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The role of culture and morality on men's acceptance of
sexual aggression myths and perpetration of rape in
Brazil and the United Kingdom

By

Arielle Sagrillo Scarpati

Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the
University of Kent, December 2017

Declaration

The research reported in this thesis was conducted while the author was a full-time postgraduate student in the School of Psychology at the University of Kent (March 2014-February 2018) on a 4-years scholarship provided by the Brazilian Government (CAPES Foundation). Both the theoretical and empirical work reported here is the result of the independent work of this author.

Publications

Empirical and theoretical work from this thesis has been published in and/or submitted to the following journals:

- Chapter 01 has been published as: Scarpati, A.S., & Pina, A. (2017). Cultural and moral dimensions of sexual aggression: The role of moral disengagement in men's likelihood to sexually aggress. *Aggression and Violent Behavior*, 37, 115-121. doi: 10.1016/j.avb.2017.09.001
- Chapter 02 has been published as: Scarpati, A.S., & Pina, A. (2017). On national and cultural boundaries: A cross-cultural approach to sexual violence perpetration in Brazil and the United Kingdom. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*. doi:10.1080/13552600.2017.1351265
- Chapter 04 has been submitted as: Scarpati, A.S., & Pina, A. (*under review*). Is this really a problem? Men's attitudes towards sexual violence and prevention strategies in Brazil and United Kingdom. *Journal of Sexual Aggression*, Special Issue: The prevention of sexual abuse and violence. What have we learned and where should we be heading?

Empirical and theoretical work from this thesis have been presented in the events listed below:

- Scarpati, A.S., & Pina, A. (2017). Men's attitudes towards sexual violence in Brazil and UK: Should the Justice System be concerned about them? Oral presentation at the International Conference on Psychology & Law. Mechelen, Belgium.
- Scarpati, A.S., & Pina, A. (2017). The role of culture and masculinity on sexual violence perpetration: Exploring men's ideas of gender norms in Brazil and UK. Oral presentation at VIA Conference, Coventry University. England, UK.

- Scarpati, A.S., Pina, A., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2016). Ambivalent sexism and morality: A way to understand men's rape proclivity in Brazil and England. Poster presented at the 25th Division of Forensic Psychology Annual Conference (DFP) - British Psychological Society. Brighton, UK.
- Scarpati, A.S., Pina, A., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2016). Ambivalent sexism and morality: A way to understand men's rape proclivity in Brazil and England. Poster presented at the International Conference on Psychology & Law. Toulouse, France.
- Scarpati, A.S., Pina, A., & Giner-Sorolla, R. (2016). Ambivalent sexism and morality: A way to understand men's rape proclivity in Brazil and England. Oral Presentation at the Critical Legal Conference. Canterbury, UK.

Acknowledgments

This thesis is the result of a long, scary, exciting and – without any doubts – unforgettable journey. Four years later, it is now time to end this chapter. More importantly, it is now time to thank all the amazing people who have very kindly supported me throughout this process. Firstly, I would like to thank the CAPES Foundation in Brazil for trusting this project and for providing me with the financial assistance in support of my Ph.D. I would also like to thank my supervisor, Dr. Afroditi Pina, for accepting me as one of her students. Thanks for investing in me and for allowing me to explore a subject that is so close to my heart. Thank you! Thank you for believing in me, even in those times when I did not feel I deserved it. Thanks for sharing so many important moments (and chocolates!) with me, and for never doubting my work. I would like to extend this message to my second supervisor, Prof. Roger Giner-Sorolla. Thanks for everything you taught me. Thank you for your kindness and for helping me become a better researcher. Thanks for always being so patience with my questions and struggles. I will be always thankful for that.

I would also like to express my gratitude to Hildi and Prof. Silvia Koller. It is because of the two of you that I chose this path, years ago. You are my inspiration. To Caoilte, Emma, Jane, Theresa, Nichola, Eduardo and Mark, thanks for allowing me to be part of the CORE-FP and for trusting me in the task of taking care of our group meetings. Further thanks should also go to my examiners and to the University of Kent support staff. Esme, Nathalia, and Lizanne, thanks for helping me every time I needed. Thanks, to Dr. Marian Duggan, Dr. Anna Brown, Prof. Robbie Sutton, and Dr. Tom Page, for all your help, support and valuable feedback. Thanks, to Dr. Katia Vione, Dr. Mirian Cortez, Carol Piazzarollo, and Will Sartori for all your comments and help in the process of translating the measures I used in my thesis.

Additionally, thanks to all friends, acquaintances, former students and even “strangers” for helping me with my data collection. And to all my participants, for their willingness to reflect about this (sometimes so difficult) topic, and for trusting my work.

Thanks to my Uni friends who, despite their own struggles, were always there for me. Ebru, Laura, Pelin, Ana Leite, Anita, Matt, and Heather, thanks for all words of encouragement and, of course, numerous cups of coffee! And a very special thanks to my two ‘partners in crime’: Ana and Miriam! Girls, you were my family here and I will never be able to fully express how grateful I am for having you two in my life. Thanks for your patience, love, support, and help. Thanks, my ‘grammar guru’ and my ‘stats queen’! Thanks for sharing so many moments – trips, chocolates, cups of coffees, memes and BuzzFeed quizzes! – with me. I love you two from the bottom of my heart.

To my dear friends in Canterbury: Yvonne, Rose, Juliana, Marta, Giacomo, Vanessa, Sam, Marcus... thanks! You will be forever part of my life. And to my friends in Brazil: Dessa, Fê e Raul, Deia, Paulinho, Wagner, Dani, Ricardo, Lucas, and Paulinha... thanks! Thanks for always been there for me, and for making sure that we were part of each other’s lives, despite the physical distance. I’ve missed you all every single day. Special thanks to my family. Thanks for supporting my decision to leave everything (and everyone) behind in order to pursue not only a Ph.D. but a dream. Thanks for constantly reminding me of the reasons why I chose this – sometimes so difficult – path. Mom, sis, Tê, Grandma... without you, I would not be here. Gabriel, Fefa, Evelange, and dad you were also very important in this process.

Finally, my deepest thanks go to two women I love unconditionally: Val and Camis. I cannot begin to express how much your friendship means to me. Thanks for taking care of me; even from such a distance. Thanks for making me believe in myself and for always encouraging me. Thanks for all the 3-hours long calls! I have no doubts: without you, I would not be here. Thanks for being the best friends I could ask for. I will be forever indebted to you. I love you.

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Abstract

The understanding of sexual violence perpetration is complex and calls for a multifactorial approach, as this behaviour seems to be the final product of an intricate arrangement of individual, social and contextual elements (Ward & Beech, 2006; Ward & Beech, 2008; Ward & Casey, 2010; Ward & Gannon, 2006). In addition, due to ethical constraints, this phenomenon cannot be investigated via realistic analogous studies in the context of the laboratory, making it hard for researchers to unveil the factors which are determinants for its occurrence. The primary goal of this thesis is to address this deficiency by discussing certain variables (sexism, moral values, rape myths and gender norms) that may serve to either legitimise types of sexually aggressive discourses and practices (and therefore increase the chances of its occurrence), or to condemn them (and thus lower those chances), exploring how it might affect men's likelihood to sexually offend (i.e., rape) women in two different countries. A series of six studies (of qualitative and quantitative nature) with adult men from one European (the U.K) and one Latin American (Brazil) culture were conducted. In line with expectations, overall results suggest that both social norms and morality play an important role in the way men understand sexual violence in both countries. More importantly, findings provide evidence of a strong relationship between individuals' use of moral disengagement strategies and their likelihood to perpetrate rape. Parallel to that, this piece of work offers researchers a new self-reported measure: the Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale (MDinSV). To conclude, this thesis presents a wider and more in-depth conceptualisation of the social-cognitive mechanisms that neutralise and justify sexually violent behaviour.

Keywords: culture, morality, moral disengagement, rape proclivity, sexual violence

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THESIS

Background of Thesis

Violence has existed as long as humankind, and embodies a wide spectrum of behaviours. Broadly speaking, the principal meaning of violence relates to the intentional use of physical, psychological or intellectual strength to coerce another, or others, to do something against their own will, and beyond risk of some type of harm as a consequence of that (Resende, Urzedo, Oliveira, Segundo, & Jorge, 2011). Violence might also be understood as a behaviour based on the imbalance of power between the parties involved, the intention of which is to establish and maintain control over another person, or group of people (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador - Canada, 2014; United Nations, 2010).

Sexual violence stands out as one of the most common forms of violence: i.e. psychological, and/or emotional and physical violence (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador - Canada, 2014). For example, it is estimated that 120 million girls have experienced forced sexual acts at some point in their lives, and that between 30 to 70 per cent of adult women worldwide have been sexually victimised at some point of their lives (these numbers vary depending on the source; see United Nations Women, 2017 for a recent review on this matter).

This form of violence occurs either when someone is unwantedly and unsolicitedly touched in a sexual manner, or when they are forced to participate in sexual activity either expressly against their will, or because their ability to consent is compromised by their age, or the impact of drugs or alcohol, for example. Generally speaking, no single factor will be enough to explain why certain individuals or groups of people have a greater risk of being victims of sexual violence; nor indeed to explain why certain individuals or groups are more inclined to

be the perpetrators (see Ward, 2014). Despite that, empirical data has been consistently suggesting (Garcia-Moreno et al., 2005; Krug et al. 2002; Saffioti, 2001; Scarpati, 2013; Souza & Adesse, 2005; Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Watts & Zimmerman, 2002; WHO, 2011) that women are more likely to be the victims whilst men, the offenders.

