrong doings, I'll only punish him because he's the one who has wronged ... So we'll meet as rapists and we'll fight, fight until someone wins.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

The reality of revenge rape was also presented by two self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province). In one example, a participant described how his 13-year-old sister was raped by men who sought to punish him for some actions, and that he shot one of these men dead as a result and permanently paralysed another.

The participant served time in prison for the murder and assault. In another example, a participant spoke about how his younger sister was threatened with rape. The participant responded by assaulting the man who threatened his sister, and by smashing the man's car. The participant was arrested and served prison time for assault and for malicious damage to property.

Confusion: Did Thami rape his own sister?

Another confusion in the storyline expressed by two older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), and two young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) was whether Lerato was Thami's sister, and whether he had raped his own sister. This may be understood as due to misunderstanding the script which may not be the case with accompanying audio-visuals. It is noted that among the few who initially thought Thami raped his sister that this was later clarified for participants either by other group members or they resolved it themselves.

M1: At first... I didn't understand the advert, because I was thinking that Lerato was the girl that was raped by Thami ... [and that] Lerato ... was the sister of Thami, ja.

M5: ... Thami raped Lerato or his sister? Then it's not good.... did Thami rape his sister?

M1: No, Thami raped Lerato.

M5: But sorry.... it was not clear.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M2: Ja, I think [Lerato] it's his sister.

M6: [After a group discussion on the issue] I think now it's come clear to us that Lerato was not Thami's sister in blood. It just, it looks at what happened, at home, at Thami's home, as now happened to his sister.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Two young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) were confused regarding the timeline and sequence of the two rapes (Thami's rape of Lerato, and the rape of Thami's sister), and this resulted in questions concerning whether the rape of Thami's sister was in revenge for Thami's rape of Lerato.

F1: I have a question concerning the script, concerning the line, I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person, just like I wish the man who raped my sister saw her as a... Is Thami trying to avenge for her [his] sister because someone raped her sister?

F4: Shocked, it's shocking ... How could a brother rape a sister... ?

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

It is noted that apart from pre-testing with an English script without audio-visuals, and despite requesting that participants understood English, that there were participants whose English was minimal across groups. Scripts were therefore translated into the home language of participants, and during discussions, participants who were not comfortable to speak English, spoke in their home language, which was translated.

Likes and dislikes

The most often-stated 'like' stated by unscreened males and females concerned the realism of the drink-for-sex expectation scenario referred to by the main character as the reason for raping a woman, which was stated to be a common cause for rape in participants' communities. Other participants liked that the main character was remorseful for his actions, and that the script states that raping a woman means you are raping someone's sister, mother or grandmother. A few participants liked the lessons taught by the script.

There were two main 'dislikes' stated, of which the most often-stated was the apparent superficiality of the main character's remorse for raping a woman, after he discovered that his own sister was raped. This was viewed as self-focused pain, '*heartless*', and not remorse for raping the woman, or raped women in general. The second most-disliked aspect of the script was not for the script itself, but for men and women who engaged in drinks-for-sex activities.

Single word to describe the script

Not many participants responded to the question regarding which single word described the script. In the group of older rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), the most commonly-used word used to describe the script was '*painful*'. One young urban man referred to the narrative as '*powerful*' (Urban men, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), and a self-reported rape perpetrator found the script '*touching*' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province).

Likes and aspects that stood out (unscreened males and females)

The following '*likes*' are presented in order of most-to-least mentioned:

Realism of drinks-for-sex expectations

The most often-stated like concerned the script's portrayal of the expectation of sex for drinks. Responses from older males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) focused almost exclusively upon the fact that the situation of Thami raping Lerato was a result of the expectation of sex in return for drinks which was identified as common-place and '*happening now in our society*'; thus the script was considered '*powerful*', and likely to '*teach many men to stop raping*'.

Several older rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) similarly liked the realism of the advertisement because it focused upon the script depicting what was

viewed as a common cause of rape: *'I like this advert because it shows us that we mustn't do things for the ladies in exchange of sex ... everything, like it seems like it's reality'*.

One older rural male (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said when he heard Thami say that he saw Lerato as someone who owed him sex because he bought a drink for her, this *'encouraged me that never buy someone drinks because we want to sleep with her'*.

Thami's remorse for raping

Several younger urban females (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) liked the fact that the main character was 'remorseful' and that *'he had the regrets and he feels like he shouldn't have done that'*.

One older peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) said she liked that Thami *'realises his mistakes ... [and] he admitted he feels sorry for raping Lerato'*.

Learning a lesson: We must love one another

One young rural man (Rural men, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) liked that the advert *'shows we must love each other'*, while another liked that *'there is a lesson here, what you do to others will also happen to you'*.

If you rape a woman you rape a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother

An older rural male (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said that the statement *'if you rape a woman, you rape a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother'[sic] ... is very encouraging ... it [caused] me to realise that we have to take care of women, not to rape them ...'*.

Dislikes (unscreened males and females)

The following 'dislikes' are presented in order of most-to-least mentioned:

The main character is heartless (Scepticism regarding Thami's remorse)

There were several participants (males and females) from different groups who believed that Thami only regretted raping Lerato after his own sister was raped, and that he would not have regretted his rape of Lerato had his own sister not been raped.

This scepticism regarding Thami's remorse was captured by a peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, Evaton, Gauteng Province) who stated: *'He feels sorry for himself [not Lerato]'*.

Facilitator: And why do you think he is regretting it now?

M1: Because somebody else has raped his own sister.... The problem here is that Thami had raped Lerato. After he notices that his own sister was raped, he only realised then that rape is wrong. It means that all along while he was raping other women he was not aware that what he was doing was wrong.

Facilitator: So he raped another girl, now that someone else has raped his sister, he regrets it.

M6: He feels sorry for himself.

Younger men were particularly critical of the main character, describing him as *'heartless'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) and *'a narcissist'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) for only caring about his sister, and not caring about other women. Another man in this group said that *'if his sister wasn't raped he could have raped another woman'*. I.e., Thami's remorse was not viewed as applying to his rape of Lerato, nor genuine, rather it reflected his own personal pain regarding his sister.

Men who expect sex for drinks

One young urban man (Urban men, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said he disliked Thami (and men like him) who expect sex for drinks: *'I don't like guys like [Thami, who believe that] when they buy someone something they expect something in return'*.

One woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) said *'I don't like...where Thami is buying Lerato's drink and wants Lerato to pay him for doing sex with him'*.

Women like Lerato who ask men for free drinks

A young man (Urban men, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said he disliked the woman Thami raped (Lerato): *'I don't like Lerato. Women should ... not going around begging for people to buy them drinks - they should buy their own drinks to avoid something like this to happen'*.

The 'dislikes' noted above - regarding men who expect sex for drinks and women who pay for drinks with sex - are dislikes of the *behaviour* depicted and not of the script per se.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

One self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) said that the script had *'many lessons ... [concerning] the regret [of Thami] - [that] was very powerful for me'*, referring to the statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, daughter'*. Another man in this group said that *'it's a very touching story because of a similar thing happened to my sister'*.

Setting

Only rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga) commented on the setting of the script. They said they would prefer the advertisement located in a rural area because *'every time you see the adverts, you see townships, it's more like people of the townships are the only ones who understand this thing. Taking it to the villages will make people realise that the way they are spreading, and people are just beginning to realise or work with things*

like this'. They also suggested that the house was either a shack or a 'one room RDP [house], maybe a tree in front of it, and a scrap, a dead car ... like a shack in Chochocho township'. Other suggestions included a fire with a three-legged pot, and grass and weeds outside.

Realism and resonance

In terms of the realism of the script, the overall view of the scenario that resulted in the main character (Thami) raping Lerato (he had bought her drinks and expected sex in return), was that this expectation is highly prevalent in the communities where male and female participants lived. Importantly, assigning blame for the rape of the woman (Lerato) exclusively on Thami was a complex issue with a range of disparate views which spontaneously led to discussion among participants. Some men – and women – appeared to harbour understanding for Thami's rape of Lerato, while others disagreed with his behaviour. Self-reported rape perpetrators reiterated the reality of the drinks-for-sex expectation, and added that there were two types of 'no': 'No', and 'noooo'.

Unscreened males 18-34 years

Several young urban men said that, where they live, 'we do buy drinks for girls and at the end we expect to sleep with them'. When this exchange does not occur, one man said 'we end up fighting', while another said 'I don't force myself into a girl, so that's what Thami was supposed to do'. A third young man suggested that 'before you buy the girl drinks I think what you should do is you should get an agreement first that I buy you drinks, and you pay me for sex. Then if she doesn't agree with you, you look for somebody else ... because ... nothing for mahala [free]' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province).

M4: There are girls, we used to do these things back where we residing, we do buy drinks for girls and at the end we expect to sleep with them.

Facilitator: So what happens if the girl says no? Would you still sleep with her?

M4: No.

M5: We end up fighting.

Facilitator: So you say you buy drinks and what, does the girl also know that you expect sex, M4?

M4: In my side I do ask for sex...

Facilitator: Upfront?

M4: I don't force myself onto a girl, so that's what Thami was supposed to do.

Facilitator: But you started saying this happens, guys buy drinks, you expect sex.

M4: But not in a hard way like this one.

M1: Before you buy the girl drinks I think what you should do is you should get an agreement first that I buy you drinks, you pay me for sex. Then if she doesn't agree with you, you look for somebody else.

Facilitator: So I buy you drinks, you pay me with sex.

M1: Yes, because ... nothing for mahala ... It's a way of paying each other, it's betaal [paying], you're exchanging. It's not an exchange of money.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

A rural participant captured the sex for drinks expectation succinctly when he said:

M3: Normally if a guy asks a girl, 'hey, can I buy you drinks' ... that's just an invite to sex, everyone knows that. So Lerato knew what she was getting into the moment she said yes to Thami, so I think she also has got to accept her blame
(Rural males, KwaNgcolosi, 18-24y, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Not all young men expected sex in return for a drink: *'I only buy because I want to, I'm not forced to buy you drinks so I don't see any reason why I should at the end sleep with you because I bought you drinks'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province).

It was also stated that some women share in this expectation, and mock men who do not follow-up on the exchange: *'What makes ...boys to force girl to have sex after they [have] eaten his money is because girls they usually talk when with their friends, they say this guy is ... stupid. I have eaten his money ... but he didn't do nothing. So it means she was expecting sex'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province).

Although some of these young men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) strongly disagreed that a man is entitled to sex if he buys a woman drinks, this sentiment was not unanimous, and resulted in some agreeing, and some not:

Facilitator: So if the girl says no and the guy forces himself, is he wrong?

M3: No.

M4: A woman has the right to say no.

M5: Because when you force the woman it's already rape.

M6: Depends on the agreement.

M4: But she says no.

M6: You can't say no while I buy the drink...

Facilitator: M5 is saying no is no, M3 is saying you've got an agreement.

M3: Sometimes the agreement changes. Rules are made to be broken.

UM: When you are drunk.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

The reality of men expecting sex in exchange for buying a woman drinks was also stated by the group of young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province). They also said that Lerato – the woman raped by Thami – *'didn't know the secrets of the code'*, and that the rape could be ascribed to *'lack of communication'*.

Facilitator: Do men think that if they buy something for a girl they belong to them? [Group agrees]. I see lots of yeses.

M3: It's something common....

Facilitator: So what you mean is it works. Basically if you buy her drinks, you'll get sex, so the girl isn't complaining.

M3: Ja, nobody complains, it's a nice arrangement.

Facilitator: So you're saying Thami's unlucky?

M5: A lack of communication.

M4: Lerato didn't know the secrets of the codes.
(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One older peri-urban males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) and older rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) affirmed that the situation (expectation of sex in exchange for alcohol) was realistic in their communities:

Facilitator: Are you saying this thing happens a lot, it's happening a lot here in [Evaton]?

M3: Yes, it happens ... It's true.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Facilitator: Does this happen here, in this place where you live?

M5: Yes, everywhere.

M8: It's usually alcohol and money, ja, because ladies around here, they like money, fancy stuff. They like cars, ja.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-34 years

Young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) described the practice of families and mothers who prostitute their daughters for food and money, stating that many of them were aware of situations concerning the exchange of sex for food or money for food.

F6: [There] are mothers, let's say I've got a daughter, X is my daughter, I tell X it's fine, you can sleep with that guy as long as you will come back with that money so that we can buy groceries...

F2: You're prostituting your child's life and you're expecting money...

Facilitator: Have you heard stories like this?

[Group says yes].

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) also described the expectation of sex for drinks and referred to it as '*I wash your hands, you wash mine. I scratch your back, you scratch mine...I think that's why Thami took advantage of Lerato*' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Several male self-reported perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) discussed the expectation of sex in exchange for drinks or cash at taverns. They reiterated the prevalent expectations of sex-for-drinks, and that, in the event that the woman

does not reciprocate with consensual sex, the woman *'must give me my payback'*, which referred to either a refund of money paid, or forced sex. One man said that *'maybe tomorrow if I meet her again buying beer or doing what I'll take the cash which she has'*.

Another man in this group said that his actions at the time of the refusal to reciprocate would depend upon the type of *'no'* she gave: *'there's a nooo and then no - you will see her if then she says no. Even though you don't know her but you will see that now she's starting to be aggressive or she's starting to be shy, too much shy as if you are doing a wrong thing, then you must know that that's a real no'*.

Ascription of Thami's desire to rape

Participants were asked to explain their views on why the main male character – Thami – raped the woman he bought drinks for (Lerato).

The most-commonly stated view regarding why Thami raped Lerato concerned the expectation of sex in exchange for alcohol. For several men – and some women – the rape of Lerato within the context of a tavern and consumption of alcohol makes the ascription of responsibility for the rape complicated, and not clear-cut.

Overall, men said that the cause of rape is related to the drinks-for-sex expectations, but that this was not always the case. Some men ascribed rape to drugs and alcohol, and rejection of affection by the raped woman. Some men implied that the raped woman shared responsibility for the rape, because she was aware of the drinks-for-rape expectations. Most women concurred that the rape was caused by the drinks-for-sex expectation, but added that some men feel insecure, and need to rape in order to demonstrate their power. One woman also said that alcohol may have caused the man to do something he would not normally do.

Self-reported rape perpetrators were particularly critical of how women manipulate men with sex-for-drinks, and that women contribute to rape through wearing revealing clothing.

Unscreened males, 18-34 years

As discussed in the previous main section concerning the perceived realism of the script, young men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province; Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) shared the view that sex-for-drinks is common, and that this practice results in rape when the woman receives drinks but refuses to voluntarily have sex with the man who provided the drinks. The exchange is described as an *'agreement'*, *'expectation'*, *'he got to get something in return'*, being *'owed'* sex, and reneging on this agreement is considered *'running away with his money'*. Unsurprisingly, young urban and rural men ascribed the rape to this drinks-for-sex expectation.

Facilitator: What causes rape in this advert ...what was the cause of the rape? What led Thami to rape?

M3: Alcohol.

M6: ... Emotions and high expectations causes him to rape ... sexual emotions.

Facilitator: Does this thing happen a lot around here?

M3: *It happens a lot, every weekend.*

M2: *Well, I think what causes rape is a mind-set of a man that think if he gives the opposite person something he's got to get something in return.*

M6: *The only thing that causes rape is that when you expect something from someone then ... you just force yourself to [commit rape].*

M8: *I think this advert is telling us that ... Thami gives her a drink to get to Lerato. He knows that if I buy her drinks and ask her for sex, if she refuses I'll take advantage and force myself on her because I bought her drinks.*

M4: *...Thinking that you're having power over someone, that can cause rape. Like Thami, he was having enough money to buy Lerato a drink and at the end he expected Lerato to sleep with him.*

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M8: *Someone who owed that person...sex because he bought her drinks. He saw Lerato as someone who was like running away with his money but he's not getting anything.*

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One young rural man stated that this expectation of sex in exchange for drinks is not absolute, *'but then it's something that usually happens'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province). It was also stated by one young rural man in this group that the expectation of sex-for-drinks did not always end up in rape, but often in consensual sex.