To Ellsberg and Heise (2005) alongside with individuals' own predispositions, sexual violence perpetration needs to be understood against a cultural backdrop of the resilience of gender roles, and the putative legitimacy of violent acts against those women who seek to transgress dominant gender expectations. To these authors, these discourses inform people's behaviours, and how these behaviours are judged; thereby, justifying the male perpetration of violence against women. Ward proposed that (2014, p.140), "human beings are embedded in multiple systems and constituted by biological, psychological and social/cultural processes, explanations of complex phenomena such as sexual offending need to be multifactorial, interlevel and non-reductionistic in nature".

Drawing from that, this thesis focuses on sexual violence committed by men against women, and explores how some sociocultural norms may serve to either legitimise or condemn sexual violence (i.e., rape) perpetration in two different cultures. In line with the idea that sexual violence is the product of reciprocal interaction between one's own predisposition and favourable contextual factors, I aim to investigate if permissive (i.e., tolerant to sexual abuse) social norms can increase men's likelihood to rape women and if there are differences across cultures regarding this matter. Precisely, I am interested in how these elements may help males: (a) to overcome their internal inhibitions, (b) to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours – mainly, rape – and, more importantly, (c) to justify those damaging acts without harming their own moral standards.

To address those questions, the current thesis addresses 'rape' as any form of non-consensual sexual contact (intercourse or penetration of the vagina, anus, or mouth) imposed

by a man to a woman, and it relies on four main theoretical concepts: moral disengagement (Bandura, 1986, 1990, 1999), modern myths about sexual aggression and rape myths (Burt, 1980; Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007), ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and gender norms/masculinity (Connell, 1995). In addition to those, Shweder, Much, Mahapatra and Park's (1997) moral ethics theory and Hofstede's (2001) *cultural syndromes* are used as a framework to compare Brazil and the U.K. A more detailed theoretical discussion of each of those theories and/or concepts will be presented and discussed throughout the chapters; in accordance with their main objective.

Aims of Thesis

The broad aim of the current thesis is to explore the role of culture and morality in men's endorsement of sexually aggressive myths and likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours (i.e., rape) in two different cultures. More specifically, and aiming to cover this main hypothesis, this thesis has three objectives. They are outlined below.

Firstly, I aim to explore how some sociocultural norms may serve to either legitimise or condemn male sexual violence perpetration. In doing so, I intend to examine the issue of male sexual violence perpetration through the lens of gender norms, sexism and moral values. Secondly, I aim to explore some of the differences and similarities regarding this matter in one collectivistic (i.e., Brazil) and one individualistic culture (i.e., the United Kingdom). Finally, I aim to introduce the self-regulatory role of moral disengagement as a conceptual framework to the understanding of male perpetration of sexually aggressive behaviours. In doing so, and in line with Page's (2015) work within the specific context of workplace sexual harassment, I present the process of developing and validating an empirical measure of moral disengagement

in the specific behavioural context of sexual violence perpetration in two different languages (i.e., English and Portuguese): The Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale.

Overview of Chapters

The majority of research on rape has so far neglected to examine the effects of socio-cultural beliefs and practices on sexual violence perpetration, with most authors dedicating themselves, instead, to an individualistic approach to this phenomenon. Although these approaches are certainly valid, they often overlook how these behaviours are embedded in the culture. Drawing from that, the primary goal of the literature review in Chapter 01 is to redress this deficiency and to explore the connection between the phenomenon and the cultural backdrop against which it occurs. More specifically, in this chapter, I introduce a discussion regarding the current theoretical approach to the subject, as well as its limitations. I then present a distinct form of looking at this phenomenon by commenting on those factors that may serve to either legitimise or to condemn sexual violence in different cultures. To make it possible, I compare an individualistic (the U.K) and a collectivistic (Brazil) country in reference to their cultures, rape legislation, and prevalence of this form of offence.

Following that, in Chapter 02 I explore the idea that some social norms may influence the acceptability of sexually aggressive behaviours and introduce the role of moral values and moral disengagement strategies in men's likelihood to rape. In doing so, I present Bandura (1986, 1996, 2002) and Shweder's et al. (1997) theoretical framework, and discuss how the environment – and its symbolic elements – inform individuals regarding the rules they should follow in order to live in society; thus, shaping their behaviours and attitudes towards different phenomena (see Sverdlik, Roccas, & Sagiv, 2012).

More importantly, in Chapter 02 I draw attention to the fact that those norms are not always sufficient to compel all individuals to refrain from detrimental conduct. In fact, according to Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti and Caprara (2008), some may even serve to encourage them to perform harmful behaviour towards others. In societies plagued by gender inequality, for example, some forms of violence (e.g. marital rape, domestic violence, and homophobia) might be tolerated and/or justified as a result of individuals' adherence to traditional gender norms. As a result, detrimental behaviour can be experienced largely without self-reproach due to its social acceptance. Findings from this chapter have been published [Scarpati & Pina (2017b)] as a theoretical framework and will be referred to as such throughout the thesis.

Building on the arguments presented in Chapters 01 and 02, I proceed with a series of six studies that aimed to address this gap in the literature and to discuss males' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours via consideration of their cultural background and morality. As discussed by authors such as Butler (1993) and, more recently, Ingevaldson, Goulding and Tidefors (2016), individuals learn how to "do" their genders when interacting with others; and what it means to be male or female in that specific context. Likewise, it is through the socialization process that individuals learn the consequences of a departure from it (Sverdlik, Roccas, & Sagiv 2012). Therefore, one's personal views on gender norms and masculinities cannot be dissociated from the context they are embedded in.

In line with the above, Chapter 03 presents the findings from the first part of Study 01 (Study 01.01), which is a qualitative study attempting to cover men's ideas of masculinity in both Brazil and the U.K, and to discuss how these notions are reflected in the way they understand and perform their gender. Data was collected online (i.e., Prolific Academic, emailing lists, and different social media) and participants were adult men from those two countries. In this opportunity, they were invited to answer some questions about (a) their

culture, (b) their attitudes towards gender norms and masculinity, (c) their views on society's expectations in this arena, and (d) their thoughts on how those expectations might influence – or not – men's lives. Participants were also invited to answer some questions around the issue of sexual violence perpetration in their cultures.

Chapter 04 follows up this discussion and describes the findings derived from the second part of this qualitative data collection (Study 01.02). In this section, I explore adult men's understanding of violent sexual behaviour, and their perceptions regarding the frequency with which this offence occurs, some of the offense-triggering events, as well as the effective (and/or ineffective) ways to prevent its occurrence in their cultures. Finally, I discuss the challenges involved in the process of making individuals – especially men – aware of their role in the occurrence of this phenomenon.

Taken together, results from Study 1 draw attention to some of the challenges men still face regarding the way they are expected to behave. Parallel to that, they provide initial evidence of some of the social norms and discourses which might enable men to distance themselves from those they consider to be responsible for the occurrence of sexual violence, thereby morally disengaging from any feeling of responsibility over the maintenance and perpetuation of this phenomenon. Apart from being a positive coping mechanism for these men, this attitude can also be problematic as, by assigning to others (e.g., immigrants, mentally-ill men, etc.) the responsibility for sexual aggression committed against women, most men do not proactively engage in any action aimed to prevent its occurrence.

Indeed, several studies (e.g., Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Ferreira, Barros, & Souza, 2001; Glick, Sakallı-Uğurlu, Ferreira, & Souza, 2002; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006) have already discussed the relationship between different forms of prejudice against women (i.e., ambivalent sexism) and both attitudes (e.g., individuals' acceptance of interpersonal violence, rape myth acceptance, victim-blaming) and

behavioural outcomes related to sexually aggressive behaviours (e.g., rape proclivity). Nevertheless, to the knowledge of the researcher, the influence of morality on males' endorsement of those, as well as their behavioural tendencies to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours has not been empirically tested. Thus, in Chapter 05, I describe the findings of two studies (Studies 02 and 03) in which the relationship between the moral domain and ambivalent sexism for adult men in Brazil and the U.K – was explored. More importantly, Chapter 05 also discusses (a) how the relationship between these variables might affect individuals' likelihood to rape, and (b) if this is moderated by individuals' cultural backdrop; i.e., nationality.

Collectively, findings provided initial evidence of distinct processes underlying men's attitudes towards victims of prejudice (i.e., victim blaming). In addition, this study also sheds light on different variables which might help explaining the acceptance of sexually aggressive behaviours and discourses which are common to those two cultures. Precisely, the relationship between individuals' endorsement of rape myths, conservative moral values (community and divinity moral codes) and, ultimately, rape proclivity.

After consideration of the results obtained in Studies 02 and 03, I proceeded exploring how social norms and moral values might help explaining men's likelihood to perpetrate sexual aggression. Nonetheless, it was considered that a general measure of moral disengagement would not be sufficient to capture the precise elements involved in the phenomenon of sexual violence perpetration against women. Therefore, a different measure would be needed to discuss the topic further.

Hence, based on the conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 02, Bandura's Socio Cognitive Theory (1996, 2002), as well as the results generated from both parts of Study 01, a measure of moral disengagement in the behavioural context of sexual violence was developed: The Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale (MDinSV). The MDinSV Scale is a self-reported measure composed of 38 items where participants are invited to respond on a 7-point

Likert-style scale (1 = *strongly disagree* to 7 = *strongly agree*). Items reflect a range of socially-shared discourses and practices around sexual behaviour that broadly map onto the eight mechanisms of moral disengagement proposed by Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara and Pastorelli (1996).

Chapter 06 describes, therefore, two online studies that were conducted with the purpose of developing (Study 04) and validating (Study 05) the MDinSV. In both studies, the new scale was applied alongside other important measures such as those assessing individuals' endorsement of modern myths about sexual violence, ambivalent sexism and gender norms. In addition, a measure of men's likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours and a measure of socio-desirability were also applied.

Following that, and aiming to further explore possible similarities and differences across Brazil and the U.K regarding this matter, Chapter 07 describes the process of translation and preliminary validation of a Portuguese version of the MDinSV scale (Study 06). In replicating Study 05, an online survey and the MDinSV was applied alongside measures of: (a) modern myths about sexual violence, (b) ambivalent sexism, (c) gender norms, (d) rape proclivity and (e) socio-desirability. Lastly, in Chapter 08, both objectives and findings of the current research programme are summarised, limitations are addressed and directions for future research are presented.

CHAPTER ONE

On national and cultural boundaries: A cross-cultural approach to sexual violence perpetration in Brazil and the United Kingdom

Introduction

Within the sphere of violent sexual behaviour, there exist cultural variations not only regarding frequency and type of violence committed, but also in terms of events that are seen to trigger those episodes (see Vandello & Cohen, 2003 for a discussion regarding this matter). It is further possible to observe differences in relation to what each culture considers to be an appropriate response to these events. Most authors investigating sexual violence perpetration focus on the individual tendencies to commit rape (see Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2009). However, there is a marked absence of consistent studies looking at aspects such as culture, socio-cultural norms and gender roles, and their influence upon the occurrence and legitimacy of sexual violence, as well as how it might best be understood (Kalra & Bhugra, 2011; Vandello & Cohen, 2003).

For example, in a literature review about publications on rape and sexual assault, Burrowes (2011) found 282 articles, chapters and reports that were published in 2011 on the topic, with the United Kingdom (U.K: 8%) being the second largest publisher (to the US: 72%) of research in this field. Nonetheless, research still gravitates towards individual elements, with little attention paid to the socio-cultural aspect. As discussed by Burrowes (2011), the topics mostly researched are therapeutic work with survivors, rape myths, impact of rape and sexual assault, policy papers, and rape prevention programmes.

As critically pointed out by different authors (see Kiss, Schraiber, Heise, Zimmerman, Gouveia, & Watts, 2012; Lamichhane, Puri, Tamang, & Dulal, 2011; Yount, Halim, Schuler,

& Head, 2013), although individualistic approaches are certainly valid, they often ignore how human behaviour is embedded in the culture and, as a result, do not adequately clarify and explain the causes and consequences of that behaviour. Additionally, most studies on sexual violence come from Western countries, mainly the USA (Burrowes, 2011), and little is known about the risk factors of sexual aggression in other parts of the world, such as in Latin American countries (D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014). In Brazil, for example, to the knowledge of the researcher, there are only two pieces of research covering the topic of men's self-reported perpetration of sexual aggression: Chan, Straus, Brownridge, Tiwari, and Leung (2008) and D'Abreu and Krahe (2014).

Therefore, the primary goal of this chapter is to redress this deficiency, focusing on the connection between the phenomenon of male sexual violence perpetration, and the cultural backdrop against which it occurs. In doing so, some of the variables that may serve to either legitimise sexual violence and therefore increase the chances of its occurrence, or condemn sexual violence and thus lower the chances of its occurrence in one Latin American country (Brazil) and one European country (the U.K) will be discussed.

Sexual Violence and Rape: Universal Concepts?

Sexual violence is usually defined as any form of sexual behaviour imposed upon someone, and is characterised by an absence of consent from the recipient of the behaviour. This absence may be due to the recipient explicitly saying no, or it may be that consent cannot be freely given; for example, because the recipient lacks the mental capacity to give it, or they are under the influence of drink and/or drugs (Heise, Ellsberg, & Gottmoeller, 2002; Jewkes, Sen, & Garcia-Moreno, 2002).

Definitions, however, normally vary according to the reference source. To Basile and Saltzman (2002), for instance, sexual violence takes many forms, and is not restricted to penetrative contact, as non-contact sexual abuse (i.e. intentional touching, voyeurism and unwilling exposure to pornography) is also considered to be an expression of it. In a similar manner, Mont and White (2007) suggest that the “sexual violence umbrella” covers all acts such as forced marriage, abortion, sexual harassment and unwanted sexual advances. Further examples of sexual violence found in the literature include: (1) human trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation and prostitution, (2) female genital mutilation and (3) being denied access to information and strategies to prevent unwanted pregnancy and sexually transmitted infections. Rape, therefore, is just one manifestation within the sphere of sexual offences (Basile & Saltzman, 2002).

As with the general concept of sexual violence, the specific offence of rape can be also categorised in different ways. For instance, the understanding of rape can relate to: (1) the identity or characteristics of the victim (i.e. their age); (2) the precise situation in which it occurs (i.e. during wartime, or in the context of a gang conflict); or even (3) the identity or characteristics of the perpetrator (i.e. a custodial rape) (United Nations, 2010). Another possible method, by which rape cases might better understood, is the consideration of any pre-existing relationship between victim and perpetrator. We can thereby identify these acts of violence as falling into one of the following two categories: non-stranger or stranger rape (WHO, 2002).

Falling in the non-stranger rape category are those incidents described as: “acquaintance”, “date” and “marital” rapes. Briefly speaking, these categories refer to those situations in which victim and offender have some form of relationship; though varying in its length and nature. ‘Acquaintance rape’, for example, refers to those cases in which the individuals have met within and/or prior to 24 hours and know each other vaguely (e.g.,

prostitute and client; individuals who have met via the internet) (see Feist, Ashe, Lawrence, McPhee & Wilson, 2007). 'Date rape', on the other hand, refers to those cases in which victim and offenders are in, or have been in, some form of personal relationship (Russo, 2000). This could be either a recent couple who have just started dating or two individuals in an established relationship (e.g., boyfriend and girlfriend), for example. Lastly, 'marital rape' refers to those cases in which the violence occurs within one's marriage; meaning that the offender is the victim's spouse (Ahmed & Shaba, 2016)

'Stranger rape', on the other hand, is characterised by the total lack of any previous contact between the offender and the victim. It refers to those case in which individuals are, as the name suggests, unknown to each other. That is, they are 'strangers'. Though not as frequent as those described above (see Ramapuram, 2017 for a discussion about this classification), these are the sort of incidents most often reported to the police and by the press (Abbey, Zawacki, Buck, Clinton & McAuslan, 2001; Du Mont, Miller, & Myhr, 2003); even though empirical data suggests that 70% to 90% of sexual crimes are perpetrated by a 'known offender' (see Harper & Hogue, 2014 for review).

After analysing data from over 200 ethnographic sources of 35 societies (which were randomly selected from the Standard Cross Cultural Sample developed by Murdock & White, 1969), Rozee (1993) suggested that a better way to understand this type of violence is by organising it into two large categories: non-normative (condemned) and normative (condoned) rape. The first represents those situations where societal norms vigorously disapprove the offender's behaviour. Therefore, the offence will be publicly condemned and the contact between offender and victim will be considered perverse, immoral and illegal. In this scenario, offenders will be probably punished both due to the violation of a victim's will, as well as the violation of societal norms.

Normative rape, on the other hand, describes those situations where, aside from an explicit or tacit acknowledgment of the victim's lack of consent, the violence is not deplored by society. According to Rozee (1993), even though it is possible to find, in most cultures (i.e., cases of normative rape were found in 97% of Rozee's sample), some mechanism that allows men to sexually abuse women without violating any societal norms, this form of violence is usually ignored by cross-cultural studies.

One of the most obvious examples of a normative rape is what is termed "punitive" rape. According to Rozee (1993), in society there exists a whole raft of justifications for sexual violence that aims to discipline and punish women for having behaved in the "wrong" manner (e.g. a woman who has sexual relationships outside marriage is "fair game"). This demonstrates a definitive example of sexual violence used as a method of sanction for what the offender/society considers as the wrong female choice. Another example is "marital rape", and/or sexual violence by intimate partners, and essentially represents a situation where the perpetrator is the woman's husband. According to WHO (2002, p. 152), this offence is "neither rare nor unique to any particular region of the world". In fact, data suggest very similar figures regarding the number of women who have been victim of either an attempted or completed rape by a partner in their lifetime across the globe (i.e. North London, England = 23%; Guadalajara, Mexico = 23%; Leon, Nicaragua = 21.7%; and Lima, Peru = 22.5% according to WHO, 2002).

Men's social superiority and power play an important role in this scenario and it is not unusual to see either a lack of awareness of the concept (for both men and women), or an unwillingness to identify oneself as either a victim or a perpetrator (Waterhousea, Reynolds & Eganc, 2016). It suggests that, despite the reporting rate being low, the actual incidence is likely to be much higher. Ultimately, the key aspect remains the victims' lack of consent (Howitt,

2012), and sexual violence appears to be, in some form, an almost universal occurrence (Giner-Sorolla, & Russell, 2009; Miller, 2014).

Nevertheless, the understanding of what might constitute violence, the target of the assault, the method of perpetration, legislation about it, events considered as trigger episodes, as well as the set of social norms that serve as a backdrop to the act, vary greatly across societies, and from one culture to another. As discussed by several authors (Hall & Barongan, 1997; Hall, Sue, Narang, & Lilly, 2000; Loh, Gidycz, Lobo, & Luthra, 2005), certain socio-cultural beliefs and practices may encourage men to be sexually violent, make women more vulnerable to sexual offences and, at the same time, reduce their chances of receiving societal support. These beliefs and practices will be further explored throughout this thesis.

Brazil and the United Kingdom: A Little Bit of Background

Countries and cultures can be described, and/or compared, in accordance to a wide variety of meaningful variables (Neto, 2007). Their language, predominant religion, economic status, laws regarding a certain topic and their position in different rankings (i.e. gender inequality) are just a few examples of them. Beyond those, another criterion commonly applied in order to differentiate countries is based on their cultural syndromes (Heine, Lehman, Peng, & Greenholtz, 2002). According to Heine et al. (2002), research guided by this approach has aspired to compare cultures on the basis of their positions on dimensions such as individualism-collectivism (IC).