Furthermore, the wide-spread tacit understanding of sex-for-drinks appeared to result in some male participants feeling that Lerato shared in the blame for being raped because *'she knew what she was getting into'* by accepting Thami's drinks (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province). Directly related to this view, one urban young man said that Thami did not rape Lerato *'on purpose – these things happen ... we do buy liquor and we drink together'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). I.e., several young men believed that the responsibility for Lerato's rape by Thami was shared.

M3: *... Normally if a guy asks a girl, hey, can I buy you drinks ... that's just an invite to sex, everyone knows that. So Lerato knew what she was getting into the moment she said yes to Thami, so I think she also got to accept her blames wherever they come from.*

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M4: *I think Thami didn't rape Lerato on purpose, these things happens. Just that we do bought liquor and we drink together.*

M2: *It's him but in the inside he wasn't himself. He felt like another person.*

M3: *Well, I think for Lerato it was having free drinks with a guy he [she] didn't know and maybe at that time they were having fun, she might have promised something. Maybe it might have been not sex but maybe she said 'if you buy me this I'm going to give you that' and that's an agreement, so maybe that's what...*

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Some older urban males (Urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) also ascribed Lerato's rape by Thami to sex-for-drinks expectations:

M3: Here where he says I remember raping Lerato because I bought her drinks what, what, this thing, I think it also influences men to do this, to rape because from the start, I can agree with you. I will come to you proposing, you will agree with me about everything because you are looking for my wallet and afterwards, you refuse. That's the problem.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Another older urban man (Urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) disagreed that Thami was entitled to sex for buying Lerato drinks, and explained Thami's behaviour rather to being on drugs. Another man in the same group speculated that Thami had prior feelings for Lerato. A third man dismissed these excuses, and said that Thami had no right to rape Lerato, regardless of any possible reasons. Other men in the group concurred that there was no excuse for what Thami did, and no-one deserves to be raped.

M7: Because I cannot buy someone drinks and rape her because she owes me. Maybe Thami was under the influence of drugs, maybe Viagra or Nyaope because his intention is to have sex with someone. So maybe he prepared himself that he must be under medication so that when he rapes someone, he can have what he wants. So that's what led Thami to rape Lerato ...

M6: ... He had feelings for Lerato ... and Lerato refused and he took it. He loved her.

M1: I do not think there is a reason enough to rape someone, let's not justify this thing of Thami that he bought Lerato drinks and that gives him a right to.... no, no it does not work like that.

M6: Nobody deserves that.

M1: There is no excuse.

M6: No one deserves to be raped.

(Urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Females 18-34 years

One young urban women (Urban Females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) recognised that the sex-for-drinks norm was implicated in Thami's rape of Lerato, but said that the reason a man buy drinks to get sex is because '*he didn't feel as a man*', and '*it doesn't make him feel man enough if something doesn't happen between them*', with the latter concerning the man's feeling that the woman had used his money for drinks, but not reciprocated with sex.

Another young urban woman (Urban Females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) said that, although '*everyone has a conscience*' (including Thami), '*but at that moment it's not them doing these things*'. I.e., while Thami was under the influence of alcohol, and within the context of a tavern where sex-for-alcohol is practiced, he is not entirely responsible for raping Lerato.

Older peri-urban women appeared to recognise the sex-for-drinks expectation, and referred to it as *'I wash your hands, you wash mine. I scratch your back, you scratch mine... I think that's why Thami took advantage of Lerato'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

F4: Thami raped Lerato because he thought he had spent much money on her, now she is supposed to pay him by having sex with him.

F2: When a man buys a drink for a woman, he wants something.

F5: I wash your hands, you wash mine. I scratch your back, you scratch mine ... I think that's why Thami took advantage of Lerato.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) distinguished between two types of women in taverns – those that think about ensuring they have cash to get home and those that do not. The latter were described as demanding money in the morning (after sex) to get home. If money is not produced, she may claim she was raped.

M6: ...There are two kind of different ladies in the tavern ... others they can tell you that when you buy drinks for me make sure that [you] leave some change in the morning I want... give me R200 what, what. And then the other will leave you, just buy, go, 12. And then in the morning she doesn't stop wanting money, not thinking the night before to keep money for going home in the morning...

M8: Then in the morning when she goes to report you, then there will be no witness by then ... Then when she says he raped me then that's a statement.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Another self-reported rape perpetrator said that *'if you're a lady you have to know how to wear [clothing] because there's some other guys, come I put it like this, some others, they can't control themselves'*.

Thami's remorse for raping Lerato

The second most commonly-discussed issue concerned Thami's rape of Lerato, and his statement of remorse. These discussions primarily revolved around the question of whether he was genuinely remorseful for his rape of Lerato, in terms of having a transformational realisation regarding the abuse of women, or whether his remorse was superficial and personal, and related only to his personal pain regarding the rape of his sister.

For the majority of unscreened participants – males and females – Thami's remorse was viewed as personal and superficial, and few participants believed that his remorse would have occurred had his sister not been raped. One participant – a young urban female – summarised

the extreme end of this sentiment by saying that he would probably deal with his pain with alcohol, and then rape again.

Unscreened males, 18-34 years

Four young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said that Thami's remorse was not the result of a transformational change in beliefs about women, and said that he *'wasn't going to feel sorry [if his sister had not been raped]'*.

M1: He felt sorry because now her [his] sister has been victimised.

M8: Yes, after what just happened to his sister.

Facilitator: Do you think he would have felt sorry if his sister wasn't raped?

M8: No, I think he wasn't going to feel sorry because... It was his intentions to do that.

M2: Thami's not regretting it... he's regretting because this thing only happened to his sister. If it didn't happen to his sister he wouldn't be regretting it.

M7: It's because he regrets [for] himself because his sister was raped.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Two young men from the same group (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) did, however, believe that Thami's remorse was a reflection of genuine change in his attitude towards women, and that *'maybe he did this only once ... maybe he made a mistake ... he's regretting [what he did to Lerato]'*.

M3: I think he's regretting what he did.

M4: I think he's regretting. Maybe he did this only once, it was his first time to rape Lerato and maybe he made a mistake so for her [his] sister to be raped it just remind him of the things that he did to Lerato, he's regretting.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Young rural men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolisi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) were similarly divided in the issue, with two stating he did not feel genuine remorse, and two believing Thami's remorse was genuine. One of the latter men was convinced of Thami's remorse due to the regret and sorrow in his face as he says he regretted raping Lerato:

M5: We see the look of remorse on Thami's face as he looks into the camera and with regret and sorrow in his face, says, I remember raping Lerato. So he's regretting himself for what he's done. And there, the bottom there, he's even wishing that I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person just like I wish the man who raped my sister saw her as a person too ... He's feeling sorry now.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolisi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

None of the older men in both peri-urban and rural groups were convinced that Thami's remorse was genuine. Three older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) felt that Thami's remorse was personal, and not due to a change in attitude

towards women in general, and that had someone not raped his sister, he would not have regretted his rape of Lerato. A fourth man in this group felt that the only reason Thami expressed remorse was because he was afraid of going to prison for raping Lerato. Older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) expressed similar sentiments.

Females 18-34 years

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) said that Thami's remorse was personal, not transformational, and that after the scenario depicted, *'he will be drinking alcohol, he will be drinking too much, and then I think he might do it again, just because it hit home. I don't think he's going to stop.'*

Two other young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) were more optimistic concerning Thami's painful realisation accompanying his remorse, and said that it showed he had a *'conscience'*, and that *'he now sees Lerato with another eye'*.

F8: What drives them is this bad spirit to do this, it's not them because at the end of the day we do see that Thami has a conscience ... I mean ... regret ...

F1: I think Thami wishes he didn't rape Lerato because now he is feeling very much bad. He now sees Lerato with another eye.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

The views of older peri-urban women (Peri-urban women, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) also appeared to question the depth of Thami's remorse, and indicated that his remorse was strictly due to personal pain of his sister's rape.

F1: It shows that Thami is regretting raping Lerato. He is now having sorrows, and he feels sorry for raping Lerato. He never should have raped Lerato, because she is like a sister, a daughter, a mother. He feels like [pauses] oh, he saw Lerato as someone who owed him sex because he bought Lerato drinks, and now Lerato has to pay with sex. Obviously he forced himself to her.

Facilitator: Why is he now sorry?

F1: I think he is sorry when he looks at his mother's picture, sister's picture. It feels like it happened to them, now when he did it to Lerato.

F4: This advert is about Thami who is regretting what he did when he raped Lerato. Now he is feeling sorry for what he did because someone has done it to his sister, now he is feeling very sorry. He wishes that he never done that. Before he did it, he wishes that he could have thought about Lerato as if she was his sister or mother or grandmother.

Facilitator: Okay, so you're saying he's feeling sorry because he raped Lerato and now someone has raped his sister?

F4: Yes.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

From two specific statements made by self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), it appeared that there was a recognition that Thami only recognised Lerato as a ‘*person*’ because of the rape of his own sister.

M7: Mr Thami he wishes, just because the rape thing has already been done he can't change the situation which he has done before. So and then he was seeing that thing differently just because it wasn't next to him, it was far from him. So just because now it's happening to his family... Now it's come to his house, that's why he's feeling the weight of the pain.

M8: I can say that he sees Lerato as a person because now it happened at his family. So now, before, he was just taking some, outsiders, like outcast, they don't matter ...So now because it happened at his family then now that is when he starts to feel the pain now.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Male voice-over statements

In the script, Thami – the man who raped Lerato – provides a voice-over to explain his thoughts and feelings, and the basic story-line. Three voiced-over statements were made by Thami: (1) *‘I remember raping Lerato because she didn't want to have sex with me, even though I bought her drinks. She would not give me what I wanted, so I took it’*; (2) *‘At that moment, I just saw Lerato as someone who owed me sex. I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister or daughter’* and (3) *‘I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person. Just like I wish the man who raped my sister, saw her as a person too.’*

The first two statements concern Thami's justification for raping Lerato, namely that he bought – and she accepted – drinks, and he raped her when she refused to reciprocate with sex, and the third expresses his remorse for raping Lerato because he had realised that she was, like his sister, a person, not an anonymous sex object.

Participants were asked how they understood these statements, in terms of how Thami viewed Lerato.

Most participants understood that the basic story being narrated was that Thami experienced pain and remorse for raping Lerato after his own sister was raped, and that he wished he had seen Lerato as a person who was loved by someone else at the time of the rape. However, a small number of participants were confused regarding the identity of Lerato, and thought Lerato and Thami's sister was the same person.

The statement *‘I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter’* was the most widely discussed voice-over statement. It was unclear at times whether the discussion concerned the voice-over narrative statement or the one of the closing titles *‘If you rape a woman you're raping a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother’* due to their similarity. Overall, participants perceived the statement to mean that, when a man rapes a woman, he is raping someone's mothers, sister, or daughter. Furthermore, the consensus was that this

concerns the man considering the consequences of raping a woman, and the pain it would cause her and her loved ones. The received message was that rape causes pain to the victim, and to her family, and that men should respect women and families. This was also understood to be connected to the pain Thami felt when his own sister was raped.

Overall, participants articulated that Thami understood that raping a woman, was raping a mother, sister, daughter i.e., that women are not objects, depersonalised, but are human beings who are someone's mother, daughter, sister etc. Thami's understanding that women are not sexual objects was facilitated by his own sister's rape. In order for Thami to learn that women are not sexual objects, it was important that this 'learning' happen in a way that brought this realisation to him in a way that is close to home.

Unscreened males, 18-34 years

Unscreened young men said that the voice-over narrative described Thami having raped Lerato, *'then he found out that his sister was raped too'*, followed by the realisation that *'if you raped a woman you rape a mother of someone'*. The voice-over then concerned Thami feeling *'sorry for what he did to Lerato because what he did ... [backfired on] his sister'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), and that *'he would not have raped her [if] he did not think she was an animal - he thought she was something like an animal'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

M6: He forced himself. Then in future he found out that his sister was raped too. That's where Thami realised that if you rape girl, if you raped a woman, you rape a mother of someone and that mother of someone became a grandmother in the future.

M8: I think Thami is feeling sorry for what he did to Lerato.

M6: I think Thami feels sorry for what he did to Lerato because what he did it come and backfire to his sister.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M4: He takes her for granted.

M9: I think that he will never rape her if she was not a person.

Facilitator: If she was a person?

M9: He would not have raped her if he did not think she was an animal. He thought she was something like an animal.

(Rural Males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

It was also noted that one young rural man thought the statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter'* meant that *'you can't rape your same sister because you're coming from the same blood'* (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

Older men said that the voice-over narrative concerned *'the rape ... of [Thami's] sister'* (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province), and that *'after raping ... he has remorse because he feels he raped someone who is being loved by someone else'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province).

M7: Thami realised after raping ... he has remorse because he feels that he raped someone who is being loved ... by someone else. ... He realised [this] after he was affected directly by the person whom he loved or his family member, you see, experiencing the same thing that he did to Lerato.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

One older man (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) was confused by the voice-over narrative, and said that *'it [sounds] like Thami is Lerato's brother'*.

M2: According to my understanding of this advert, it [sounds] like Thami is the brother to Lerato, and he is referring that his sister was raped by another man, ja.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

The role of alcohol and sex-for-drinks in the rape of Lerato was prominent in several male participants' responses to Thami's narrative. Participants stated that, prior to his sister being raped, Thami saw Lerato as a *'prostitute'*, *'someone owing him sex'*, and *'a sex worker'* (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province).

M8: He saw her as someone who owes him... like as a prostitute because if Thami saw Lerato as a person he was not going to force himself on her. He's going to take it as like he was buying drinks for her just to get to know her, ja.

M6: He didn't see her as a sister or anything to her [him], she is just a girl that he found hanging in a bar or somewhere [unclear] ...drink and expect something from her.

Facilitator: How did he see her?

M4: As someone who is owing him sex.

M1: He saw her as a sex worker or something.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Older rural males (Rural Males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) similarly referred to how Thami saw Lerato as an *'object'* that he took for granted, within a drinks-for-sex situation. Two other older rural men focused on the remorse on Thami's face as he says he regretted raping Lerato, and linked this to the drinks-for-sex situation, and his pain for his sister's rape.

M4: Men who like to bought drinks for girls, it's because they take girls for granted as this guy said, he looked at her as an object... That's why I take you for granted because he bought her something.

(Rural Males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M2: ... Because the voice number one, they say we see the look of remorse on Thami's face as he looks into the camera and with regret and sorrow in his voice, he says I remember raping Lerato because she didn't want to have sex with me. Even though I bought her drinks, she would not give me what I wanted, so I took it. I think he refers to the man who bought Lerato some drinks, because we see that when the camera turns, ja, voice number one, voice number three I think, where she refers that I wish I could see Lerato as a person, just like I wish the man who raped my sister saw her as a person too.

M3: I think here what they are trying to say about Thami is that he wanted to buy his own way by buying his sister alcohol, but she kept on refusing, so that is why he ended up taking some steps to rape her.
(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-34 years

Both young and older women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province; Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) concurred with the interpretations of the statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter'* made by the male groups. One older peri-urban woman felt that the statement would prevent men from raping women because they would be aware that they are hurting other people's families too.

F1: Because it gives men, it gives people an awareness that rape, it's real and it's happening and that women are being raped, our sisters, our mothers are being raped, even grandmothers are being raped.

F2: I like it. I saw in my mind the way if it was happening on TV, whereby the words just pop out that if you rape a woman you're raping your sister and the words, the rape just doesn't go away. It says mother, grandmother, you know. I just like that because when you think about it ... you don't want to hurt your sister if you're closer to your sister or your cousin, you know.