Generally speaking, IC addresses the different emphasis some cultures place on aspects such as the importance of group attainment for individuals, the values they endorse, as well as the orientation of their attitudes (i.e. towards the individual or towards the group; Triandis, 1989). According to Neto (2007), in collectivistic societies the emphasis is primarily placed on

group attainment, and values such as benevolence, tradition and conformity are highly endorsed. These values are translated into respectful actions, commitment, obedience and subordination of one's needs to the wishes of others, for example. As a result, in these cultures there is either no distinction between personal and collective goals, or there is a clear subordination of the former to the latter.

Individualistic cultures, on the other hand, place great emphasis on the attainment of self-centred goals, individuals' independence and freedom. Moreover, values of achievement, hedonism, power and stimulation (Neto, 2007) are highly endorsed. As a result, individuals tend to value personal initiative and autonomy, and prioritise their personal goals. Furthermore, these cultures tend to present a lower endorsement of divinity factors, and low adherence to religion terms (see Ryckman & Houston, 2003).

To Heine et al. (2002) even though there is critique around this approach (i.e. IC), this construct stands out as one of the most widely used to aid in the understanding of the similitudes and differences among cultures around the world. Individualist cultures are usually found in Western societies, and especially in North America, whereas cultures in the rest of the world, particularly East Asia, are usually described as collectivist (Heine et al., 2002). The U.K and Brazil are two prime examples of individualist (U.K IC Rating = 8.95) and collectivist (Brazil IC Rating = 3.90) cultures (Guerra, 2008).

Brazil

The Federative Republic of Brazil is the only Portuguese-speaking country in South America and has the seventh biggest economy in the world. Its surface occupies half of this continent, and it is divided into five administrative regions (south, north, southeast, northeast, central west), with more than 190 million inhabitants. As a result of its dimensions, it is a highly diverse country, with different climatic conditions, ethnicity, languages used, social practices,

economic development, religions and so on (Hofstede, Garibaldi de Hilal, Malvezzi, Tanure, & Vinken, 2010).

In terms of its culture, Brazil has always been shaped by foreign influences and its current configuration is the result of this process of integration and absorption of distinct civilisations (i.e. Africans, Europeans and Asians). For these reasons, it is difficult for researchers to have a unified vision of this country. Researchers suggest (see Guerra, 2008, for a review) that even though Brazil has been identified as a collectivist country, the influence of diverse immigration has created a difficulty in making an unambiguous classification of this culture: collectivist and vertical (i.e., vertical societies tend to emphasise hierarchy whereas horizontal societies tend to value equality best). Hofstede et al. (2010) even suggest that Brazil is neither conservative nor modern, but both at the same time; requiring, from researchers, “a multifocal vision capable of simultaneously applying more than one cultural paradigm” (Hofstede et al., 2010, p. 349).

These same authors (Hofstede et al., 2010) stress, however, that despite its complex cultural orientation, there is evidence of a common Brazilian national culture that can be applied as a general guide for researchers. When compared to countries such as the United States of America, for example, Brazilians tend to use more divinity and community-based discourses (Guerra, 2008); meaning that individuals are usually acting consistent to their social roles. As pointed out by Neto (2007), in collectivistic societies, such as Brazil, because the emphasis is primarily placed on group attainment (e.g. family), people are expected to behave in a way that does not disrespect or challenge their assigned roles. The expectations surrounding gender norms and responsibilities are just one example of that group emphasis.

It is important to highlight, in line with the above, that Brazil is considered to be both an honour culture and a “macho” society; meaning that individuals’ social status is closely link to their willingness to use force in order to defend their reputation (i.e., honour culture; Black,

2011; Cooney, 2014) and hyper-masculine attitudes are highly endorsed (Tomas, 2016). Precisely, in these contexts, masculinity is mostly associated with authority and strength, whereas femininity is associated with weakness and subservience (i.e., “male-orientated” society; Goldenberg, 2011). In honour cultures, “individuals think about themselves in relation to how they believe others see them” (Tomas, 2016, p.3) and the way they behave is a measure of their worth. Being honourable depends, therefore, on individuals’ ability to meet the cultural standards.

Venturi and Godinho (2013) further suggests that around 90% of Brazilian men and about 94% of Brazilian women agree that Brazil could be still described as a “machista” country; sample consisted of 2.365 women and 1.181 men of different areas of this country. “Machismo” is, in fact, a popular term applied – usually by North-Americans and Europeans – to describe South European and Latin American masculinities, but also by Latin American men to describe (and enhance) their own virility (Grunnagel & Wieser, 2015). As discussed by different authors (Barker, 2016; Nascimento, Gomes, & Rebello, 2009; Stocker & Dalmaso, 2016), being sexually active, heterosexual and – if necessary – aggressive are some of the “focal points” of manhood in these contexts.

According to Scarpati (2013), despite the ongoing progress and the emergence of different ideas about men and women, gender inequality is still a problem in Brazil. This nation occupies the 121st place in the ranking of women’s participation in policy-making and politics, with the female unemployment rate being about twice that of men and the average salary for women being 30% less than that of men. Data from 2014 also suggest that Brazilian women still spend twice as much time doing housework than men, and the statistics about violence against them seems to increase every year (Compromisso e Atitude, 2014; IPEA, 2016).

One final – and essential – aspect of this culture revolves around the importance Brazilians place on the spiritual domain (spirituality and/or religiosity; see Guerra, 2008 for

review). It means that moral concepts such as sanctity and sin, purity and pollution, etc., are extremely valued; and that even if an action does not cause direct harm to someone, individuals should not behave in a way that disrespects the “natural order” (e.g., homosexual relationships), or the order of God.

The United Kingdom

The U.K is one of the most populous European regions, with more than 65 million inhabitants. It is also one of the world’s leading industrialised nations and its population is highly ethnically diverse, with an abundant amount of identities, cultures, nationalities and heritages (Ali, 2015).

In comparison to Brazil, the U.K appears to be more an individualistic than a collectivist country (score 89 on IndCol; 3rd place among 53 countries), with a higher endorsement of autonomy values (Guerra, 2008). As previously stated, those countries often place greater emphasis on the attainment of self-centred goals, as well as personal initiative. That is, individuals’ independence, freedom and power are usually highly valued (Ryckman & Houston, 2003). Guerra (2008) highlights, however, that the U.K is also characterised for its emphasis on horizontal aspects, which means that people also tend to attribute high importance to harmony values, such as equality and social justice, while also valuing autonomy and independence.

The Anglican Church (or Church of England) is the official church in the U.K’s largest constituent country, England and Christianity remains the largest religion of the nation, with 33.2 million people (59.3% of the population) subscribed to it. According to Neto (2007), however, individualistic countries also tend to present lower endorsement of divinity moral values and lower adherence to religion terms. Religious observance, church attendance, and religious affiliation are also low. In 2011, for example, one quarter of the population have

reported that they do not subscribe to any religion according to the Office for National Statistics (April of 2016, <https://www.ons.gov.uk/>).

Compared to the Brazilian society, the United Kingdom has higher scores in a variety of ranks. For example, in the Gender Gap Index (0 = inequality and 1 = equality) Brazil scores 0.694 (71st in this ranking), whereas the U.K. scores 0.738 (26th in this ranking out of 142 countries). Data from different sources (e.g. Baldwin, 2012) also suggest that, in comparison to other countries, the U.K has better workplace opportunities, access to education, property rights and women's political participation.

In addition, the U.K is not considered to be an honour culture, nor a macho society (i.e., examples of honour culture include communities with a Muslim, African and Latin backgrounds; Uskul, Oyserman, & Schwarz, 2010). Instead, one could argue that the U.K. is more of a culture of dignity. As discussed by Haidt (2015) in those cultures, people are socialised to believe that dignity is inherently part of who they are; some form of intrinsic merit that cannot be alienated by others as punishment of an inadequate behaviour. In this sense, individuals are not expected (or required) to behave in way to earn and/or personally defend their social status.

Haidt (2015) further comments that dignity cultures value individuals' public reputation to a lesser extent and, although insults might provoke offense, they do not have the power to establish or destroy one's reputation. In fact, according to Haidt, in those contexts, people with 'thick skin' are admired for their ability to 'shrug off' insults without the need to retaliate the offender and to resort to violence.

Together, these characteristics should mean that gender-based violence does not occur – at least not frequently – and that men and women are at a better place, when it comes to gender norms and (in)equality. The picture, however, is not that clear. Although the U.K has a more progressive attitude in several key areas, when compared to highly developed countries

(i.e. those in the top quartile of the Human Development Index), there is still a lot to be improved.

According to the Global Gender Gap Index (Dahlgreen, 2015), for example, although the U.K appears to have a progressive outlook to issues such as traditional gender roles (i.e. in the context of the household, and society), they are not considered to be a social priority; especially when compared to other developed countries (e.g. Sweden). Moreover, as discussed in the British Social Attitudes Report (Scott & Clery, 2012), even though attitudes towards the role of men and women in British society have changed considerably (i.e. in 1984, 43% of Britons agreed that a man's job is to earn money and a woman's job is to look after the home and family, whereas now only 13% endorse this view), the actual behaviour at home has not changed to a similar extent. They cite, for example, that when compared with men, British women still report undertaking a disproportionate amount of housework and caring activities.

In sum, beyond the values mostly endorsed in each of these cultures, Brazil and the U.K also differ in a wide range of aspects. Levels of religiosity, gender inequality rates, and access to education and services are just a few examples. Nonetheless, rates of women's victimisation – for different forms of violence and from different sources – in these countries are intriguingly similar (Radcliffe, d' Oliveira, Lea, dos Santos Figueiredo, & Gilchrist, 2017), and cases of sexual violence committed against women have been regularly reported in both populations surveys and crime reports.

The Occurrence of Rape in These Two Cultures

Prevalence

The high incidence of sexual violence, the grave consequences thereof, and the inherent complexity of the phenomenon means that it has come to be considered almost as an epidemic,

and certainly a public health problem, in several countries (Higginbotham, Ketring, Hibbert, Wright, & Guarino, 2007; Rapecrisis, 2013), including Brazil and the U.K. Recent estimates from UNICEF, UN Women, UNFPA, ILO, and OSRSG/VAC (2013) suggest that, despite considerable efforts to prevent and eradicate it, between one in three and one in five women around the world will fall victim to either physical and/or sexual violence in her lifetime.

In England and Wales in 2012, for example, more than 400,000 adult women (estimates from sources vary, and are given in the range of 430,000–517,000) experienced one form of sexual violence (Ministry of Justice, 2013) and 53,700 sexual offences were recorded by police in the same period. When the offences of rape and sexual assault are considered together in statistics compiled by the Ministry of Justice, they account for 71% of sexual offences recorded by the police in England and Wales during a single year (Ministry of Justice, 2013). In 2011, more than 10,000 prisoners were in custody for committing a sexual offence.

Data from the Ministry of Justice also show that, in 2011, of those prosecuted for a sexual offence, 98% were men, suggesting that sexual offences have a strong gender base. According to these statistics, rapists account for “around three in ten (of the) defendants prosecuted for sexual offences each year. Of those cases that reached the Magistrates or Crown Court in 2011, just under two thirds resulted in convictions” (Ministry of Justice, 2013, p. 9).

Despite that, it is worth mentioning that, today, an overall trend whereby sexual offences are reported to the police, and more men are convicted of sex crimes can be observed. In 1959, for example, only 500 incidents were reported to the police; by 1985, this number had increased to 1842 in that year, while 2011–2012 saw more than 14,000 cases reported. The Ministry of Justice explains thusly:

The increase in the conviction rate for rape when including other offences reflects the complex relationship that can sometimes exist between prosecutions and

outcomes at the Crown Court – namely the extent to which particular types of offences can be subject to downgrading. Further, in some instances, cases are combined and the offender is convicted of a more serious offence, such as murder, with the rape charge ordered to remain on file (Ministry of Justice, 2013, p. 37).

In the year ending March 2015, there was an increase of 37% observed, with more than 88,000 police-recorded sexual offences; the number of rape offences increased by 41% to 29,234 offences, and the number of other sexual offences increased by 35% to 58,872 offences. Both rape and other sexual offences are at the highest level of recording since the National Crime Recording Standard (NCRS) was introduced in April of 2002.

Similarly to the U.K, sexual violence is also considered a social problem in Brazil. Data provided by the Brazilian Health Department (Cerqueira & Coelho, 2014; *Compromisso e Atitude*, 2014) indicates, for instance, that in this same year (2011), 4,871 women were raped, and that the first trimester of 2012 alone saw 5,312 cases of sexual violence (*Compromisso e Atitude*, 2014; Scarpati, 2013). In the same year, 4.4 cases of murder per hundred thousand were the result of sexual violence.

Furthermore, and according to the “10º Anuário Brasileiro da Segurança Pública” (Cerqueira & Coelho, 2014), more than 50,000 women were victims of sexual violence in 2014. It means that a woman falls prey to this form of violence every 11 minutes. The worst situation is found in Roraima, in the north of the country, where numbers suggest a figure twice as high than the national average (i.e. rate of 55.5 cases for every 100,000 people).

It goes without saying that the statistics must be viewed with caution. As pointed out previously, existing global statistics on sexual violence are shocking and controversial; more so, perhaps, when one considers that in many countries, and for a variety of well-documented reasons, huge numbers of victims simply do not disclose that they have suffered sexual violence. Cerqueira and Coelho (2014) suggest, for example, that only 10% of cases are

reported to the police and that real numbers would revolve around 500,000 offences per year. On top of this, there exists the problem of incomplete and fragmented registers. To Jewkes, Sen and Garcia-Moreno (2002), even though a considerable amount of progress has been made in studies of sexual violence, the phenomenon is a particularly delicate one, and demands specific and detailed assessment and recording solutions.

Legal Definitions

The legal definition of rape varies from one jurisdiction to another and several organisations (e.g. United Nations – UN Women) have been engaged in developing a series of recommendations with regard to rape and sexual violence. One example is the “Handbook for Legislation on Violence against Women” (United Nations, 2010), which proposes how the legislation on sexual violence should best be organised. According to the handbook, legislation needs to define sexual assault not only as a violation of someone’s body, but also as a violation of his/her autonomy and integrity. It is also suggested that all countries should: (1) replace the existing offences of rape and “indecent” assault, with a broader offence of sexual assault with degrees of gravity based on the inflicted harm; (2) consider the age of the survivor, his or her relationship with the perpetrator, the use or threat of violence, whether or not there are multiple perpetrators, the severity of any physical or mental consequences of the assault; and to (3) remove any requirement of evidence of force or violence, or proof of penetration. Additionally, the legislation should be created and applied in such a way as to (1) minimise any chance of the victim’s secondary victimisation, and (2) reject, as a defence, the fact of any pre-existing relationship between the victim and the perpetrator (i.e. in an “acquaintance”, “date” or “marital” rape; WHO, 2002).

In U.K law, the relevant legislation can be found in the Sexual Offences Act 2003. This legislation was intended to update the law relating to sexual violence and covers all offences

committed against different categories of people (adults, children, sufferers of a mental disability, etc.). For the purpose of this discussion, however, only the first four sections – related offences perpetrated against adults – will be covered here:

Section One – Rape: according to English law, the elements of rape are satisfied when: “Person (A) intentionally penetrates the vagina, anus or mouth of another person (B) with his penis; (B) does not consent to the penetration, and (A) does not reasonably believe that (B) consents.” Per this legislation, then, it is possible to see that (1) only men can commit rape, and (2) it is considered a crime of basic intent with no defence to the allegation of drunkenness.

Section Two – Assault by penetration: in contrast with the language of S.1, here there is a possibility of either gender acting as the perpetrator. Here, the absence of the mouth as a body part capable of being penetrated should be noted. Thus, an offence is considered assault by penetration when (A) intentionally penetrates the vagina or anus of another person (B) with a part of their body or anything else: the penetration is sexual; (B) does not consent to that penetration; and (A) does not reasonably believe that (B) consents.

Section Three – Sexual assault: as with assault by penetration, both genders may be charged under this section, and the offence occurs where (A) intentionally touches another person (B); the touching is sexual; (B) does not consent to that touching, and (A) does not reasonably believe that (B) consents.

Section Four – Sexual activity without consent: the last section concerns offences which have been committed against adults, and presents the legal definition (and the attendant penalties) of causing sexual activity without the person’s consent. This offence requires that “(A) intentionally causes (B) to engage in activity; the activity is sexual; (B) does not consent to engaging in the activity; and (A) does not reasonably believe that (B) consents”. A S.4 offence can be seen to have taken place when, for example, a person is forced to masturbate an offender. In relation to that, it is worth to notice that the offence of “burglary with intent to

rape” was replaced by the offence of “trespassing with intent to commit a sexual offence” contrary to S.63 of The Sexual Offences Act 2003.

It is noteworthy that the U.K legislation initially defined rape as: someone (male or female), having sexual intercourse (vaginal or anal) with a person, who at the time does not (or cannot) consent to it (Rehabilitation of Offenders Act, 1974). The current legislation, however, has expanded upon this definition, and now defines rape as having occurred when a man intentionally penetrates, without consent, and with his penis, vagina anus or mouth of another. There exists in British law, therefore, a very identifiable gender bias, as this definition of rape insists upon the presence of a biological penis; consequently, only a man can be the perpetrator (Fisher & Pina, 2013).

In Brazil, however, men and women can be both the perpetrators and the victims of rape. According to the current legislation – approved in Law No. 12.015, Article 213 – rape is committed when someone (man or woman) coerces, with violence or serious threat, a man or woman, to have sexual intercourse (with them, or with a third party). As per this legislation, sexual offences occur when offenders employ different strategies to limit or nullify an individual’s free will (e.g. by force, intimidation, coercion, blackmail, bribes, manipulation, threats) in order to compel the victim to maintain and/or participate in sexual contact. It is also considered sexual violence if the offender coerces the victim to perform any of these acts with a third party.

The punishment is imprisonment between 6 and 10 years, though a sentence may be extended if certain aggravating factors are present. Thus, if the contact results in bodily injury of a serious nature, or the victim is aged between 14 and 18 years, the sentence will increase to between 8 and 12 years; if the contact results in death, the penalty starts at 12 years, and can reach up to 30 (Brasil, 2009). It is important to note, however, that despite those differences a significant and common notion among different legislations is that of consent, and is generally

understood as the uncompromised capability of the individual to elect either to engage in, or abstain from, sexual contact. For example, a person may allow a sexual connection without truly consenting to it, if they have been coerced (physically or emotionally forced; intoxicated) and for this reason, the specific circumstances may be minutely examined during the prosecution (Sexual Offences Act, 2003).

Putting Things Together: Discussing Sexual Violence through Cultural Lens

Culture, like violence, is a tremendously complex concept to understand, consisting of many different facets. Some authors understand culture to be “learned habits” (Tylor, 1964) or learned rules, meanings and behaviours (Jahoda, 1984) transmitted through the generations (Rohner, 1984). Others consider culture as an organised system of shared symbols (Geertz, 1975) and patterns of behaviour, transmitted through symbolical interactions (Kroeber & Kluckhohn, 1952; for a review, see Matsumoto, 2006).

These kindred but diverse concepts perhaps only hint at the complexity of the subject. Nevertheless, it is certainly the case that individual and group behaviours are highly influenced by cultural and societal norms as each society creates a particular set of rules by which its members might structure their lives and predict the consequences of a departure from those rules (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiotis, & Sam, 2011).