Facilitator: Will it hit home to the men?

F2: Ja, to the men, ja or to the women.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F6: It means that the person you are raping is important to other people. The more you rape her, you harm her, there are other people who are looking to her who are being affected by you raping her.

F7: I feel sad because when you rape someone, you are someone's daughter, sister or someone's mother.

Facilitator: ...If we put this advert on television, do you think it could stop or prevent, if a man saw this, him from raping?

F8: It could help, because the perpetrators would be aware that if they hurt someone, their families would be hurt too by someone.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One young urban female described the statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter'* as saying that *'[Thami] took advantage of somebody else and at that*

moment he didn't see Lerato as a person ... [and then] it hits him back that now it happened to my sister' (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

F3: ... It comes back to him that he remembers that he took advantage of somebody else and at that moment he didn't see Lerato as a person, he just saw Lerato as [someone] just to take advantage of then, that's it, you know. Now it hits him back that now it happened to my sister, you know. He remembers that also that person has emotions, you know. Ja, because now he see her [his] sister crying and stuff.

F7: He wishes he could have seen Lerato as a person. That's when it hits, this could be my sister. When it hits at home, that's when he saw that, he actually sees that now that my sisters crying, my mother's comforting her, that really hurts. So Lerato wherever she is, she's crying like the sister. The hurt, the hurt my sister is in right now, the same pain Lerato is in.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Similarly, one older woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) said that the voice-over statement *'I didn't think of her as someone's mother, sister, or daughter'* meant that *'[Thami] feels guilty because he could see the pain of the person who has been raped, just like his sister'*.

F6: I think at that time Thami's, the minute he bought the drinks he wasn't buying the drinks only, he even bought her, I think in my mind, in his mind, he bought Lerato even. So, you're mine, so he's like, you're mine, you're going to do whatever I want because you're mine, I'm going to do anything to you ...

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Closing announcer statement: 'Men can stop rape'

The following results concern only one of the closing title and announcer statements *'Men can stop rape'*. Presentation of results concerning the statement *'Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you feel there's a chance of you raping'* is located in a later section of this report concerning participant's perceptions of the toll-free number information. One other statement – *'If you rape a woman you're raping a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother'* – is discussed in the previous section.

Only one man from one group (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) commented on this statement at the end of the script. He suggested that the word *'men'* should be replaced by *'we'* because *'it's gender-based ... even men get victimised by women'*.

Main messages received

Participants were asked what they perceived as the main message in the advertisement script. Overall, the main message received by unscreened males was that *seeing a woman as a sexual object was wrong, and that men should respect women*. A second message expressed by older males was that the script warned against raping because *'what goes around comes around'*. Furthermore, *when a man rapes a woman, he is raping someone's loved one*. The

latter perceived message was echoed by a self-reported rape perpetrator. For females, the main message received centred around the harm caused by the drinks-for-sex expectation, and that it was wrong for both men and women to engage in this social expectation.

Unscreened males, 18-34 years: Women are not sex objects, don't treat others differently - treat everyone with respect

The central message of the script, as perceived by unscreened men, was that men should 'not treat anybody differently only because they're not your family – you must treat everybody the same way' (Rural males, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) because 'you're not just raping a woman, you are raping a loved one' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). Furthermore, men should stop viewing any woman as 'something like sex objects' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province).

*M4: It's that if you rape a woman you're not just raping a woman, you are raping a loved one.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)*

M1: The advert is telling us don't do something bad to someone you wouldn't want it to happen to someone you love.

M3: I think the message of this advert is that do not treat anybody differently only because they're not your family. You must treat everybody the same way.

M4: The message that I get in this advert is that do not treat people the way that you will not like to be done on your partner or family or you.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M1: About the men to stop seeing women as objects, like something like sex objects. You have to stop it and treat women as someone who is loved as much as we love our own families ...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Males 25-34y: Don't rape – what goes around comes around

Three older males said that the main message concerned a warning to men that 'if you rape someone, you can feel it if it happens in your home' (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province). I.e., if you rape, the pain you cause will be revisited upon your own family: 'What goes around ... comes around' (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province).

*M6: ... Regret, if you rape someone, you can feel it if it happens in your home.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)*

M8: Which means he tells people that what goes around, it comes back around. When you do something bad, it will happen to you in future.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

M1: It tells that never rape ... because when it comes back to haunt you, you will feel the pain that was felt by the people who raped their relative.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-34 years: Men should not expect sex in exchange for drinks or gifts

The main message received by young urban females (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) was that one should *'not exchange sexual intercourse for drinks'*, and that even if a man buys a woman a drink, *'you still don't own that woman'*. Another young woman in the same group said that the message to women was that *'we should stop allowing guys to buy us drinks expecting something'*.

F1: Do not exchange sexual intercourse for drinks ... It's a message to every man that says no matter how you can spend on a woman, but still, you still don't own that woman.

F8: ... For me, I feel like men ... should stop exchanging sex for drinks, [and] we should stop allowing guys to buy us drinks expecting something.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) similarly expressed that the main message was directed at women, and that women should *'always bear in mind that there is no man who [will] spend all his money without wanting something in return'*.

F8: The message is that as a woman, I must always bear in mind that there is no man who can spend all his money without wanting something in return.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Females 18-24 years: Don't treat others differently - treat everyone with respect

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng) echoed some men's perception that the message of the script was that *'if you rape a woman, you rape a loved one'*.

Females 18-24 years: You can stop yourself

One woman said that *'the message [to men] is pretty clear ... if you are willing ... if you have a conscience ... you can stop yourself'* (Urban females, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

F2: Ja, you can stop yourself if you are willing, like if you have a conscience you can stop yourself because this is your sister. The message is pretty clear ...

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators: 'It's a small world'

One self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) said that *'you could end up raping someone who lives next door to you without knowing it. It is a small world'*, after being arrested for raping someone visiting his neighbour, without knowing she lived next door. This participant described how he is shy of women and has difficulties interacting with women. The participant recounted how he violently raped a woman – a stranger - whom he perceived as rejecting him. A few days later, the participant was drinking tea in his yard when he heard a woman screaming that he had raped her. He discovered that the woman he had raped was a visitor who was staying next door. He was arrested and served a prison sentence. He subsequently decided to stop raping, and said he now pays for prostitutes.

Unintended messages

Although the central messages were largely understood and accepted by most unscreened male and female participants, two young urban males (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), and two older peri-urban males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) raised perceptions that were at odds with the intended messages presented.

She didn't have self-respect, that's why he raped her

One young man expressed that the rape victim – Lerato – also shared responsibility for being raped, by accepting the drinks offered by Thami. This was viewed as *'taking advantage over men because they have money, and at the end running away from him'*. According to the same young man (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), the main message of the advertisement was that women need to learn to have self-respect, and that accepting drinks from men resulted in those men not respecting those women. He further implied that this was why Thami raped Lerato, and why Thami *'didn't see Lerato as a person before'*.

M3: I think this advert teaches both men and women that they must not take advantage on other people. it's not only men that are taking advantage over women, women also take advantage over men because they know that he has money, at the end expecting to run away from him ... I think the main message is teaching women self-respect. If you respect yourself then guys can respect yourself also, that is why Thami didn't see Lerato as a person before.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Two older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) appeared to also support this view of the script, and stated further that that advert may be perceived to encourage men to continue with sex-for drinks behaviour, which can result in rape. It was however, clarified that the one participant was noting his disapproval of the behaviour, and not of the advert.

M3: Here where he says I remember raping Lerato because I bought her drinks, this thing, I think it also influences men to do this, to rape because from the start, I can agree with you. I will come to you proposing, you will agree with me about everything because you are looking for my wallet and afterwards, you refuse. That's the problem....

M1: I do agree with M3, but my problem is that the very same sentence is encouraging men to keep on doing this thing of raping women.

Facilitator: How will it encourage men?

*M1: ... It's like trading, I buy you beer and I expect you to have sex with me, no it does not work like that.
(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)*

He wasn't punished, which encourages men to rape

The second unintended message – according to a young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) was that the script ‘*encourages men to rape because Thami hasn't been taught a lesson for raping Lerato. I don't see Thami going to prison or going to jail and serve his sentence, he's free*’. The young man further stated that the rape of his sister was not punishment for Thami, but rather pain for his sister.

M4: I think it encourages men to rape because Thami hasn't been taught a lesson for raping Lerato. I don't see Thami going to prison or going to jail and serve his sentence, he's free.

Facilitator: But what about the fact that his sister's been raped?

*M4: His sister, not him. That means Thami needs to be taught a lesson ... Not his sister.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)*

Calls to action

In response to the question ‘*What is this advertisement asking people to do?*’ several calls-to-action emerged in participants’ responses. However, specific calls-to-action were prominent, and stated by many participants from all unscreened groups of males and females.

The most commonly-mentioned call-to-action stated by unscreened men was that ***men should not expect sex in exchange for drinks or gifts***. This call-to-action was supported by one self-reported rape perpetrator. The second most commonly stated call-to-action perceived by unscreened men, was for ***men to think about their future, and the consequences of their actions, before they raped a woman***. The third call-to-action stated by unscreened men was that ***men should stop raping, and get help if they had a desire to rape***.

The calls-to-action stated by women were very similar to those perceived by men, and the dominant call-to-action was for *men to stop expecting sex in exchange for drinks*, and for *women to stop allowing men to buy them drinks with the expectation of sex* in return. The second most-commonly stated call-to-action by female participants was that *men should stop raping, and get help*. The third call-to-action stated by women was that *men should think about their future and the consequences of their actions, before they raped a woman*.

Unscreened males, 18-34 years

The following calls-to-action were stated by unscreened men, and are ranked according to the number of men who expressed such opinions.

Don't take advantage: Men should not expect sex in exchange for drinks or gifts

The basic call-to action contained in this group of responses (all unscreened male groups) was that a man should not take advantage of women's lack of financial resources by buying women drinks, and then expecting that she would be obliged to repay him with sex. Other sub-themes included that a man should not go to a tavern for sex (self-reported rape perpetrators - Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) and that a man should never do something under the influence of alcohol or drugs (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province).

M8: You must not take advantage of someone by offering someone something and you want something in return.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M1: That's like the whole script of this advert ... just because a guy buys a girl a drink ... doesn't mean that the girl now owes him.

M6: Do not buy sex from women using money and other things.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M2: I like it, because it will teach many people to stop raping [because of] ... buying someone alcohol and expecting something in return.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M1: I think this advert is trying to tell us never try to take advantage of a woman by buying her some drinks, because you want something, something like sex.... Never do something under the influence of drugs or alcohol.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

M3: For me on this advert Thami is wrong ... guys in taverns, they mustn't go to the taverns for girls they must just drink.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Think about your future, and consider your future before you act

A few men stated that the call-to-action was to consider other people, not just yourself (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), and that a man should consider his future, not only his present desires (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

M: I mean to think for the other side [person], not to think on your own side [self] ... [also], you've got to think for future purposes, now, what you're doing right now.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M8: Think about what will happen in the future. Don't just think for what is happening right now. Think about the consequences and disadvantages of what you are doing ...

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Rape is not right – Stop raping – Get help

One man in each of the older unscreened male groups (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) stated that the call-to-action in the script was that rapists should stop raping, and they should get help.

M6: It is telling the rapists to stop raping. If you want to rape there is a number that you should call.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M5: You don't have to do it [rape] at all.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females, 18-34 years

Several calls-to-action were perceived by female participants, several of which were similar to those expressed by men.

Stop expecting sex in exchange for drinks

The dominant call-to-action perceived by women from the script was for men to stop expecting sex in exchange for drinks, and for women to stop allowing men to buy them

drinks with the expectation of sex in return (discussed in a previous section, *Main messages received*).

F1: Do not, do not exchange sexual intercourse for drinks ... It's a message to every man that says no matter how you can spend on a woman, but still, you still don't own that woman.

F8: ... For me, I feel like men ... should stop exchanging sex for drinks, [and] we should stop allowing guys to buy us drinks expecting something.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F8: The message is that as a woman, I must always bear in mind that there is no man who can spend all his money without wanting something in return.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Stop raping – Get help – What goes around comes around

The second most-commonly stated call-to-action by young urban female participants (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) was that men should stop raping, and get help if they have the urge to rape.

F7: Stop rape.

F6: ... Let's stop it, everyone.

F8: ... and if you've got the urge to rape, let's get help.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

One young woman from the same group also said that the call-to-action of the script was to stop raping, but said that the rationale for stopping raping was '*[the] same thing might happen to ... you or somebody close to you*' (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province). The same rationale was stated by an older peri-urban female: '*The message is to the rapist that what they do to others, it can happen to their loved ones*' (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

Think about your future, and consider your future before you act

The third call-to-action was presented by a peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) who said that '*the message [is] ... that you have to think before your [rape]*'.

F3: The message there, you have to think before you do, because Thami is regretting of raping Lerato.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Self-reported rape perpetrators

For self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), the main call-to-action was that men should stop expecting sex in exchange for drinks, and that if a man expects sex, he should say so upfront because a woman ‘*does not owe [a man]’* sex if he buys her a drink.

M4: No, she does not owe him.

M2: You know, many guys buy women drinks at the tavern thinking that they must take them home with them. I think that's wrong. I think when you buy someone a drink at the tavern you must tell them, here is R200, I'm going to spend this R200 with you and after spending it can you please go home with me and sleep with me. That would be simple

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Message efficacy of the script in terms of rape prevention: Qualitative

Participants were asked to say whether they felt the messages in the script would contribute towards rape prevention.

Overall, most unscreened participants – males and females – stated that the advertisement would help prevent rape in some groups of men (e.g., men who cared about their families), but not in other groups (e.g., sociopaths; men with rigid gender beliefs of a man having authority over women).

Both male and female participants also said that the advertisement would reduce rape emanating from drinks-for-sex situations. In terms of these situations, it was said that the advertisement would reduce rape related to alcohol exchanged for sex by addressing both men who expect sex for providing drinks, as well as in women who accept drinks from men.

Unscreened urban males 18-24 years: Could stop some men like Thami, but not Sgoras (sociopaths)

Young urban males (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga) said that there are two kinds of men who rape: Men like Thami ‘*who has a heart, a man who is able to think*’, and Sgoras¹⁰ (sociopaths). It was stated that the advertisement could stop some men like Thami because they ‘*will see that the very same situation Thami put Lerato in it could be the very same situation he can be in*’, but not sociopaths. I.e., the advertisement might positively affect those men capable of empathy.

M2: Some men will stop because they will see that the very same situation Thami put Lerato in it could be the very same situation he can be in.

Facilitator: So because it's so realistic they'll be able to see. So you think it could help to stop some rapes. Do you think if we put this one on TV could it stop some men from raping?

¹⁰ Sgoras was a serial rapist in Mpumalanga that participants referred to when distinguishing between men amenable to change and those who are not.

M1: Yes, it would because Thami here is feeling sorry for what he did ... [although] he was under the influence [of alcohol] ... [and] men like Thami can stop raping but men like Sgora [a sociopath], no, he won't. They are heartless ... if you can rape like 4 times, hah, you're a psychopath.

Facilitator: So this is an important point. So men like Thami can stop raping, men like Sgora can't. So what was the difference between that man and Sgora?

M4: Thami is a man who has a heart, a man who is able to think, who is able to see wrong things and right things but guys like Sgora, they don't have a heart. They just think on their own, they don't think what others feel.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Unscreened males and females, 18-34 years: Could prevent rape in those men who think about their families

Rural males (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said that the advertisement would help prevent rape by men who care for their families, due to the messages that rape is wrong, and when you rape a woman, you are raping someone's sister, mother, grandmother. This was said to apply to men who expect and exchange drinks for sex.

M1: The advert would work to prevent rape, the advert would work, I think it would work.

M5: I think it will work because once a person thinks of doing rape he or she will think that's what will happen if what he's about to do was done in a member of his family.

M8: I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person just like I wish the man who raped my sister saw her as a woman. Now the rapist seeing this advert will think about his sister and her mother and her grandmother, he will think that if I rape this woman maybe someone else is raping my mother. That may stop rape.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M8: In their mentality, which means they know they have got kids, something might happen in future to their kids, you see? Ja ... It will change the way they behave ... They will react differently when they are drunk and thinking of sex. They will know that you mustn't force people to go and sleep with you, ja, because you buy them drinks, you have given them money Which means it will, people will change their thinking, because they will know that if they rape, which means they are killing the whole nation.

M3: Ja, the spirit that tells you to do something that you know is wrong. Raping is wrong, and when you see the advert, you will know that when I touch a woman ... maybe half of the people around me will get hurt also, things like that.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

These views were shared by older peri-urban females (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal).

Facilitator: So do you think the advert could prevent a man from raping?

F4: Yes ... Because a rapist can think if I rape that girl, maybe someone can come back and rape my mother or sister, and I can see the hurt that my sister is in.

F1: I think it will, because no one wants to see someone they love suffer from pain. So I think it will stop the rapist to rape, because the rapist will think that part of this comes back to me. It will happen to one of my family members, or one of my daughters.

(Peri-urban females, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Unscreened males 25-34 years: Will prevent rape because it shows that if you rape, something will happen to you or your loved ones

Some older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said that the advertisement would help prevent rape by showing viewers that if you rape, your loved ones could also get harmed.

UM: It works, because it shows that if you rape somebody else, it is going to happen to you too, directly or indirectly.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M6: I think to women, you will feel like when the advert is playing there, you will feel like every man by that moment, you must watch, because what comes around it goes around. It will show there, if you think of raping, it might come back to you.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Unscreened rural males, 18-25 years: Could prevent rape in those men who buy drinks, expecting sex

For some men (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province), it was expressed that some rape would be prevented by the advertisement because some men would become aware of the lesson Thami had to learn – i.e., that expecting sex for drinks can result in rape and pain for the victim.

M3: I think this will work very well with the people who uses, you know those night places, night clubs, taverns, buying drinks for girls expecting to sleep with them. Seeing this ad, this will notify them that sex is not only the case when it comes to having fun. Sometimes the girl might say no and you might go through this.

M7: I agree with M3.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Unscreened males and females: Could prevent rape of some women who accept free drinks from men

For some participants from both male and female groups, (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province; Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province; Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province; and Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province), the advertisement could prevent rape in some women who accept

free drinks from men, by showing them the possible outcome, including rape. One suggestion was that women could reduce the possibility of rape by buying their own drinks.

M3: I don't think it will stop men from raping. It will teach women lesson not to allow strangers to buy them drinks.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M4: Yes, I think women will avoid taking drinks who come from others.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

F6: I think it will change the behaviour... of women. You must know if you want to go out and go drink, have your own money so that you don't invite trouble. Have your own transport, there's Uber now for people who don't have...cars and they want to go out. So it's either you go out, you have money, if you don't have money sit at home. So and their behaviour in general.

Facilitator: Who's saying yes? F8, F2, F7, F6, F1, F5.

F3: Not all of them.

Facilitator: So not all women? What do you think women will get from this?

F6: I think the advert itself, maybe a girl should say we need to stand up for each other, you know, and it's good to be independent, it's good to buy yourself your own drink. So ja,

F2: I think it should be also put in the advertisement nothing is for free, just to be careful.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F6: It could have an impact to a woman's behaviour because the woman can now be aware that you cannot accept most of these things because there are consequences. The person who is giving you something, he can want something back from you, and he will own you.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Females 18-24 years: It won't prevent rape - some men won't change

Two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) were sceptical that the advertisement would prevent rape by some men, particularly those that had rigid gender beliefs of a man having authority over women.

F4: Not every man, not every man.

F1: I don't think some men will change... I am a Christian ... the bible somehow gives men an authority to rule over women ... and women should always submit to men, like, their husbands. So other guys, they have that mentality that if I buy you something then it is bound to happen that we have to, you know, have sex. But I think it could change those guys who are, like, who are not, maybe some guys who are married, who are having marriage, some guys who have a clear mind, something like that.

F2: Mina, I just want to be realistic when it comes to alcohol. When you're going clubbing and you want women, you know what's your first goal.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

According to one self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), the advertisement would *'affect people ... someone who might do it ... because there's sorrow in this video, there's sorrow and they are showing his family'*.

Another self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province), said that the advertisement would be *'very powerful because it will teach men that when you're buying, when you go to a tavern, buy ladies drinks, you are doing it out of your own will, it doesn't mean they owe you anything – it is better to be upfront'*.

A third man in this group said that the advertisement would clarify – for men - the *'rules'* of buying drinks for women in taverns, because otherwise, *'he could get angry - sometimes a girl accepts and the man might think that the girl is interested. If the girls say no, he could rape her.'*

Anticipated interpersonal conversations about rape

Participants in some groups were asked whether they believed that the advertisement would stimulate conversations about rape in audiences, and what the content of those conversations would be.

Data was only obtained from older unscreened men and women, and the consensus was that the advertisement would indeed stimulate conversations between people, including men and women, particularly concerning changing men's attitudes towards women, and also regarding the drinks-for-sex expectations underlying many cases of rape.

Unscreened males, 25-34 years

Among older peri-urban males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng), the consensus was that this advertisement would indeed stimulate conversation about rape, and one man said it would *'even stop raping'*.

Facilitator: Do you think if you see this advert on TV, will it make people talk about rape?

[General agreement] Yes.

M6: Yes, they will even stop raping.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng)

Similarly, older rural men (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said this advertisement would stimulate conversations about rape, and that such conversations

would involve different views, and that men who rape would realise that rape is wrong, and women will want every man to watch it.

M6: We always talk about adverts, that's what I know.

Facilitator: And will you talk about this one?

M6: Definitely.

Facilitator: What kinds of conversations are you going to have ... if you think about the things you talk about with your friends?

M6: They will have different views and options. ... [Those] men that are raping, ... [they] will say yes, ... this advert is telling us the truth, we must change our attitude. To women, it will come out that I wish that every man can watch it.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females, 25-34 years

Older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) said that people would talk about the advertisement, particularly regarding the issue of expecting sex for a drink.

Facilitator: If people saw it on TV, they would talk about it?

F4: Yes.

F3: Yes, because if someone is spending money on you, you have to pay him back.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal)

Perceived target audience

Most unscreened participants – males and females – said that the advertisement was aimed at both men and women, of all ages. In this regard, the target audience was largely defined in terms of those likely to engage in sex-for-drinks at taverns, and drinking alcohol in general.

Unscreened males, 18-34y

Younger men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) identified both young men and women, as well as the community in general, with the message that women should not accept drinks from strangers, and that men should respect women and not expect sex in exchange for drinks.

M5: Most of the time it's for the youth ... Both [males and females]. Especially this time of 20th century, bars and tavern are full of little children so ... some are raped there.

M2: Men and women. In the man's part it shows that if you are a man and then you are buying women drinks you shouldn't expect something at the end. And on the women's side it shows that you shouldn't accept drinks from people you don't know.

M8: I think this advert is for all of us in the community ... [It] tell us that ... you must not expect a drink from strangers, somebody who is just coming to offer you some drinks and you accept that drink. You must not accept the drinks.

M4: For us men it teaches us to respect women. If I offer a woman a drink I don't expect sex in return, so respect women.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province; Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) stated that the advertisement was aimed at both men and women, with some emphasising youth and men who buy drinks for women with the expectation of sex in return.

M7: It is designed for both sexes, males and females ...it teaches the younger kids that there is something like this and it is not right, raping someone is not right. So for me that part is being designed for both of us, males and females.

M4: It is made mostly for those men who are shy to talk to women and those who believe that if they buy something for a woman, she owes him sex. It is made for men.

M1: All men.

M3: All men.

M6: I think all men, young and old.

M2: All men.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M1: I think both, for women and men.

M5: We, as men.

M3: Ja, I think both.

M8: Both genders ... It's for the community, the whole community.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Females 18-24 years

Young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) similarly stated that the advertisement was aimed at all people who go out to drink alcohol, including brothers, sisters, mothers.

F1: It's talking to everyone because even our mothers, they do go out sometimes. Even our sisters, our brothers, they do go out so whenever we are at home ... it sends a message to us that when you are going out be aware because these are some of the things that are happening out there. And that guys shouldn't do things without thinking first, they should think before they do something, even girls, before they can go out they should be cautious of what they wear and the amount of money that they have and the time they wish to spend out there.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Toll-free number: Type of help and recipients of help offered

Participants were asked to comment on the toll-free number at the end of the script, in terms of three aspects: Perceptions of the statement 'Call us ... if you feel there's a chance of you

raping', what type of help is being offered through this toll-free number, and who would be likely to access this help.

An animated discussion of the phrase '*if you feel there's a chance of you raping*' occurred, mainly among older peri-urban men, one of whom objected to the implications that the desire to rape was an emotion, and that it could be pre-planned in the '*if you feel there's a chance of you raping*' statement. Instead, several of these men said that wanting to rape was a thought, not a feeling, and that it was rarely pre-planned. They also pointed to other causes of rape, including pornography, drugs, and alcohol. Self-reported rape perpetrators reiterated the latter statement, but disagreed that rape was not pre-planned.

According to all unscreened male and female groups, the most frequently-mentioned service that the toll-free number would (or should) offer was counselling or therapy, followed by advice to men on what to do not to rape, the reporting of a man at risk of raping (for the purpose of intervention), and reporting of a woman at risk of being raped.

The most-commonly mentioned type of user was men who are considering rape for any reason (including, but not limited to men who are considering rape after being refused sex after buying a woman drinks), followed by perpetrators of rape, and victims of rape, and both victims and perpetrators.

'Call us ... if you feel there is a chance of you raping'

Data concerning this statement was obtained mainly from older peri-urban males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province). Most of these men were adamant that the statement was not a helpful statement, for a variety of reasons:

There is no such thing as feeling of wanting to rape someone

One peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) could not conceive that other men could have the feeling of wanting to hurt somebody, such as in rape. He therefore disagreed with the statement.

M1: I think this title two, if you feel there is a chance of you raping, it encourages men to rape. I do not think that someone has to feel to rape somebody, no, no, no, there is no such thing of feeling of raping somebody. No, no, you can't. ... I have got a wife, my wife when she says to me hey, I do not want to sleep with you today, I accept it. Why should some men rape? I just do not understand that, why have you got that thing that makes you want to rape, eh? I do not believe it. I disagree.

Facilitator: So you are saying there is no such feeling?

M1: No, you can't. How can you feel to hurt somebody? I do not think that one is...

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

When asked how they would amend the statement, three men in the same group (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) suggested changing the term '*feel*' to '*think*'.

M6: Change it ... [to something else], not feeling.

Facilitator: So we change it and how must we put the words?

M1: Yeah, if you are thinking, not feeling. There is no such thing as feeling like raping someone.

M6: There is no such thing of feeling.

HH: So M1, M6 and M5 agree. What do you say M7, is it a feeling or a thought?

M7: I agree, it is a thought.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

However, one older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said the line was *'very clear'*, that it would not upset him, and *'it's just a line'*.

One young urban woman said that she liked the statement a great deal, as it would provide a man who cannot control his urge to rape an avenue to seek help instead of acting on that urge.

F8: I like the title too, call us for free if you feel there's a chance of you raping. I think it will give them the urge to say, *'instead of me raping, let me go get some help'*. If they feel like they can't control it and, but they don't want to do it, but there's something forcing them to do it, I feel this will help them, I don't know. I like it, I like it a lot.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Influence of alcohol, drugs, pornography

Two men said that rape – as described in the script – was due to factors such as drugs, alcohol, or pornography, because *'you cannot rape someone just because you feel like it and I bought her things'*. In other words, these men believe that the cause of Thami's urge to rape Lerato was not fully explained by the term *'feeling'*.

M7: For you to have that feeling, you are influenced by something. As I said Thami maybe he was under the influence of drugs that led him so that he wants to have sex, you see? So that's where he found the advantage of going to the shebeen or wherever he met Lerato.

M1: It's lust. I can maybe watch too much pornography, so that will lead me to do that thing, you see.

M7: ... So my point is that as we have been trying to identify, what led Thami to rape Lerato, is it a feeling or he was under the influence of something, because you cannot rape someone just because you feel like it and I bought her things?

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

One self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) also ascribed rape to *'substance like alcohol, drugs, things like that'*.

Rape is not planned

One man – in a rather convoluted fashion – explained that men like Thami do not go to taverns with a plan to rape. Instead, the initial plan is to have sex, but with consent. Only when that consent is not given, does rape occur.

Facilitator: So are you saying it is not something a man can plan?

M7: No.

M6: I cannot plan to rape.

Facilitator: Yeah, how does it happen?

M6: Maybe he did see Lerato somewhere, he got feelings for Lerato and Lerato does not want. He has feelings for Lerato and he tells himself that he will buy her drinks.

Facilitator: So first you said you cannot plan, but now you are saying...

M6: No, I cannot plan to rape, if he is lusting after her... not me because I am not a rapist. It means that he has planned it, he got a plan for that thing maybe but I do not have a plan for rape, I cannot plan to rape. Maybe I say it is 10 o'clock in the night and I buy you drinks.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

One self-reported rape perpetrator (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) disagreed, and said that *'when a person rapes, it is not because of alcohol - it is because they plan and think about raping'*.

Services offered

Results concerning the toll-free service itself are reported in terms of which group¹¹ suggested each identified service, and who would be helped.

According to all unscreened male and female groups, the most frequently-mentioned service that the toll-free number would offer was counselling or therapy, followed by advice to men on what to do to not rape, the reporting of a man at risk of raping (for the purpose of intervention), and reporting of a woman at risk of being raped.

- Counselling/psychotherapy/ information / rehabilitation (2); (3); (5); (6)
- Advice on what to do so that you do not rape (1); (6)
- Reporting a man at risk of raping, for intervention (4); (5)
- Reporting a woman at-risk (3); (4)

Various other services were suggested by individual groups, including reporting rape (3), a woman reporting being harassed (5), advice on how to handle being harassed (5), how to cope with the rape of a family member (2), unspecified help and advice (3), telling the community that rape is wrong (3), learning about relationships (2), advice on how to separate alcohol and sex in male-female social interactions (2), and learning how to meet women (2).

¹¹ (1) Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province
(2) Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgqolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province
(3) Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province
(4) Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province
(5) Urban females, 18-24y, Protea North, Gauteng
(6) Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province – no responses received

Suggested services for would-be-rapists included the toll-free number service advising on how to get a prostitute (1), and referrals to pornography sites (3).

User of the toll-free service

The type of user of the toll-free phone service is ranked in terms of how many unscreened groups mentioned a specific type of potential user. The most-commonly mentioned type of user was men who are considering rape for any reason (including, but not limited to men who are considering rape after being refused for sex after buying a woman drinks), followed by perpetrators of rape, and victims of rape, and both victims and perpetrators.

- Men who are considering rape, for any reason (1); (2); (3); (5); (6)
- Perpetrators of rape (1); (3); (5); (6)
- Victims of rape (1); (3); (5)
- Both perpetrators and victims of rape (1); (3)

Other potential users of such a toll-free number included: women at risk, in a tavern (3), men spending money on girls (3), men whose sisters have been raped (2), and men only (2).

Two young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) stated that some people would not use the toll-free number because rape is not planned, and also that some men would be too ashamed to use the service. One older peri-urban man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) said that people who are afraid of being exposed – such as paedophiles – would not use the service.

Two older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) suggested that it must be clearly stated that the service is confidential, and that the term '*feeling about raping*' be replaced by '*planning or thinking about raping*'.