Social rules (or norms) vary widely and because of that, an acceptable behaviour in one social group or culture might not be tolerated in another. Within these are, for example, rules regarding ordinary daily situations, such as rules about sexual contact between men and women (Miller, 2014). They become part of the social structure, and play an important role in helping people, not only to relate to each other in an acceptable way, but also to define the limits of that relationship (Miller, 2014; Rozee, 1993).

It is important to note, however, that people are affected by their surrounding context in different ways. Not all members of one group will, then, observe the cultural prescriptions and/or interpret them idiosyncratically: “Cultural patterns are dynamic, full of tension and vary over time” (Berry et al., 2011, pp. 4–5). In line with that, and thinking specifically about sexual violence perpetration, Cowan and Campbell (1995) comment that the true comprehension of the phenomenon requires a full understanding of different cultural contexts, gender roles, socio-economic context, stereotypes, individual characteristics and so on.

According to these authors, this offence cannot be treated as an isolated problem and this is the main reason why any attempt to fully understand and explain this phenomenon should take into account both the individual mind and the diverse aspects of social interaction (Berry et al., 2011). Berry et al. (2011) further comment that researchers’ understanding of what constitutes violence has been changing recently, with modern debate claiming that violence is neither the result of individual moral failure, nor indeed of poor mental health, but is instead the combined product of social forces and/or psychological imbalance. According to this perspective, the main point is not to investigate the incidence of rape in different societies because of individuals’ psychological problems, but rather why, when it does occur, it is either justified or condemned by them.

It is also important to consider that these cultural rules seem to be even more evident in some situations than others. For instance, the sexual violence that occurs in the domestic setting and the sexual violence committed by a stranger against a woman walking down the street are not evaluated in the same way. This disparity stresses the complexity of the phenomenon, and the importance of recognising the existence of the dynamics of power, the historical context, and the inescapable inequality in people’s lives. This is one of the foremost reasons why it is so important to identify first what the societal norms are, and then the extent to which they promote or discourage violent behaviour (WHO, 2002).

As stressed by Rozee (1993, p. 511): “Legal sanctions against rape are simply the first step in changing social norms. Until there are real changes in gender relations and attitude, legal sanctions will be ineffective in all but the most extreme cases”. In a number of countries, for example, the use of violence by a husband to essentially “control” his wife has been considered to be almost part of their relationship and thus not particularly deserving of condemnation:

[...] traditional beliefs that men have a right to control and discipline women through physical means, make women vulnerable to violence by intimate partners, and places girls at risk of sexual abuse. Equally cultural acceptance of violence, including sexual violence, as a private affair and is outside intervention and prevents those affected in speaking out in gaining support. In many societies, victims of sexual violence also feel stigmatized, which inhibits reporting. (WHO, 2002, p. 4)

These shared norms affect not only the offender’s behaviour, but also the victim’s interpretation of the violence (who may start to believe that they were somehow deserving of their ordeal), as well as people’s (not directly involved in the situation) judgement of it. For example, those in authority, and even healthcare professionals, blaming the victims, trivialising their experience, questioning their credibility and speculating as to what they have done to “deserve” the violence meted out to them.

Those women who capitulate are rewarded with benevolent societal or institutional care, whereas those who do not conform face the consequences (i.e. being considered, at least partially, responsible for their own victimisation) of departing from their expected roles (Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Koepke, Eyssel, & Bohner, 2014). After manipulating participants’ exposure to vignettes describing a case of acquaintance rape, Viki and Abrams (2002) have found, for example, that more blame was attributed to the adulterous “married

mother” in comparison to the “control” condition (i.e., in control condition participants were given no descriptive information about the victim) mainly for those participants who scored high in benevolent sexism.

Indeed, many studies have examined victim blaming in rape cases and this is, itself, a rather extensive area of investigation. Generally speaking, findings suggest that even elements such as who initiated the date, who has paid for the date, her outfit, victim characteristics, degree of resistance exhibited, and victim-perpetrator relationship, as well as myth acceptance in relation to rape victim blame (Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014), “are related to heightened perceptions of a woman’s willingness to have sex and increased justifiability of forced intercourse” (Marx, Van Wie & Gross, 1996, p. 33). That is, the judgements and expectations around men and women’s sexual encounters may contribute to the perpetuation of violence (Miller, 2014), and make women simultaneously more vulnerable to sexual offences, and less likely to receive societal support. Nonetheless, it is not within the scope of this thesis to cover all complex variables which play a role in this process (see Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Siebler & Viki, 2009; Grubb & Harrower, 2008; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Hayes, Lorenz & Bell, 2013; Lambert & Raichle, 2000; Strömwall, Landström & Alfredsson, 2014; van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014; and Suarez & Gadalla, 2010 for a review regarding this matter).

Gender Roles and Women’s Victimization

Violence is a product of different forces, and while some are directly related to the abusive male himself, others refer to a cultural context that provides the scripts for how people ought to behave in relation to their sexuality (viz., the relative expectations of the gender roles) (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). To Vandello and Cohen (2003), both men and women contribute to

the perpetuation of violence by accepting and sharing all these different rules that reinforce “the view that men can sometimes use violence and women should sometimes tolerate it” (p. 1008).

The salience of discourses about “normal” gender behaviour shapes young people’s behaviour, seriously affecting the way boys and girls behave in relation to each other (Jackson & Sundaram, 2015). While young women are often taught to look, and behave in a way which is “pleasing” to the opposite gender, boys are often taught to prove their masculinities by demeaning young women from an early age. In research exploring the relationship between newer forms of computer-mediated communication and gender-linked attitudes Ogletree, Fancher and Gill (2014) comment how women everywhere have been conditioned to be forever young, always pretty – and above all, “sexy”. At the same time, they are not widely permitted to be “sexual” or to enjoy freedom of choice. Therefore, understanding the social context in which those norms take place, and the value assigned to them, is important.

For example, most societies still expect women to conform (and obey) to traditional gender roles, and not to violate the stereotype of “a good woman”. In Brazil, for example, research suggests that women are still reductively viewed as a mother and/or wife; the person responsible for the domestic activities; who is emotionally unstable, and/or someone who needs to remain beautiful in order to be accorded any value (Scarpati, 2013). For Margolis, Bezerra, and Fox (2001), these characteristics can be directly related to the Portuguese colonisation which identifies men with authority and strength and women with weakness and subservience.

This is not limited to Brazil (or roughly analogous countries) though. According to Manjoo (OHCHR, 2014), British women have long been facing a “boys’ club” culture of sexism and some of the messages being sent to boys/men are just as limiting and restrictive: “be macho, be strong, and don’t show your emotions”. According to Abbot (2013), in their own ways, British men may have been rewarded for their lack of respect for women’s

autonomy. This author further argues that men are mostly educated – to a greater or lesser extent – to be more independent, powerful, strong, tough and generally more self-reliant than women. Moreover, there is a robust belief that men have little control over their sexual desires and should, in fact, behave in such a way as to obviate any signs of weakness, vulnerability or emotional lack of control.

These “norms” seem not only to shape their relationships with both women and other men, but also to affect their self-esteem. Reidy, Berke, Gentile and Zeichner (2014) investigated, for example, the effect of masculine discrepancy stress (i.e., a form of distress which arises from males perceived failure to conform to socially-prescribed gender role norms) on intimate partner violence and found that men who experience some conflict with their masculinity are more likely to behave in a way that bolsters their status and their self-esteem – often manifesting as some form of violent behaviour. In a similar direction, recent research conducted by “YouGov” (Dahlgreen, 2016) revealed that British men find it difficult to talk to friends about their personal issues; and that men who consider themselves as highly masculine are more likely to have had a physical fight than those who do not think of themselves that way. After interviewing 19 violent men in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and in line with the above, Nascimento et al. (2009) found that “no respect” means no manhood. These authors further stress that in Brazil being “a real man” means being faster, stronger, tougher and/or richer than other males. And, more importantly, it means being sexually active, virile and heterosexual.

To Vandello and Cohen (2003), the problem is that the endorsement of some of these elements can often result in the use of violence in order to protect someone’s self, and/or their family’s reputation, as honour codes play a really important role in Brazilian culture. As previously mentioned, even though the U.K is not considered an honour culture, other aspects seem to contribute to the increasing rates of sexually violent cases in this country. Researchers

discuss the so-called lad culture and the negative effects of some of the values, attitudes and practices shared among male British students (see Jackson & Sundaram, 2015).

According to Jackson and Sundaram (2015), the combination of nights out, excessive drinking and peer pressure promotes an environment wherein men are encouraged to be aggressive. At the same time, in this context, those who have been victimised might not even realise that the unsolicited sexual advance was, in fact, violence, as they are uncertain about what constitutes rape. Others, on the other hand, although able to recognise it, might be understandably reluctant to self-identify as someone who fits the stereotype of the victim of a sexual offence.

As pointed out by Marx et al. (1996, p. 31), “if a victimized woman views the incident as her fault, or believes that her partner was so aroused that he could not control himself, she may be less likely to conceptualise herself as a victim of rape”. In addition, Muerlenhard and Kimes (1999) comment that women may be reluctant to label their experiences due to a deep-seated fear of losing control; thus, as a “coping mechanism” they may choose to interpret their experiences differently. This allows them to preserve a positive image of themselves, and to maintain an illusion of control by sustaining the belief that, by changing their behaviour, they can prevent any further exposures to sexual violence (Bohner, Weisbrod, Raymond, Barzvi, & Schwarz, 1993). In other words, both men and women are educated to either accept, or perform various forms of dominance and, sometimes, to naturalise the discrimination to which they are exposed.