One young urban woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen) suggested that the toll-free number be placed in locations where people get drunk (e.g., taverns), and taxis.

Self-reported rape perpetrators

Three self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province) said that the advertisement would help prevent rape, and that the toll-free number would be instrumental in achieving this. However, they also said that the advertisement would only impact on those who are willing to change their mind-set.

M7: I think it will help people, it will stop most of the people from raping just because it has some contact details and depending on the mind-set of a person, if then your mind-set is on top of rape then you are not willing to change your mind-set you're going to rape. But then if you are willing to change your mind-set you will get use of these numbers, you'll make use of them.

M8: I also want to say it has a strong message which it's sending out there, that men should stop rape. It's not a good thing and it also has the numbers to call when you are longing to do this kind of thing, at least maybe they could help you, they could counsel you. I think it has a strong message to send out there and...some people will at least take this and it will help them.

M4: I think these numbers are useful for people who need help about rape and some of the things we are talking about. Because any man can go to prostitutes, even if he is rich and drives a Hummer. He wants to avoid raping when he goes to the prostitutes because he can buy sex. He just wants to avoid raping.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

One self-reported rape perpetrator said that the toll-free number would be used by *'someone thinking, if I don't get ... that lady, but before ... there'll be landline numbers, toll free numbers whereby you can call and get some help then he'll be safe'*. One of these men asked what service the toll-free number would provide to a man who is contemplating rape, at 2am: *'So if I call this number, will they give me prostitute that is free?'*

Another self-reported rape perpetrator said that he would not use the toll-free number because *'at about 2 o'clock or 3 o'clock and the problem happens at that time, there's no other chance that I can call this number ... I won't think about phoning or calling or something...'*. However, another man in the same groups said that he would use the phone number *'if I feel like raping anyone or if I find myself in that situation I might end up raping again'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province). This group also suggested that the toll-free number is placed on t-shirts, in taverns, on radio, and billboards.

Toll free for landlines and or cell phones

A frequent question among participant was whether the advertised toll free number could be called from a cell phone too. Facilitators clarified that the number was toll free from any number called. It is recommended that this information is included in the advertisement.

Participant recommendations and suggestions

In terms of the narrative of the script, the only suggestions from unscreened males and females for a significant narrative change were stated by older rural male (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province). This recommendation concerned the lack of perceived depth to Thami's remorse for raping Lerato, after discovering that his sister had been raped.

According to this man, *'the fact that it says I remember raping Lerato because she didn't want to have sex with me, and the thing that Thami is starting to realise what he did was wrong, because it happens in his home. I don't think that is a good idea ... because women won't really like that. [The remorse should emerge] ... not because it happened in your family, but ... you must always have remorse, not because it happened in your family.'*

In other words, this man believed that Thami's remorse was not due to a transformational realisation that abuse and rape of all women is wrong, but rather due to personal pain linked only to his sister's rape.

Facilitator: So you're saying he must feel remorse because of what he did, not because it happened in his family?

M3: Yes, not because it happened in his family ... It looks like this script is telling us to rape and feel remorse [only] after it happens in our home. It doesn't have to be like that.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

He suggested that the script is altered so that the rationale for his remorse was depicted by something less specific than a memory of his rape of Lerato, such as *'I will make him like dream, or see a child being, a female child feeling lost, things like that ... Ja, crying, and wakes up and realises what he did was wrong.'*

Evaluation of Script 3: 'Unexpected victim'

Script 3 – *'Unexpected victim'* – concerns a mother (Grace) and her two sons. The eldest son (unnamed) was convicted of rape, and is in jail. This man is the narrator. He describes how his mother and younger brother's lives were negatively impacted by rejection from the community – in various scenes and locations - because he had raped a woman. As these scenes of rejection occur, his voice-over states *"My mother's life changed when she became a victim of rape"; "People started treating her like a completely different person"; "She told me that things were no longer what they used to be"; "She told me that our family felt like they were on their own"; "She told me that it felt like people had abandoned them and the whole world had turned against them."*

His closing statement is that *"When I raped that woman I destroyed her life...and I destroyed my family's life too."*

The closing title consists of a title that states: *'When you rape it affects more people than you think'*, a toll-free number, and the announcer saying *'Call us if you feel there's a chance of you raping'* (also presented as a title), and *'Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you think you need help'*, *'Rape destroys lives. Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you think you or someone you know needs help. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle'*.

Rejection of script 3

Detailed and full results of the analysis of Script 3 are not included in this report, and the script was not presented to the final group of self-reported rape perpetrators, for the following reasons:

Confusion regarding the storyline

From the onset of the focus group discussions, it was apparent that most participants did not understand the narrative of the script. Most participants assumed that Grace (the mother of the rapist) was raped, and there was uncertainty about why the male character – her son – was in prison.

As a result, participants created their own narratives of what may have happened, that led to Grace's son being in prison. Some conjectured that the son raped his mother, others speculated that the son avenged his mother's rape by killing her rapist, and only 3 of the 48 unscreened male and female participants correctly suggested that Grace was the rapist's mother. Facilitators reported that, even when the correct narrative was suggested, participants were swayed by their uncertainty. I.e., the script's intention of depicting Grace as the 'unintended victim' of her son's rape of another woman, was a failure.

An example of this confusion and conjecture - in a group of younger urban males (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga) – is presented below:

Facilitator: So what happens here ...?

M1: Yes, because the mother... might be trying to protect her son then there might be that issue that the son is threatening her [his] mother that if you go out and talk about this I'll kill you, I'll do this and that to you, you see. Then another thing she can still be ashamed, her son is raping her ...

M3: I disagree with M1. I don't think the mother is the victim. To me the boy is the victim here.

Facilitator: Which boy?

M3: The one they say has raped the mother ... the one they say raped Grace. Grace son ... He's the victim.

Facilitator: So what happened to him?

M3: If Grace was the victim she could have turned his son over to the police but she couldn't do that. She was allowing the habit to go on, he [she] didn't take any actions ... He wasn't raping anyone, he was just a victim. Grace only...

Facilitator: I'm trying to understand how, what happened to him if he's a victim?

M: He's following M1's logic that the son raped the mother and he's saying that the son didn't rape the mother, the mother actually raped the son.

M8: I don't think the mother can rape her son and I think her son raped her, Grace. And Grace is trying to protect her son because mothers always protects their children. And she can think of if she goes to the community and discuss that issue with the community, the community can take a difficult action towards her son and her son can be injured, maybe arrested so she's trying to protect all those things as a mum.

Facilitator: So how did he end up in jail? because in the end...

M3: I think he got arrested because he raped someone else in the community ... He was [convicted] on raping his mother.

Facilitator: Are you saying...?

M: He was addicted. He's saying he was addicted on raping his mother.

Facilitator: But you said, first you said he got arrested because he raped someone else, but was he also raping his mother?

M3: It started at home, because it started at home.

M6: I think a mother can't seduce a child to rape, it's only then the mother didn't teach her son about women, then I think the child got confused and go and do bad things outside.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Rejection and isolation of the families of rapists

There was, however, evidence that the family of rapists are isolated and rejected by the community, as depicted in the script. For example:

M7: I... The young children are not allowed to be near the house of the culprits because of the danger to the community ... they do not want the rapist near their children.

M1: They start to blame the whole family instead of the culprit, they think the whole family as if they have sent him to go and rape someone.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

M8: Everyone in the community thinks that Grace's family, the raping thing, it runs in the family. It's like a bloodline. So that's why they treat her differently.

Facilitator: Does that happen?

M8: Ja, in some areas.

Facilitator: When you say it's like a bloodline.

M8: Ja, it does.

Facilitator: Would they treat the woman differently, or would they treat the whole family?

M8: People will see their behaviour, you see? It will be according to their behaviour.

Facilitator: The family's behaviour?

M8: Ja, the family's behaviour. So you can see the family, it's making the same mistakes as that guy did.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Rape victims are not rejected

Participants in all groups said that the rejection and isolation of rape victims (which many assumed Grace was) was not common practice, and not condoned, in their communities. For example:

Facilitator: Does that happen in communities? If a woman is raped, does she get treated differently? Do people whisper, point fingers?

M6: Yes, it happens, they whisper, but they are feeling sorry for you.

Facilitator: Okay, so they won't push you away?

M6: Ja [No, they don't].

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Instead, participants in all groups reported strong community and church support for victims of rape, and that there was considerable community support for rape victims to speak about what had happened to them, instead of being silent. I.e., there was low identification and resonance with this central aspect of the script.

Voting preference outcomes for Script 3

The failure of the script to portray the impact of a convicted rapist's actions on his family was evidence in the final voting of script preferences:

Unscreened males 18-34 years - outright rejection of the script

The primary target audience of 18 to 34 year-old males rejected it outright when stating their overall preference of scripts (zero votes out of 32), and only 13% of all unscreened men voted for the script in terms of its strength as a rape-prevention advertisement.

Females 18-34 years - preference of Script 3 for rape prevention messaging

In the secondary target group of females aged 18 to 34 years, only 19% of female participants voted for the script as their overall preferred script.

However, an unexpected anomaly occurred in voting for females' preferred rape-prevention script: 50% of younger women (18-24y) and 62% of older women (25-34y) voted for script 3 as their preferred rape-prevention script.

Therefore, in assessing the preferred rape-prevention script for women in particular, the focus is upon explaining which aspects of the script resonated with female participants in particular. This may be summarised into two key areas, as detailed in the following section concerning reasons for voting for specific scripts:

- Empathy for Grace's isolation and aloneness, which many participants described as 'heart breaking' and 'sad';
- The praise expressed by many participants that the script shows the criminal justice system consequences of rape (i.e., prison), and the opinion that this should be an important rape prevention strategy to portray;

In terms of the latter (i.e., the scene of the rapist being in prison) some participants noted that not all men change while in prison, and many are often instead repeat offenders and sociopaths. This highlights that South Africa has a sophisticated and critical television audience.

Script preferences: Participant voting results

At the conclusion of the discussions, participants voted individually for (a) the script they liked the most overall, and (b) the script perceived as having the strongest rape message (results described in Table 6).

Table 6: Voting results

Gender	Age group	(a) Most liked script			(b) Script with strongest rape prevention messaging		
		Script 1: It's your choice	Script 2: Not just anyone	Script 3: Unexpected victim	Script 1: It's your choice	Script 2: Not just anyone	Script 3: Unexpected victim
Perpetrator Males (n=9)	25-34y (n=9)	6 (67%)	3 (33%)	n/a*	2 (22%)	7 (78%)	n/a*
Unscreened Males	18-24y (n=17)	17 (100%)	0	0	2 (12%)	14 (82%)	1 (6%)

(n=32)	25-34y (n=15)	12 (80%)	3 (20%)	0	7 (47%)	5 (33%)	3 (20%)
All males	18-34y (n=41)	35 (85%)	6 (15%)	0*	11 27%	26 (63%)	4* (13%)
Unscreened Females (n=16)	18-24y (n=8)	7 (88%)	0	1 (12%)	2 (25%)	2 (25%)	4 (50%)
	25-34y (n=8)	2 (25%)	4 (50%)	2 (25%)	3 (38%)	0	5 (62%)
All females	18-34y (n=16)	9 (56%)	4 (25%)	3 (19%)	5 (31%)	2 (13%)	9 (56%)
Age groups	18-24y (n=25)	24 (96%)	0	1 (4%)	4 (16%)	16 (64%)	5 (20%)
	25-34y (n=32/23)*	20 (63%)	10 (31%)	2* (9%)	12 (38%)	12 (38%)	8 (35%)
All (N=57)	N=57/48*	44 (77%)	10 (18%)	3* (6%)	16 (28%)	28 (49%)	13* (27%)

Script liked the most overall: (Script 1: 'It's your choice')

From Table 6 it is evident that, overall, based on the results from all 7 groups, the script liked the most overall among target and secondary audiences was *'It's your choice'* (77%, 44/57); followed by *'Not just anyone'* (18%, 10/57) and lastly, *'Unexpected victim'* (6%, 3/48).

In the target audience of males aged 18-34 years (including self-reported rape perpetrators), the most-liked script was *Script 1 – It's your choice* (85%), followed by *Script 2 – Not just anyone* (15%). No exceptions in terms of age group were found in men's overall script preference.

In the secondary audience of females aged 18-34 years, younger females aged 18-24 years also liked *Script 1 – It's your choice* (88%) the most, while older females aged 25-34y preferred *Script 2 – Not just anyone* (50%). Overall, 56% of females aged 18-34 years preferred *Script 1 – It's your choice*.

Preferred rape-prevention script: (Script 2: 'Not just anyone')

Based on the combined results from all 7 groups, the preferred rape-prevention script was *'Not just anyone'*, although slightly less than half (49%) of all participants voted for this script. The other two scripts were tied (27%, 28%) for second place in terms of overall preference for preferred rape-prevention script.

When voting results were disaggregated for males and females, it was evident that males primarily chose *'Not just anyone'* (63%) as their preferred rape-prevention script, and females chose *'Unexpected victim'* (56%):

- Overall, 63% of all males (82% unscreened males 18-24y; 33% unscreened males 25-34y; 78% of self-reported male rape perpetrators) chose *'Not just anyone'* as their preferred rape prevention script, with *'It's your choice'* as their second choice (27%). Notably, *'It's your choice'* was the preferred rape-prevention script choice for older

unscreened men aged 25 to 34 years, while younger unscreened males clearly preferred *'Not just anyone'* (82%).

- Only 13% of unscreened females (25% unscreened females 18-24y; 0% unscreened females 25-34y) chose *'Not just anyone'* as their preferred rape-prevention script.
- Females in both age groups voted for *'Unexpected Victim'* – as their preferred rape-prevention script (50% for 18-24y; 62% for 25-34y; 56% for all females).

Overall, 64% of those aged 18-24y chose Script 2 – *'Not just anyone'* – as their preferred rape-prevention script, while only 38% of men and women aged 25-34y voted this script as their preferred rape-prevention script.

Most liked script overall: Reasons for choices

After being asked to vote for the advert they liked the most, participants were why they made that choice. Below are the reasons cited by participants at this point of the focus groups.

'It's your choice' – Most liked

It was apparent that the reasons for choosing this script as the most-liked script closely mirrored participants' statements described in the *Likes/Dislikes* sub-section of the *Evaluation of Script 1: 'It's your choice'*.

This script was liked the most for three main reasons:

- The script was considered straightforward, simple, and not confusing, and the message – described as powerful – was easily discernible, namely that a person can choose who they want to be, despite an abusive past;
- The male character did not rape, and the focus was on making positive and good choices for the future;
- The scenarios of childhood abuse were considered highly realistic.

These three central reasons for liking the script stated after voting are thus briefly described, in order of most-to-least mentioned:

The narrative and message is powerful, straightforward, simple, and not confusing: You can choose who you want to be, despite an abusive past

The most frequently stated reason for liking the *'It's your choice'* script concerned the fact that participants found the message simple, direct, and not confusing: To rape or not to rape is a choice that should be made in terms of the present and future, not the past. The script was also described as powerful. Participants appeared to resonate with the concept that, although the past cannot be changed, a better future can be created. Some participants also liked that the script addressed many forms of violence and abuse, not just rape.

Young men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) liked the script because it was ‘*straightforward*’, ‘*not twisting*’, ‘*not confusing*’, and the message was similarly considered straightforward: ‘*We can choose to be who you want to be*’, and that ‘*you [shouldn’t] give up*’ even if raised in a ‘*hard or poor family*’.

M2: It’s... straightforward and it teaches us that we can choose to be who you want to be...

M3: Because it’s not twisting, it’s straightforward.

M8: It’s because it is not confusing, it’s just straightforward and it teaches us that we cannot change your past but we can change the kind of person who I want to become.

M4: Because it tells us that it is a choice to do the right thing.

M6: It’s straightforward because it’s based on reality.

M5: It tells us that even though you are raised in a hard or a poor family, you don’t give up until you get what you want.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Young rural males (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) similarly liked that the script was ‘*simple ... it’s the one ... the group understood the most*’, and echoed the core message stated by young urban males: ‘*despite the conditions you grow up around, they don’t make you, you make yourself*’. One man in this group said the reason ‘*why I love this boy*’ was because ‘*he shows ... his true colours ... he’s a good man*’.

M3: I feel that advert was more simple, it’s the one I think the group understood the most ...

M1: It basically, it tells us that despite the conditions you grow up around, they don’t make you, you make yourself.

M4: I liked that one because why this boy show me that me that he’s grown enough when he was 21 and he shows even his true colours that say he’s a good man. That’s why I love this boy.

M9: It’s because Themba leave the past and start his life afresh because he was growing up with the abusive family.

M2: I chose it because Themba managed to change himself after what he saw his father did to his mother.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) said he liked the script because it ‘*gives a clear message ... don’t act because of your past*’. Another man in this group said he liked the script because it ‘*highlights everything about how to treat a woman, how to treat a child, how to behave in the house or environment*’.

M2: It gives a clear message ... Which is don’t act because of your past. So ja, because at the end, the boy didn’t continue to rape, but he stopped.

M1: It’s my favourite because I think it highlights everything about how to treat a woman, how to treat a child, how to behave in the house or in the environment, ja. It shows, it teaches us never, to not abuse or lay a hand to a woman or try to rape a child. Ja, it explains.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Similarly, two young urban females (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) liked that the script *'covers everything [rape, violence] ... for me, it's awesome'*. Another young woman in this group said that *'I like it because it was precise, it was clear, I got the message'*.

F6: I'm voting for... It's Your Choice, because I think it covers everything, it covers rape, it covers violence, it covers the vulnerability of a teenager that is taken away from her, he was a teenager right. So ja, the fact that it covers everything, for me, it's awesome.

F3: The It's your choice script because it highlights everything and it's clear, visible to everybody and people will be able to adjust with that advert and to see what's happening in there. And its message as well, it's clear.

F8: I like the [It's your choice] advert because it was very emotional, I like it because it was precise, it was clear, I got the message. I didn't get one point of abuse, I got emotional abuse, physical abuse. It grabbed me. It's not only talking for people who are raping it does not only talk about violence, it touches...on the whole subject of violence, against men and women, against children, against mothers emotionally, children emotionally. Ja, it was very clear, it was very precise, yes.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

The male character did not rape – focus on making good choices for the future

Many participants viewed the male character in a positive light, describing him as intelligent and making good choices. They also liked that he did not rape the woman, that he chose to make a different choice to his father, and that he chose a better future. I.e., many participants liked that the script emphasised the use of reason and personal agency to prevent rape and other forms of abuse, and that an abusive past was possible to overcome. This was viewed as a positive message. An additional positive message stated was that it was educational because it taught people not to engage in abuse and violence in front of children, who would be influenced by such behaviour.

Young rural males (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) described the male character in a positive light, describing him as *'intelligent, knowledgeable'*, and *'he chose a good choice'*. They also liked that he *'listened to the girl and stopped'*.

M4: He's intelligent, knowledgeable.

M5: I like that one because the boy had a choice to make or to choose and he chose a good choice. And when he was choosing it there was not much violent, he just listened to the girl and stopped.

M7: I like [it] ... because, like, even after everything happened to Themba but he still wanted to do the best.

M8: I liked the topic of the advert, it's your choice, the topic, ja, because everything we do we do it because we have a choice. I chose to be here today, it's my choice not everyone, you can't tell me I raped her because I was drunk, you know, you had a choice.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Older peri-urban males (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) also liked that the male character had a choice.

M2: Because whenever you do something, there is no one who will tell you do this or do that. It's your choice.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Older rural males (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) also liked that the script depicted that male character had a choice to look beyond his abusive past, and *'that's why it became my favourite, because he made his decision, not someone else'*.

M4: I like Themba because he shows us something about if you want to make something bad, you must think first ... And don't make something stupid.

M8: It's because it's too touchy and emotional, and it says you can't change the past, but you can change the future in other words, ja.

M7: Yes, it tells us that if you are grown up, you must try to forget sometimes, something like you have sinned in the past, a long time ago, so carry on with your life, and not focus on the past.

M6: It explains it very clear that it all started at home in the environment when he leaves, then after it's the community, it explains about the community he lives in. Then it comes to himself, then after at the end, he had to make his own decision now. That's why it became my favourite, because he made his decision, not someone else.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Two young urban females (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng province) similarly liked the script because *'it was clear'* and it pointed to a positive possible outcome for abused men, and that *'you can actually make your own choice in life. At the end you can become a positive father, a great uncle, you know, you can have a bright future'*. One other woman in this group liked the script because the male character did not use violence, and instead *'listened to his conscience'*.

F2: I'm also voting for [It's your choice] because it's clear, you get the community ...the community is where the guy is. You get the uncles, you get the family abuse so they show you ... you can actually make your own choice in life. At the end you can become a positive father, a great uncle, you know, you can have a bright future, you don't have to let your past... determine your future and carry on with being a victimiser yourself. So I loved that, it was very powerful.

F1: I liked the [It's your choice] script because Themba did not use violence to intimidate the young lady that he was pinning down on the floor, he just listened to his conscience and then he just let her go. He did not choose to abuse her. That's why I like the script.

F5: I liked the [script because] it shows that even if you grow up being abused you don't have to use those circumstances to be a bad person but you can become a great person.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

One older peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) liked that the script *'educates adults not to abuse each other in front of a young person'*, and

another woman in this group liked that the script highlighted that ‘we do have choices to make in the future’.

F5: Because it educates adults to not abuse each other in front of a young person.

F8: It also teaches us that we can’t change the past, but we do have choices to make in the future.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

It is realistic

Many participants liked the script because they recognised that the situation described – the witnessing of abuse by a child in the home, and the abuse of a child – were widespread realities within participants’ communities.

Several unscreened males liked the script because of its realism: ‘It is the thing that usually happens the most in our communities’ (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province); ‘you’re talking about the thing that we are burying in community’ (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province); ‘those things in that script are things that are happening’ (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Gauteng Province).

M7: It’s because [it] is the thing that usually happen the most in our communities.

M1: I agree ...it happens around a lot, many people are... The parents fighting, yes.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M6: It’s because you’re talking about the thing that we are burying in community and you’re talking about the things that we’re doing with people.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

M5: I chose it because all those things in that script are things that are happening.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

Some young female participants liked the script because the realism was ‘very powerful – it made us think’ and ‘it went deep in me’ (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

F7: Ay, it went deep in me, it went deep inside me. It gave me that I’m a mother thing, you need to think about your kids first before you decide on I want to stay in a relationship that’s abusive, my kids see and stuff like that. They can see it outside but not in the house.

F2: It was very powerful, it made us think. And I think some of the people I saw tears a little bit because it touched them inside.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Two older peri-urban females also resonated with the realism of the script, stating that *'it is something that happens in our daily lives'*, and *'it's not something new'*.

F6: I chose it because it is something that happens in our daily lives. As we are working with communities, we come across families who are having the same problems.

F1: It is more realistic, and I think that is happening almost every day, every time, everywhere. It's not something new.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

'Not just anyone'

Only three older men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) voted for the 'Not just anyone' script as their most-liked script. They said they liked that the script reminded men to consider that they have women in their family before they rape, and that the impact of rape on the woman and her family is very painful.

M4: Before I rape I must remember I have got women in my family.

M6: It advises me about thinking before you act, the thing that I am doing it can also happen in my family, my mother, my grandmother or my daughter also. It's very painful.

M7: About this one, I chose it because it affects... ehh when we do things to other people, it can be a woman, a mother or a child, so when you do things you must think about yourself. If those things can happen to yourself. So I am supporting what they have said that before you do anything, you must think about yourself.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

One of the 4 older women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) who said they liked this script the most said that she liked this script because it promoted independence in women – *'it educates us not to depend on men- we have to learn how to be independent'* - referring to women not accepting drinks from men in exchange for sex.

F3: It educates us not to depend on men. We have to learn how to be independent.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

'Unexpected victim'

Of the three participants who liked this script the most, all three were women. One of these women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) liked the punitive aspect of this script, and that *'it teaches ... that whatever you do ... there'll be consequences'*.

F4: Because I think it teaches or it tells that in whatever you do, whether you do it in dark or in light there'll be something, there'll be consequences.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

One peri-urban female (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) resonated more with the plight of the central female character (Grace, who was incorrectly assumed to have been raped), and said that she liked the script because *'it will teach the community that they must give support to the victim rather than gossip about her'*.

F4: I chose it because it will teach the community that they must give support to the victim rather than gossip about her. They must support and show love to the person who has been abused and not judge.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Script with the strongest 'do not rape' message

Participants were asked to choose which script has the strongest rape prevention message stating *'do not rape'*. As described in *Table 6: Voting Results*, the script obtaining the most overall support was *Script 2 – Not just anyone* (49%), followed by *Script 1 – It's your choice* (28%) and then *Script 3 – Unexpected victim* (27%).

Overall, the reasons for selecting *'Not just anyone'* were complex – 12 themes were identified, some shared by all groups and gender, and some specific to groups and genders - compared to the reasons (2 themes per script) provided for the other two scripts.

'Script 1: It's your choice' was selected primarily on the basis of the message that a man can choose to overcome his past, and choose not to rape. The second main reason concerned the diversity of abuse depicted, and that this addressed many different audiences.

'Script 2 – Not just anyone', although only garnering half of the votes for the strongest rape prevention script, produced a wide range of rationales for this choice. Several of these reasons were linked, such as that the main character learned a lesson because his sister was raped, that he suffered the emotional consequences of his actions, that he realised he was wrong, and that what one does to others can return to harm you. Related to this cluster of reasons was that the script showed the pain that rape causes to victims and their families.

The second cluster of reasons for selecting this script as having a strong rape prevention message concerned its strong focus on rape (as opposed to the broader focus on several types of violence and abuse in *'It's your choice'*), directly addressing men and telling men not to rape, and to treat women with respect instead.

The third cluster of reasons provided concern the focus on a common venue for sex and rape (taverns), and sex-for-drink expectations. Some participants felt these issues were important and that the script teaches men not to expect sex for drinks, and that it teaches women to buy their own drinks.

'Script 3 - Unexpected victim' produced two main reasons by some participants for selecting this script as having the strongest rape prevention messaging. These revolved primarily around the consequences of rape: For the rapist (prison), and for victims, and the families of victims and rapists (pain, heartache, rejection).

Script 1 – It's your choice

Not many men (unscreened and self-reported rape perpetrators) selected this script as the strongest rape-prevention script. Based on the analysis of the other two scripts (to follow) this was largely due to the fact that the other two scripts directly addressed rape as the central focus of the script, whereas 'It's your choice' was viewed as addressing a broader spectrum of abuse.

The message that an abusive past can be overcome, that choice can be exercised to rape or not, and that a man can choose a better future, was the primary rationale stated for viewing this script as having the strongest rape prevention message. The second overall reason for selecting this script as having a strong rape prevention message was also noted as its weakness in this regard (refer script analysis of 'Not just anyone' concerning that script's narrow focus on rape), namely that it addressed a range of forms of abuse, not only rape, and this included the psychological impact of such abuse on children.

- **It's your choice to do the right thing, to rape or not rape**

Two young men, one urban and the other rural, stated that they chose this script as having the strongest rape prevention messaging in a succinct fashion: 'It's your choice to do the right thing – that's my reason' (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province), and 'because everything...it's up to you, it's either you rape or you don't' (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal).

*M4: ... it's your choice to do the right thing, that's my reason.
(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)*

*M9: It's because everything...it's up to you, it's either you rape or you don't.
(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal)*

Two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) reiterated this reason for selecting this script, but were more detailed in their explanations, stating that they chose this script because 'the guy ...was raised in an abusive family and then later when he's 21, he has a chance now that he can rape this young lady, but the fact that he stopped himself and his consciousness hit him so hard that he had to stop'.

F6: The fact that the guy who was raised in an abusive family and then later when he's 21, he has a chance now that he can rape this young lady but the fact that he stopped himself and his consciousness hit him so hard that he had to stop and, ja. So for me him stopping pinning him down and what not, it's good. And I think it will have a very good impact to say even if you, your deepest thoughts of raping someone there is hope that you can leave that person ...

F6: You can still choose and have a choice to stop and not do that.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Two older peri-urban females (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) similarly selected the script *'because you have not chosen your [past] life, but you choose your future'*.

F8: ... Because ...they have noted that even though you have problems in your past, but you can still change your past to a future. That's why I chose that one.

F2: As number eight said, because you have not chosen your life, but you choose your future.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

- **Addresses various forms of abuse, including violence and abuse in the home, and the psychological consequences on children**

Two women explained that their selection of the *'It's your choice'* script as having the strongest rape prevention message due largely to the script addressing various forms of abuse, not only rape, how this addresses many different groups of people, and how these forms of abuse negatively impact upon children.

One young woman said that the script *'speaks to you as a mother ... sister ... uncle ... a person ... a child'* (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province).

F7: ... It's deep, it speaks to you as a mother, it speaks to you as a sister, it speaks to you as an uncle, it speaks to you as a person, as a child as you grow up. You as a mother, think about your kids before you decide to get into anything serious and it becomes abusive because at the end of the day it's not all about you at that time. Once you bring a child into this world it's never about you anymore. So you have to think about the child, how is he going to be or she's going to be when you're busy being beaten in front of the child, how is he going to grow up emotionally, physically, how is he or she going to face the world if you die after all of those things happen to you. So it's the 2nd one.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

A peri-urban woman (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province) similarly said that the script *'combines all sorts of abuse ... starting from home, up until you go outside'* (Per-urban females, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal).

F1: I chose choice because it combines everything ... It combines all sorts of abuse, starting from home, to street and even at the tavern. So it is all over, so I think there are strong points there because it goes direct, starting from home, up until you go outside.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

Script 2 – Not just anyone

Most (82%) unscreened young males (18-24y) chose ‘*Not just anyone*’ as the strongest rape-prevention script. Similarly, 78% of self-reported rape perpetrators aged 25-34 selected this script in terms of strength of the rape prevention messaging.

However, only 33% of all unscreened older males (25-34y) selected this script as the strongest rape-prevention script, only 25% of the younger females (18-24y) chose this script, and none of the older (25-34y) females selected this script.

Among young unscreened males (urban and rural), the following interconnected reasons were provided for why they selected this script in terms of its rape-prevention messaging:

- **He learned a lesson because his sister was also raped**
- **He suffered the emotional consequences of his actions**
- **He realised he was wrong**
- **What you do to others can come back to you**
- **Teaches men to respect women**
- **Depicts a common setting for rape: Taverns**

Young urban men (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) said that ‘*a lesson is taught to Thami*’ because ‘*now his sister is the victim*’, and he is ‘*heartbroken*’ and ‘*regrets raping Lerato*’. It was also stated that he ‘*realises that what he has done is wrong*’. One young rural man (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal) similarly suggested that the male character learned a lesson ‘*because Thami never thought his sister would get raped too*’.

Another aspect of the script highlighted by these young men concerned the concept of ‘what goes around comes around’, such as ‘*if he does something to somebody else ... [it will] come back to him*’ (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province) and ‘*what you do to others will also happen to you, so you mustn’t do bad to others if you want them to do good to you*’ (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal).

M1: Thami regrets raping Lerato because it happened to her [his] sister so he feels like he had no humanity enough to Lerato because now his sister is the victim ... A lesson is taught to Thami. He’s learnt a lesson.

M2: It’s because Themba now know that even if he does something to somebody else it got it other way to come back to him ... Ja, it will stop him because he will see that okay, if he’s got a sister and there’s somebody does it to his sister he’s going to be heartbroken and he will see that he would have never done it before if he knew that it will happen to his sister.