Although there are some elements which seem to be similar among cultures, when it comes to sexual violence perpetration, the very specific and unique variables should be accounted for (i.e. machismo, lad culture). As discussed by Ryan (2004) in a literature review regarding those cognitions which may affect men’s desire to rape, variables such as attitudes and beliefs about sex, rape-supportive beliefs, sexual scripts, and beliefs about appropriate

masculinity often work in a way that provides men with the justifications they need to sexually offend. They can, for example, simultaneously suggest women's complicity, and give men a sense of entitlement that aids in the planning and preparation for sexual offending. Beliefs and values regarding sexual contact, gender norms, etc., help people to understand the expectations regarding their behaviour, and define what sexual violence is (and what is not). More importantly, they may serve to maintain and justify men's dominance, and to enable them to sexually offend (Sundaram & Sauntson, 2016; McCarry, 2010). Therefore, the discussion of sexual violence perpetration and/or victimisation cannot be considered independent of the socio-cultural and historic context of gender in which it takes place (Lima & Deslandes, 2014).

Conclusion

The understanding of sexual violence perpetration is complex and calls for a multifactorial approach, as the behaviour seems to be the final product of a complex arrangement of different factors. Nevertheless, due to ethical constraints, this phenomenon cannot be investigated via realistic analogue studies in a laboratory, and the specific roles these factors may play, in moderating or mediating the final behaviour, remain unclear.

In addition to that, even though social psychologists have consistently emphasised the importance of socio-cultural cues in the expression of aggressive behaviours, little attention has been paid to examining them (Thomas, 2009). Instead, as previously discussed, most authors have been dedicating themselves to the investigation of males' distorted cognitions and their effects on their likelihood to commit rape, as well as their prejudices, emotions and past experiences (see Bohner et al., 2009 and Ó Ciardha & Ward, 2013). What has been overlooked, however, is that any individual tendency is rooted in, and influenced by the context within which they occur.

Drawing from that, with this thesis I argue that socio cultural forces may work, in the context of sexual violence, as inhibitors or agents of those pre-existing propensities. Therefore, examining someone's behaviour and/or tendencies would only make sense if the environment is also considered. By the same token, cultures cannot be understood while ignoring individuals' minds, as both social practices (e.g., norms) and institutions (e.g., religion) are, to some extent, the effect of humans' minds and own particularities. In researching how diverse social contexts influence beliefs about moral principles, Carnes, Lickel, and Janoff-Bulman (2015) discussed how individuals are sensitive to social cues/context, as social information will provide the pillars to their behavioural evaluation and choice in a situation. That is, how they affect and are affected by each other. As suggested by Berry et al. (2011), they can be either an antecedent, or a consequence of people's behaviour, or both.

Understanding how one's culture/group interprets some forms of behaviour – and whether they consider it violence or not – will determine if the act is going to be considered (or not) a crime by a particular jurisdiction (e.g. marital rape is not defined in the legislation of some countries). More importantly, individuals will be able to recognise themselves as either offenders or victims of that offence.

In line with the above, I posit that social context exerts a powerful and unique influence in the perpetration of sexual violence, as the social acceptance of certain norms might increase men's likelihood to engage in sexual aggression. As stated by Ryan (2004, p. 598), men "are not born rapists": rather, rape is the result of a complex process whereby some men acquire a battery of strategies (e.g. the atmosphere of a party, the known effects of alcohol and drugs, a victim's feelings of isolation, physical and emotional coercion, etc.) to neutralise a woman's resistance. In other words, patriarchal societies have been teaching men, not just what is effective or ineffective in terms of violent behaviour, but also how to behave in order to obviate

their responsibility for the aggression. As a result, the idea of consent seems to be flexible and capable of being manipulated into what is expedient for the perpetrator (Rozee, 1993).

As suggested by Hall, Howard, and Boezio (1986), although almost no one approves of rape, or any other form of violence against women, people differ in their levels of disapproval. After presenting participants with measures of attitudes towards heterosexual relationships and attitudes towards rape, these authors argued that whereas some condemn rape under all circumstances, some might argue that, in certain situations, male sexually aggressive behaviours are understandable. Furthermore, depending on the target group and the circumstances, rape might even be desirable (Hall, Howard, & Boezio, 1986).

Following from this perspective, the primary goal of this chapter was to explore how socio-cultural beliefs and practices might influence the perpetration of sexual violence, and to examine the problem of sexual violence perpetration in two different cultures. It becomes clear that, although vastly different, Brazil and the U.K experience similar rates of sexual violence against women; and this commonality might be primarily due to cultural norms surrounding gender relations and responsibilities. As outlined by Cowan and Campbell (1995, p. 45), sexual violence is not an isolated problem, but rather, “an expression of a larger cultural phenomenon in which women are seen as subordinate and sexual coercion is accepted” (p. 45). Therefore, any efforts to put an end to sexual offences committed against women should consider such social and cultural norms as a key factor in this process.

CHAPTER TWO

Cultural and moral dimensions of sexual aggression: The role of moral disengagement in men's likelihood to sexually aggress

Introduction

Sexual violence remains a major social problem around the globe (Jewkes, Sen, & GarciaMoreno, 2002; Zwi, Garfield, & Loretto, 2002), and since 1981 a significant body of work have been dedicated to investigating possible pathologies, as well as the psychological mechanisms that underlie the propensity of the individual to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours (Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum, & Effler, 1998; Durán, Moya, & Megias, 2016; Malamuth, 1981). Research has stressed, for example: the importance of attitudes towards sexual aggression; attributions of power/domination, previous experience as a sexual aggressor (Thomas, 2009); the endorsement of rape myths, and individuals' degree of sexist attitudes, in the perpetration of sexual violence globally (Abrams et al., 2003; Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2009; Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006; Romero-Sánchez, Durán, Carretero-Dios, & Moya, 2010; Viki, Chiroro & Adams, 2006).

Although this previous research is certainly important – and welcome – it often overlooks how violence can be embedded in cultures (Vandello & Cohen, 2003) and that in most cases, the pathology does not lie with the aggressor/offender, but with society as a whole (Vecina, Marzana, & Paruzel-Czachura, 2015). As pointed out by Vecina, Marzana and Paruzel-Czachura (2015, p.121) "(...) it is tempting to explain violence by resorting to pathology", especially if the actions are seen as highly immoral and/or are considered to be of serious nature (e.g., murders, assault or rape). Nonetheless, this might not always be the case.

Authors have maintained, for example, that offenders may have strong (but potentially distorted) moral beliefs that serve to blur the lines between offensive and non-offensive behaviours (Baron & Straus, 1989; Jankowski, Johnson, Damron, & Smischney, 2011). In reflecting about this topic, Langton (2009) posits that distorted thoughts and cognitions surrounding the act (e.g. "If I desire to do this then she also must desire to do this") can help individuals morally disengage from any kind of personal and social censure.

More recent research has in fact suggested that sexually violent men do not lack in self-control, do not have fundamentally negative moral standards and are not necessarily driven by clinical pathologies (Vecina, Marzana, & Paruzel-Czachura, 2015): indeed, they tend to present a strong sense of moral belief and self-concept. Specifically, in examining the recent empirical work on domestic violence, Vecina, Marzana, and Paruzel-Czachura (2015, p.120) comment that men convicted of this form of aggression present an absolutist conception "about what is right and wrong, a sacred vision of the five moral foundations, a high moral self-concept, and high levels of self-deception mediating between their extreme moral vision of the world and their high moral self-concept". Likewise, Sedikides, Meek, Alicke and Taylor (2014) noted that sexual offenders' prisoners hold particularly positive views about their moral standards, rating themselves as more moral, kind, compassionate, generous, trustworthy and honest than both other prisoners and community members. In other words, the use of force by men for the purpose of sexual conquest, and the cognitive strategies adopted (e.g., moral disengagement, moral absolutism), may increase the perception that sexual violence is justifiable, and result in a culture of tolerance. It could be argued, therefore, that men who sexually offend might simply be uninhibited by the moral consequences of their behaviours as they can find the elements they need (i.e., social norms) to reaffirm the rightness of their moral values and self-concept.

As noted by Bandura (1986), moral disengagement strategies might be embodied within rape myths, thereby allowing individuals to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours, without

any threat to their moral self-worth (Page & Pina, 2015). In addition to this discussion, Shaw, Quezada and Zárate (2011) discuss how moral licensing effect (i.e., increasing one's moral certainty) may affect individuals' concerns about the moral consequences of a violent warfare. Thus, drawing attention to how morality, as a concept, may be relevant to the understanding of different forms of violence; including the ones in the sexual domain.

Nonetheless, topics such as victim blaming have largely neglected the moral domain in their discussion. Some notable exceptions are the works of Henry, Ward, and Hirshberg (2004) on how these mechanisms may facilitate rape perpetration in the context of war or other violent conflict; Page's (2015) doctoral thesis and consequent publications on moral disengagement and sexual harassment (e.g. Page & Pina, 2015; Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015); and Carroll's work (2009) on rape-supportive attitudes among young males belonging to college fraternities. It is worthy of note, however, that the field lacks a comprehensive consideration of how these strategies might serve to blame the victim and exonerate the rapist (Page, 2015): or, more specifically, how they might increase – or decrease – rape proclivity.

Thus, in this chapter, a preliminary conceptualisation of how Bandura's framework might help explain individuals' engagement in – and justification of – sexual aggression is introduced. Through a narrative review (Grant & Booth, 2009), I explore the idea that some social norms, and moral values endorsed in different societies, may exert a powerful influence in the perpetration of sexual violence (Carnes, Lickel, & Janoff-Bulman, 2015) as they may serve to make sexually violent behaviours morally justifiable (e.g., the normative belief that men ought to behave in certain way towards women to prove themselves as 'real men'). More specifically, I aim to discuss how individuals might apply different moral disengagement strategies in order to obviate – either before or after the event – the consequences of their engagement in sexually aggressive behaviours.