M7: It taught me that things that you do for now it can happen for you in future.

M8: I agree with M7.

M6: Because Thami realised that what he has done is wrong and he suffered the consequences then he sees that he suffered the same thing that he did to that girl.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M8: Because Thami never thought his sister would get raped too.

M7: I go with Lerato because it is like straightforward that what you do to others will also happen to you, so you mustn't do bad to others if you want them to do good to you.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

One young urban man (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga) said he selected this script because *'it teaches men to respect women – whatever you do with other people might happen to your own sister'*.

M3: Because it teaches men to respect women. Whatever you do with other people it might happen to your own sister.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

Two young rural man (Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province) said that they chose this script because *'it includes a drinks tavern and it includes a rape and a family, sisters, you know, mothers and everything. So I feel that it's the one that would give the message nicely to the people'* and *'it has all requirements that led you to being raped as a girl. Requirements like drinks and a tavern'*. I.e., they resonated with message of rape occurring in a setting of a tavern, and that many people will identify with this scenario.

M3: Well, I feel it's because it includes a drinks tavern and it includes a rape and a family, sisters, you know, mothers and everything. So I feel that it's the one that would give the message nicely to the people, explaining to them how bad rape can affect their families and other people's families.

M4: It's because it has all requirement that led you to being raped as a girl. Requirements like drinks and a tavern ... Ja, that's a requirement of being raped.

(Rural males, 18-24y, KwaNgcolosi, KwaZulu-Natal Province)

The other group that highly favoured *'Not just anyone'* in terms of its strong rape-prevention messaging was the older group of self-reported rape perpetrators (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province). Three of the seven men in this group explained their reasons for selecting this script for distinctly different reasons:

- **This script focused mainly on rape, while 'It's your choice' is broader**
- **Tells men not to rape**
- **Shows the pain caused to victims and families of victims of rape**

One man said that he chose this script (versus *'It's your choice'*) because *'Not just anyone'* focused mainly on rape, while the other script included other forms abuse as well as rape. Another man in this group said that he selected this script because *'it's giving more advice to people outside, they mustn't do what he's never been doing'*. In other words, he felt that the script had a strong message to men that they should not rape. The third man focused on *'the pain you're causing'* to families and victims by rape, and that *'if it could happen to you, then you wouldn't like it'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province).

M7: I voted for the story of Thami just because the story of Thami consist more of raping than the story of Themba .. Ja, the story of Themba it contains rape, many abuse in it but the first one it only focuses on rape, that's its main focus.

M9: Because it's giving more advice to people outside, they mustn't do what he's never been doing ... they show you how to do other guys disrespectful, doing it outside to ladies.

M8: That one, the first one, the message on it it's, in fact I would say most of it it's about rape, ja. And it tells you what, what goes in on the other family's life, what you are bringing in on the other family while you are raping their family member. And then, or what happens on them, if it could happen to you how hurtful it is.

UM: Describes the pain.

M8: The pain you're causing outside, if it could happen to you, then you wouldn't like it to.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Soshanguve, Gauteng Province)

Three of the older peri-urban men (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) who voted for this script as the strongest rape prevention script explained their choice in similar terms to younger men, specifically regarding the aspect of suffering the painful consequences of having a family member raped, the concept of 'what goes around comes around', and the realisation that rape is wrong.

M7: Yeah because it affects the person who rapes because when the rapes, when the things started to change, becoming on his side, that's when he started to regret ... Yes, he feels the pain.

M1: But that's how life is guys, up until this thing hits your family or home, that's when you discover the pain. It's when you realise that...

M3: What I have done is wrong.

(Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province)

However, one older man (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province) also added another reason for selecting this script:

- **The script directly addresses men, the rapists**

He said that the script is *'talking to men directly, the rapists, because most of us [men] we rape'* (Peri-urban males, 25-34y, Evaton, Gauteng Province). He added that it was *'rare'* for women to rape a man.

M1: It's talking to men directly, the rapists because most of us we rape. It's only rare when you find that man has been raped by 5 women, it's rare.

One of the two young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) who selected this script for its strong rape prevention messaging said she voted for this script because it had '*a strong message*', and that it showed that potential rapists should '*think of the people, just think of this could be your brother, this could be your sister, it could be your grandmother or your mother*'. She also added that she chose this script because it was specific about where the rape was occurring.

F8: It really touches me. It really has a strong impact that if...you are just raping someone just think of the people, just think of this could be your brother, this could be your sister, it could be your grandmother or your mother, for instance. So that one it really touched me, it really gives me a strong message ... [and] ... Because they have been more specific on where the rape is taking place
(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

The other young woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) added two other distinct reasons for selecting this script as the strongest rape prevention script:

- **Teaches men not to expect sex for drinks**
- **Teaches women to buy their own drinks**

This second young woman (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) explained that the script teaches men that '*they mustn't think if they bought you something you are their properties*', and that it also teaches women to '*not depend on men on buying them drinks in clubs*'. In other words, she selected this script because it addresses the potential risk for rape resulting from the drinks-for-sex expectations, and that both men and women who engage in this practice need to stop doing this.

F5: It teaches men that they mustn't think if they bought you something you are their properties, their property. And it also teaches women that they must not depend on men on buying them drinks in clubs ... They must not depend on men to buy them drinks.
(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

Script 3 – Unexpected victim

For reasons previously described, this script was only presented and discussed with unscreened males and females, and this script has been effectively abandoned due to a high level of confusion among participants regarding the story-line. This is evidenced by the fact that not a single unscreened male, and only 3 females, selected this script as their most liked script.

However, despite the script being rejected by almost all participants who discussed it, a significant number of those same participants selected it as the script with the strongest rape-prevention message (13% of unscreened men; 56% of all women).

When the reasons stated by all participants who selected this script are categorised, only two main reasons for selecting this script as the strongest rape prevention script were described, both of which concern the perception that this script illustrates the *consequences of raping*, the first of which is arrest and imprisonment for the rapist, and the second for the victims and families of both victims of rapists.

- **Consequence 1: Rape results in arrest and imprisonment**

According to the only young man to select this script for its rape prevention message, the reason he chose it was *'because [the rapist] ended up in jail, but the other one [the rapist in 'Not just anyone'] didn't end up in jail'*. (Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province). An older rural man (Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province) similarly stated that he selected this script because it showed that *'if you rape, you can be arrested, and if you are arrested, you won't succeed ... in jail'*.

M5: ... Because Grace son ended up in jail but the other one didn't end up in jail so that's why I choose Grace.

(Urban males, 18-24y, Hazyview, Mpumalanga Province)

M7: As they said that rape destroys your life, that means if you rape, you can be arrested, and if you are arrested, you won't succeed there. There is nothing that you can do there if you are in jail. That's the Grace and the son.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

Two older peri-urban women also selected this script because *'it has the consequences of raping someone ... going to jail'* (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal). These women also chose the script because it depicted the impact on families, discussed below.

F6: In Grace ... [it] also has the consequences of raping someone ... Going to jail.

F4: Because it shows... the consequences ... That Grace's son ends up in jail because of anger.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal)

- **Consequence 2: Rape destroys lives of victims and families of both victims and rapists**

The two men who selected this script for its rape prevention messaging focused on the ‘*rape destroys lives – you must think before you act, and think for the people around you*’ message, and that the family of the rapist ‘*don’t have inner peace in their whole life*’.

M2: Ja, I still believe it’s the strongest message, because as it says, rape destroys lives. Now you can see that rape has destroyed the victim’s life, and the perpetrator, and the family of the perpetrator. So you must think before you act, and think for the people around you.

M4: Rape is not good, because if you see now, Grace, they don’t have an inner peace in their whole life. So you must look another way to solve that rapist.

(Rural males, 25-34y, Chochocho, Mpumalanga Province)

All four of the young urban women (Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province) who selected this script for its’ rape prevention messaging focused upon the painful and harmful consequences – ‘*rape destroys lives*’- of rape on the victim and the families of both the victim and the rapist. It was stated that this was ‘*powerful*’, ‘*had a strong message*’, and that it teaches the community that they need to ‘*be aware of such things*’. These sentiments were echoed by some older peri-urban women (Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal Province).

F2: ... [It] shows the consequences, in anything that you do ... it will affect your family and you will not get a redone on that, you can’t go back and do it again. And then the last message, it says rape destroys life, just the fact that it’s telling you that you know that what you did it was wrong and you can’t take it back at the end. And the fact that you are also ruining your family’s life, that’s a big thing and [the rapist’s younger] brother’s life ... he didn’t do anything, this is a little kid who’s innocent and you just already have destroyed his future in the process.

F4: For me it highlighted everything from being raped, being a victim, ... it highlighted everything for me. It completed the whole scriptures for me. It. makes me aware, it talks to me...eish, for me, it’s powerful.

F1: Yes. It had a strong message to say whenever you rape a person there will be consequences thereafter. So before you rape a person, you know, you have to think first because you might be affecting your family and the community as a whole.

F3: The last one for me it’s the one because it describes rape like in a way that people haven’t view it. That it even tells the community, it tells us that you must be aware of such things that happens in our community.

(Urban females, 18-24y, Protea Glen, Gauteng Province)

F6: In Grace, it is clearer about the effects of a person who is being raped ...

F4: Because it shows what happens to the family and the victim, and the consequences ... That son, Grace’s son ends up in jail because of anger.

F7: Grace’s story is a touching story, and it will make us see that it is painful if someone in our families or community rapes.

(Peri-urban females, 25-34y, Ntuzuma, KwaZulu-Natal)

Preferred script endings

The last question asked of participants was which of the two standardised options they prefer and why. The options were:

- *If you need help call us for free on 0800 428 428. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle.*
- *Call 0800 428 428 if you or someone you know is at risk of raping. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle*

Overall, the preferred ending is option 1: 64% (64% males; 69% females). 35% preferred option 2 (36% males; 31% females).

The main reason stated for selecting Option 1 was that it addressed both victims and perpetrators of rape, while Option 2 was perceived to be specific to one audience (males); some talked of reporting men that may rape which is problematic as rape has not occurred yet; others wondered how to identify such men.

Table 7: Preferred script ending

Gender	Age group	Option 1: <i>If you need help call us on this number</i>		Option 2: <i>If you or someone you know is at risk of raping, call this number</i>		Did not answer
Perpetrator Males (n=9)	25-34y (n=9)	4	67%	2	33%	3
Unscreened Males (n=32)	18-24y (n=17)	12	80%	3	20%	2
	25-34y (n=15)	5	42%	7	58%	3
All males	18-34y (n=41)	21	64%	12	36%	8
Unscreened Females (n=16)	18-24y (n=8)	7	88%	1	12%	0
	25-34y (n=8)	4	50%	4	50%	0
All females	18-34y (n=16)	11	69%	5	31%	0
Age groups	18-24y (n=25)	19	83%	4	17%	2
	25-34y (n=32)	13	50%	13	50%	6
All (N=57)	N=57	32	65%	17	35%	8

Conclusions and recommendations

The findings from the pre-testing study indicate that two of the three scripts – *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* – emerged as 'powerful' potential advertisements, as described by participants. The first – *It's your choice* – was clearly favoured in terms of overall script, but *Not just anyone* was considered the script with the strongest rape prevention messaging. The third script – *Unintended victim* – was misunderstood and rejected by most participants in terms of the overall storyline, and yet garnered significant support by many women in terms of its rape prevention message.

In considering which script to develop into a televised advertisement, various factors need to be taken into account:

The vision and overall objective of the rape prevention campaign:

'The overall vision of the rape prevention campaign is to reduce the incidence of rape within South Africa to the point that we live in a violence-free society. The overall campaign objective is to limit HIV infection through rape'.

Based upon the analysis, both *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* would achieve this vision and primary objective, but for different reasons: *It's your choice* because it addresses a spectrum of sexual and non-sexual violence and abuse, and *Not just anyone* because it focuses exclusively on rape and upon a highly prevalent situation (drinks-for-sex) that participants considered a common setting and cause of rape.

The causes, effects and situational contexts of rape are complex and varied

In the *Its your choice* script, the focus is upon domestic violence, IPV, abuse of children, and how exposure to these events traumatise young boys, and normalise sexual and non-sexual violence as a means of behaviour. Many participants – including rape perpetrators – recognised the veracity of this concept, and stated that this was a new and useful insight, with counselling interventions suggested, as well as the scripts' strong message to parents concerning how domestic violence and IPV affects children, and its long-term consequences in terms of sexual and other violence within the community. The recognition of the impact of child-rearing practices and other forms of violence and abuse in shaping a person's adult behaviour is indicated by the majority (77%) of participants choosing this script as their overall preference.

In *Not just anyone*, participants recognised the script as depicting a common cause of rape, namely the drinks-for-sex expectations that occur in social drinking settings, such as taverns. Participants also highlighted the emotional pain caused by rape, and how rape can be prevented through emphasising the human-ness (versus being sexual object) of women as a loved one. I.e., the script emphasises social norms, including drinks-for-sex expectations, and some men's views of women as having lesser value. The selection of this script as having the

strongest rape prevention message by half of the participants (49%) indicates the importance of this specific scenario in rape prevention, and it was notable that the discussions were animated regarding the social norms informing this script.

Messaging addresses audiences amenable to change.

Script development was guided by the principles that scripts need to address those who were amenable to change. This was also recognised by participants, some of whom explicitly excluded sociopaths - 'Sgoras' – and habitual rapists from impact of the scripts.

Participants identified *Its your choice* as having the strongest explicit message regarding non-sexual and sexual forms of violence (intimate partner violence, sexual abuse of children, abuse, harassment of women, rape), as the male character commences rape, and – through internalised reason – chooses to reject his past, and not rape.

In *Not just anyone*, change occurs in the main character, and is produced internally through a rapists' realisation of the pain caused by rape, after the fact.

It was notable that although several participants questioned the depth and sincerity of the rape perpetrator's remorse initially in *Not just anyone*, there was overall recognition by most participants that the main character had experienced a profound attitude change towards women as a result of his own sister getting raped. The main character was seen to have transformed his attitude of seeing women as 'objects' or as 'owing sex', to seeing women as human beings, with families and loved ones.

When one of the main rationales concerning why many women chose the third script – *Unexpected victim* – as their preferred rape prevention script is considered, namely that the rapist is imprisoned for his actions (i.e., punitive consequences), it is possible to postulate that a modification of the *Not just anyone* script to include the man being in prison for his rape, would possibly resolve any outstanding questions regarding this script.

Key communication message and objectives of the rape prevention campaign

'The key communication message of the rape prevention campaign is to challenge masculinities that presume that men are entitled to sex and provoke discussions on the social norms that enable rape - traditional masculine and feminine identities and norms'.

Not just anyone led to long and thoughtful discussions among participants in relation the key objectives of the campaign:

- Discussions that challenge masculinities that presume men are entitled to sex;
- Provoke discussions on social norms that enable rape – traditional masculine and feminine identities and norms;
- Reflection on situations that increase men and women's vulnerabilities as rape perpetrators or victims of rape.

However, there was minimal discussion in *It's your choice* among participants in relation to the above objectives. Discussions primarily centred on cycles of violence and how these are perpetuated or broken by 'choosing' a different pathway than violence. How the main character gets to the point of 'choice' was not engaged with deeply, besides alluding to him receiving counselling and or making a conscious decision not to repeat his own abusive past.

The scripts were not presented visually

The scripts did not have the benefit of visuals, and evaluations by participants relied upon their understanding of the printed word. In this regard, some participants confused some characters (e.g., the sister and the raped woman in *Not just anyone*). It is likely that these confusions would be resolved through visual identification of the characters in a televised advertisement.

Core narratives cannot be directly compared

It is apparent that the *Unexpected victim* script cannot be considered as a potential campaign script, for three reasons: First, the script produced great confusion. Secondly, even if the confusions were resolved through rewriting, most participants did not resonate with the concept that rape victims (conjectured by participants, not stated in the script) are isolated and rejected by the community. Thirdly, for those few participants who understood the intended storyline and who said that isolation and rejection of the family of rape perpetrators does sometimes occur, it is also a reality that rape convictions in South Africa are low, and the scenario presented would probably not hold sufficient reality for audiences.

However, the dilemma in identifying which of the other two scripts – *It's your choice* and *Not just anyone* – should be the recommended script for development into a televised advertisement lies in the fact that the two preferred scripts cannot be compared directly, for reasons previously stated:

- In one script, rape is prevented through the transformative effect of reason and rejection of the past (*It's your choice*), while in the other script (*Not just anyone*), future rape is prevented through the transformative effect of a rape perpetrator's new-found awareness that a woman who is raped is someone's loved one, and that great emotional pain is caused by rape.
- In one script (*It's your choice*), the underlying causes of how a man can become a rapist is presented, which involves a variety of social forms of sexual and non-sexual violence, including domestic violence, child abuse, and IPV. In the other script (*Not just anyone*), rape is placed within the context of a specific (and common) setting and widely-understood aberrant expectation, which is understood by most men and women.

Both scripts can be expected to generate wide discussion. However, which script would produce the greatest impact in reducing rape? In the final analysis, the second script – *Not just anyone* – was identified by participants as the script with the strongest rape prevention message. The primary reason stated was that it was specifically addressing rape, and a common context for rape.

Other recommendations include:

- Suggest ‘good man’ changed for phrasing from participants as the *Brothers for Life* campaign is non-judgemental and the use of the word ‘good’ introduces binary language;
- ‘It’s your choice’ is a powerful script and can be used for the launch of broader SGBV campaign;
- Clarify who the helpline is; it was assumed the helpline was for *Brothers for Life*.
- Many questions on whether toll free means can call from a cell phone or only landline. Suggest free call from any number including cell number.
- Rural participants suggested a rural setting as they expressed that rural contexts are under-represented on television.
- Critical that services for counselling men as perpetrators of SGBV and rape, men at high risk of rape, as well as for victims of rape and SGBV are in place for this campaign. Many male participants requested referral for counselling and support after the FGDs. See p. 33 for referrals.

Appendix 1: Participant demographics

Table A1.1: Participant demographics

Table Key of Sites :

Group 1: **Evaton** (Gauteng Province / Sedibeng District / Emfuleni Municipality / Sebokeng)

Group 2: **Protea Glen** (Gauteng Province / City of Johannesburg / Region D)

Group 3: **Chochocho** (Mpumalanga Province / Ehlanzeni District)

Group 4: **Hazyview** (Mpumalanga Province / Ehlanzeni / Mbombela Municipality)

Group 5: **KwaNgcolosi** (KwaZulu-Natal Province / eThekweni District West)

Group 6: **Ntuzuma** (KwaZulu-Natal Province / eThekweni District Glen)

Group 7 : **Soshanguve** (Gauteng Province / City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality)

Groups								
	Not screened for past rape experience or perpetration							Self-reported rape perpetrators
Province:	Gauteng		Mpumalanga		KwaZulu-Natal		Groups 1 to 6	Gauteng
Group #:	1	2	3	4	5	6		7
Site:	Evaton	Protea Glen	Chochocho	Hazyview	KwaNgcolosi	Ntuzuma	6 Sites	Soshanguve
Site type:	Peri-urban	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	2 Urban 2 Peri-urban 2 Rural	Peri-urban
Group Gender:	Males	Females	Males	Males	Males	Females	4 Male 2 Females	Males
# Participants:	7	8	8	8	9	8	M=32 (67%) F=16 (33%) All=48	M=9
Participant Age								
Age group:	25-34y	18-24y	25-34y	18-24y	18-24y	25-34y	3 x 18-24 3 x 25-34	25-34y
Age outliers:	35y 36y, 35y 35y	-	22y	-	-	-	(5)	-
Average age:	32.7y	23.1y	26.5y	21.8y	20.9y	28.8y	M: 25.1y F: 25.9y All: 25.4y	28.2y
Highest Educational Level Achieved								
<Grade 8	2	0	0	0	0	0	M=2 (6%) F=0 All=2 (4%)	1 (11%)
Grade 8	5	0	0	0	0	0	M=5 (16%) F=0 All=5 (10%)	0
Grade 9	0	0	1	0	0	0	M=1 (3%) F=0 All=1 (2%)	0

Grade 10	0	2	0	0	1	0	M=1 (3%) F=2 All=3 (6%)	0
Grade 11	0	0	1	1	0	1	M=2 (6%) F=1 (6%) All=3 (6%)	3 (33%)
Gr 12	0	3	5	3	8	7	M=16 (50%) F=10 (63%) All=26 (54%)	4 (44%)
>Grade 12	0	3	1	4	0	0	M=5 (16%) F=3 (19%) All=8 (17%)	1 (11%)
Relationship Status (Self-reported)								
Single	1	4	6	3	8	4	M=18 (56%) F=8 (50%) All=26 (54%)	8 (89%)
Casual	0	4	0	0	0	0	M=0 F=4 (25%) All=4 (8%)	0
Multiple	0	0	0	0	1	0	M=1 (3%) F=0 All=1 (2%)	0
Long-term	2	0	2	5	0	4	M=9 (28%) F=4 (25%) All=13 (27%)	1 (11%)
Married	4	0	0	0	0	0	M=4 (13%) F=0 All=4 (8%)	0
Languages Spoken								
isiZulu	3	6	0	2	9	9	M=14 (44%) F=14 (88%) All=28 (58%)	4 (44%)
English	4	3	0	8	9	9	M=21 (66%) F=11 (69%) All=32 (67%)	7 (78%)
Sesotho	5	2	0	0	0	0	M=5 (16%) F=2 (13%) All=7 (15%)	3 (33%)
Setswana	1	0	0	0	0	0	M=1 (3%) F=0 All=1 (2%)	6 (67%)
Sepedi	0	0	0	0	0	0	M=0 F=0 All=0	2 (22%)
isiNdebele	0	0	0	0	0	0	M=0 F=0 All=0	2 (22%)
isiXhosa	0	4	0	0	0	0	M=0 F=4 (25%) All=4 (8%)	0
isiSwati	0	0	8	6	0	0	M=14 (44%) F=0 All=14 (29%)	0
Xitsonga	1	0	0	0	0	0	M=1 (3%) F=0 All=1 (2%)	1 (11%)
Afrikaans	2	0	0	0	0	0	M=2 (6%) F=0 All=2 (4%)	0

Table A1.1 continued on the following page ...

Employment Status								
Employed	7	1	0	0	0	1	M=0 F=2 (13%) All=2 (4%)	0
Unemployed	0	7	8	8	9	6	M=32 (100%) F=13 (81%) All=45 (94%)	9 (100%)
Studying	0	0	0	0	0	1	M=0 F=1 (6%) All=1 (2%)	0
Children								
Has children	5	7	3	1	0	7	M=9 (28%) F=14 (88%) All=23 (48%)	4 (44%)
Preferred script								
Not just anyone	3	0	0	0	0	4	M=3 (9%) F=4 (25%) All=7 (15%)	3 (33%)
It's your choice	4	7	8	8	9	2	M=29% (91%) F=9 (56%) All=38 (79%)	6 (67%)
Unexpected victim	0	1	0	0	0	2	M=0 F=3 (19%) All=3 (6%)	-
Script with strongest rape prevention message								
Not just anyone	4	2	1	6	8	0	M=19 (59%) F=2 (13%) All=21 (44%)	7 (78%)
It's your choice	3	2	4	1	1	3	M=9 (28%) F=5 (31%) All=14 (29%)	2 (22%)
Unexpected victim	0	4	3	1	0	5	M=4 (13%) F=9 (56%) All=13 (27%)	-

Table A1.2: Cellular phone usage

Province		Gauteng			Mpumalanga		KwaZulu-Natal		All
Site:		Evaton	Soshanguve	Protea Glen	Chochocho	Hazyview	KwaNgqolosi	Ntuzuma	
Site type:		Peri-urban	Peri-urban	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Peri-urban	
Group #:		1	7	2	3	4	5	6	1 to 7
Owns a cellular phone		7	9	8	8	8	9	8	57 (100%)
Used for	Phone calls	6	9	8	8	8	9	6	M=40 (98%) F=14 (88%) All=54 (95%)
	Sms-es	3	8	7	7	8	9	8	M=35 (85%) F=15 (94%) All=50 (88%)
	Please call me	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	M=3 (7%) F=1 (2%) All=4 (5%)
	Radio/ Music	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	M=1 (2%) F=0 All=1 (2%)
Cellular phone has internet		3	4	7	7	8	8	6	M=30 (73%) F=13 (81%) All=43 (75%)
Internet used for	Email	3	2	7	4	5	3	4	M=17 (57%) F=11 (85%) All=28 (65%)
	Facebook	1	3	5	6	7	7	4	M=24 (80%) F=9 (69%) All=33 (77%)
	Google	2	2	7	5	8	3	4	M=20 (67%) F=11 (85%) All=31 (72%)
	WhatsApp	2	2	7	5	6	7	5	M=22 (73%) F=12 (92%) All=34 (79%)
	Twitter	1	0	0	3	2	1	1	M=7 (23%) F=1 (8%) All=8 (19%)
	Download Apps	1	3	6	4	8	3	1	M=19 (63%) F=7 (54%) All=26 (60%)
	YouTube	1	2	1	2	5	0	0	M=10 (33%) F=1 (8%) All=11 (26%)
	Skype	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	M=0 F=1 (8%) All=1 (2%)

Appendix 2: Scripts

All television scripts were developed by Joe Public (Johannesburg) for CCI, for the B4L GBV TVC, in English. Copywriters for all three scripts were Mphela and Galaletsang. Duration is 45 seconds each.

Script 1: It's your choice

MUSIC: Emotive track up and under.

We open on a shot of a living room. There we see a young boy (Themba, aged 6) watching his father abuse his mother. Themba tries to come to his mother's rescue but his father forcefully pushes him away. Themba then watches helplessly while sitting on the floor as his father continues abusing his mother. Over picture we hear a female voice say:

VO1: "You didn't choose to grow up in a home where your father abused your mother."

We then cut to a shot of a street where we see Themba, who is now 8-years-old, walking home from school with a friend. We see them walk pass a man, in his early twenties, as he flirts with a teenage girl while sitting on the bonnet of his car. Out of nowhere the man starts forcing himself onto the teenage girl as he pulls her closer to him and tries to kiss her. She attempts to fight him off but he overpowers her. Themba and his friend watch all this unfold as over picture we hear the female voice say:

VO1: "You didn't choose to be brought up around men who made it seem like it is ok to harass women."

This is followed by a shot of Themba's in a room. An 11-year-old Themba is sitting on a bed doing homework. The door opens and Themba's uncle walks into the room and locks the door behind him. He unties his belt and unzips his pants. It's clear that he's about to abuse Themba. This time the female voice says:

VO1: "You didn't choose to have an uncle who abused you more times than you can remember."

We cut to a shot of an alley behind a tavern where we see a young lady being pinned down by Themba, now 21-years-old, as she struggles to escape his grip. We realise that the voice we've been hearing throughout all the scenes in the commercial belongs to the young lady that Themba is about to rape. She looks him in the eyes and says:

VO1: "None of those things were your choice. But raping me...will be."

The camera focuses in on Themba as we see him sigh heavily before seeing the violent look on his face soften and the grip on the young lady's hands start to loosen. A title appears over

picture that reads **“You can’t change your past but you can choose the man you become.”**
Over picture we hear the announcer say:

TITLE1: “You can’t change your past but you can choose the man you become.”

ANNCR: “You can’t change your past but you can choose the man you become.”

We then see the Brothers For Life, associate and social media logos along with a title that reads “If you need help call us for free on 0800 428 428.” The announcer says:

TITLE2: If you need help call us for free on 0800 428 428.

ANNCR: Choose to be a good man. Call us for free 0800 428 428 and let us help.

Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle.

Script 2: You’re not raping just anyone

MUSIC: Emotive track up and under.

We open on a shot of a house. A remorseful-looking man, Thami, is sitting on a couch while in the background we see a young woman, who’s crying, being consoled by an elderly woman in the kitchen. We see the look of remorse on Thami’s face as he looks into camera and, with regret and sorrow in his voice, says:

VO1: “I remember raping Lerato because she didn’t want to have sex with me, even though I bought her drinks. She would not give me what I wanted, so I took it”

The camera moves to the house walls where we see pictures of Thami and his family. We see a family portrait of Thami with his grandmother, mother and sister. We also see pictures of Thami with his grandmother, Thami with his mother and Thami with his sister. We hear him say:

VO1: “At that moment, I just saw Lerato as someone who owed me sex. I didn’t think of her as someone’s mother, sister or daughter.”

We cut to back to the shot of Thami as he quickly turns his head to face the women in the kitchen as we reveal that the woman crying is his sister and the woman consoling her is his mother. Thami then looks back into camera and says:

VO1: “I wish I could have seen Lerato as a person. Just like I wish the man who raped my sister, saw her as a person too.”

A title appears over picture that reads **“If you rape a woman you’re raping a...”** the last word changes from “daughter” to “sister” to “mother” to “grandmother”.

TITLE1: “If you rape a woman you’re raping a daughter, sister, mother, grandmother.”

We then see the Brothers for Life, associate and social media logos along with titles that read **ANNCR: “Men can stop rape”** and **“Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you feel there’s a chance of you raping.”**

TITLE2: Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you feel there’s a chance of you raping.

ANNCR: “If you rape a woman you rape a loved one. Call us for free on 0800 428 428 and let us help. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle.”

Script 3: Unexpected victim

MUSIC: Emotive track up and under.

We open on a shot of the inside of a house. We’re in the living room where in the background we see pictures of a woman (Grace), her mother and two sons (with the oldest in his mid-twenties and the youngest 10-years-old) on the walls. A sad-looking Grace is sitting on a couch and looking into camera as over picture we hear a male voice say:

VO1: “My mother’s life changed when she became a victim of rape.”

We cut to a shot of a street. There we see Grace walking down a street as she passes a woman who’s walking with her young son. The lady pulls her son to other side of her so she stands between him and Grace, as if she is protecting him from Grace. Over picture we hear the male voice say:

VO1: “People started treating her like a completely different person.”

We cut to the inside shot of a church. The camera follows Grace, Grace’s mother and Grace’s 10-year-old son as they walk into the church. They sit next to a woman who immediately slides away from them so there’s a gap between them. The male voice says:

VO1: “She told me that things were no longer what they used to be.”

We then see a shot of Grace and her son at a local supermarket where it’s obvious that the cashiers are talking about her. We see them looking at Grace while whispering between themselves. As that happens over picture we hear the male voice say:

VO1: “She told me that our family felt like they were on their own.”

Next, we cut to a shot of Grace walking down a street full of people. She hangs her head in shame as she walks down the street and avoids making eye contact with people. The male voice we’ve been hearing throughout the commercial says:

VO1: “She told me that it felt like people had abandoned them and the whole world had turned against them.”

The picture cuts back to a shot of Grace at her house as she continues looking into camera while the male voice says:

VO1: “When I raped that woman I destroyed her life...and I destroyed my family’s life too.”

We cut to a shot of a prison cell where we see Grace’s eldest son sitting on his prison bed. We also see that he’s holding a picture of himself and Grace as a title appears on-screen that reads “When you rape it affects more people than you think”.

TITLE1: When you rape it affects more people than you think.

We then see the Brothers for Life, associate and social media logos along with a title that reads “Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you think you need help.” The announcer says:

TITLE2: Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you think you need help.

ANNCR: “Rape destroys lives. Call us for free on 0800 428 428 if you think you or someone you know needs help. Brothers for Life. Yenza kahle.”