About Morality and Moral Behaviour

In etymological terms, the word 'moral' derives from the Latin '*moralis*' which itself comes from '*mos*' meaning 'custom or convention' (Lewis & Short, 1879). No single definition, however, seems adequate to encapsulate what precisely is meant by 'morality'. Although, for philosophers, the study of morality dates back many years, it is only relatively recently that psychologists have started to dedicate themselves to this topic (Giner-Sorolla, 2012). As a result, there is still no consensus around this topic, and several authors have attempted to develop a theoretical approach to explain the moral domain (see Cameron, Lindquist, & Gray, 2015 for review).

Piaget (1932) and Kohlberg (1981), two of the first authors to scrutinise this area, consider the moral domain to be universal, with moral development identified as common to all individuals – in all cultures – and principally concerned with the principles of fairness, justice, and protection from harm. Other writers (Chiu, Dweck, Tong, & Fu, 1997; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997) adopt a more relativist approach, and propose that Western cultural codes cannot describe the moral domain of all societies, and that this domain has in fact a broader compass than simple ideas of justice, and the avoidance of harm. From this perspective, there is no single moral standard, and although every culture has a moral system at its core, the content may vary considerably from one to another.

Shweder (1990; Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park 1997) adds to this discussion with the proposal that morality can be explained by three different ethics, all of which have distinct characteristics, but ultimately relate to each other, and contribute to the way society works. According to him, these ethics (also known as codes or domains) coexist in the same culture, but vary in their emphasis, as a result of the relative strengths of different institutions of moral

authority (most often the church, or the family unit) and the propensity of the individual to value tradition, and conform to social norms.

The first ethic – that of autonomy – is often considered the foundation of morality (Shweder, 1990). As briefly mentioned in Chapter 01, it includes those values relating to the prevention of harm, the maintenance of justice, and respect for human rights, and seems to be particularly pertinent to those individuals in individualistic cultures (e.g., United Kingdom, United States of America). As the terminology suggests, here, the emphasis is placed on the individual, and upon their self-centred goals, personal initiative, independence, power, and achievement. In this context, the individual's personal integrity, their freedoms and rights, must be preserved at all costs, and society should not condemn someone's acts if there exists no proof that the behaviour has caused physical or psychological harm to others (Guerra, 2008).

By contrast, the ethic of community seems to be essential to collectivist cultures (e.g., Brazil, India, and China) (Guerra, 2008). In these cultures, individuals are encouraged to do what is best for the group, rather than focusing on themselves, and the emphasis is placed on societal roles (e.g., one's gender, social position, or age) and values related to social functioning, (e.g. loyalty, deference to authority, honour and respect; Guerra, 2008). This ethic stresses that an individual should not deviate from the behaviour expected from their culture, and should not behave in a way considered offensive or disrespectful to the community – irrespective of whether harm is caused – lest the integrity of individual and in-group identities be compromised (Triandis & Suh, 2002).

The third ethic is that of divinity (Shweder, 1990). In the ethic of divinity, central values identify religiosity and spirituality as significant regulators of morality. The idea behind this code is that individuals should respect the guidelines expressed via religious authorities and texts; duties and obligations to the authority of a god, spiritual entity or natural order, spiritual reward and punishment. Furthermore, this code also places great emphasis on individuals'

sexual morality (i.e., individuals should avoid any behaviour that could cause impurity or degradation to their bodies and souls; Guerra, 2008).

Natural order is also an important element of this ethic and the concept is that individuals should act according to natural guidelines. Those cultures which endorse the divinity moral ethic are not necessarily concerned with the harm inflicted to others, but rather, with the respect for a certain way of living and behaving: engaging in a homosexual relationship, for example, or eating certain proscribed foods, might be condemned in those cultures, even though it does not cause any harm to the individual or to others. From this perspective, then, ideas of morality should also consider norms related to spiritual beliefs and societal roles, as they will be differently endorsed by individuals, communities, and societies, and will ultimately provide people with the social tools to enable them to live together (see Guerra, 2008 for review).

Certain authors (Haidt, 2001; Rodriguez-Mosquera, Fischer, & Manstead, 2004; Shweder & Menon, 2014) have started to suggest that moral judgments are essentially evaluations, either positive or negative, of someone's actions and/or character, which are based upon those values considered important by a culture. Morality would be, therefore, best understood as a set of rules, habits, and customs, based on people's sense of what is right and wrong, which helps them to define their behaviours and relationships (Hare, 2006).

Shweder and Menon (2014) further argue that morality has no objective foundation, and relies on context, as there exists no "universal authoritative standard for assessing the moral worthiness of the preferences of a person or people" (p.15). In every culture, personal and collective identity is influenced by these beliefs, values, and norms; nonetheless, different cultures emphasise different "beliefs, values and norms about how the self should relate to others" (Rodriguez-Mosquera, Fischer, & Manstead, 2004, p. 193). Therefore, any (im)moral

behaviour should be understood in relation to the specific sociocultural environment where it takes place:

(...) actions and cultural practices that are a source of moral approbation or approval in one community are frequently the source of moral opprobrium or disapproval in another, and disagreements about what is good or bad, right or wrong, of value and not of value can persist over generations, if not centuries. (Shweder & Menon, 2014, p.6-7)

As a result of these discussions, Graham, Haidt and Nosek (2009) presented a rather more complex view of morality, with a greater focus on the content of moral principles, rather than looking at them as a form of moral obligation (Giner-Sorolla, 2012). According to these authors, autonomy would be separated into harm and fairness, whereas community and divinity would lie in what they call "the binding foundations": *viz.*, those moral foundations which, as the name suggests, bind people who live within a particular social group, or hold the same religious view (Giner-Sorolla, 2012; Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009).

To Giner-Sorolla (2012), although these accounts are certainly valid, there is still a need for those interested in the psychology of morality to "define the moral domain, so that we can agree on what thoughts, feelings, concerns and actions are related to the moral context" (p. 10). He proposes, therefore, that morality refers to "a concern that is (a) normatively placed above other concerns and (b) takes as a goal something other than one's own immediate material or sensual self-interest" (p.18); justifying that this definition fits well with empirical studies of contribution of morality to social and group-related attitudes.

Moreover, in line with Haidt's (2007) proposal, Giner-Sorolla (2012) stresses that some moral values might be universal, while others vary across cultures; and that morality is rooted in concerns about living with other people (i.e., relationships, but also in larger groups). As

Jordan, Leliveld and Tenbrunsel (2015) noticed, even though individuals may differ in the extent they vary on how they value their moral selves, they generally present a common desire to be moral; at least in terms of their own self-perceptions of such morality. That is, morality dominates not only the impressions people form of others, but also determining the way they see themselves.

Writing on this topic, Giner-Sorolla (2012) further comments that, broadly speaking, there can be three possible views of what constitutes the moral realm; the first (morality as mores) takes a very broad view of morality, and it is based purely on descriptive premises, whereas the second (morality as a single concern) "confines morality to a specific class of norms about just and benevolent dealings with people" (p.10). Finally, the third (morality as a multiple concern) simultaneously expands "the range of morality to cover multiple concerns, while drawing a distinction between moral and other types of prescriptive norms" (p.10-11).

Nevertheless, the existence of moral values is not always sufficient to restrain individuals from the commitment of detrimental conduct, as they do not function as fixed internal regulators of behaviour; in fact, they only operate if activated (Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti, & Caprara, 2008; Page, 2015). As discussed by Carroll (2009) and Page and Pina (2015), for example, people often disengage from moral self-regulation when engaging in detrimental conduct, by creating their own version of reality and by examining the content of morality and its relationship with personal and cultural values (Guerra, 2008). As a result, detrimental conduct becomes socially and morally acceptable, and thus can be experienced largely without self-reproach. The psychosocial strategies collectively known as the mechanisms of 'moral disengagement' are presented below.

Moral Disengagement and Sexual Violence Perpetration

According to Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory (Bandura, 1986, 1990, 1996, 1999) individuals can disengage from their moral standards and self-sanctions through various psychosocial mechanisms, thus enabling them to engage in harmful and/or immoral behaviour without incurring self-censure. In other words, it is through moral disengagement, that individuals reconstruct injurious acts by convincing themselves either that moral principles do not apply to them, or that they are irrelevant in that specific context.

As discussed by Bandura (1986), multiple strategies of moral disengagement can be used simultaneously and the more frequent one's use of them, the more available and crystallized they become. Due to that, Richmond and Wilson (2008) argue that aggression inhibitors may become completely overridden over time. As a result, self-censure is reduced, deviant behaviour is indulged in, and even those with apparently high moral standards become able to behave reprehensibly towards others without any negative consequences on their self-image.

In line with the above, Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger (2015) comments that individuals who are able to easily morally disengage, experience little guilt at their injurious conduct; they are less prosocial and less adept at avoiding peer pressure to commit transgressions (Paciello et al., 2008). In fact, there is research which suggests that moral disengagement strategies might play an important role in various forms of aggressive behaviour (e.g., Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Leidner, Castano, Zaiser, & Giner-Sorolla, 2010; Shu, Gino, & Bazerman, 2011).

One set of moral disengagement mechanisms works to deny that a moral fault exists. To reinterpret the act committed in such a way as to make it appear benign and inoffensive (thereby reducing feelings of culpability), offenders might: (a) reframe the act by the use of euphemistic language (e.g. naming street harassment as 'flirtation' or 'bit of fun'); (b) find

justification for their aggressive behaviour in the moral foundations of their culture (moral justification); and/or (c) favourably compare their own behaviour with that widely considered more offensive (advantageous comparison) in order to avoid self-censure. More directly, offenders could use other means to minimize the appearance of harm done, (d) disregard or distortion of consequences. Given a situation of sexual harassment, individuals may undermine the seriousness of mild acts of harassment (e.g., making sexual comments to a female co-worker) by comparing them to more egregious behaviour (e.g., physical attempts at sexual touching), for example (Bandura, 1986; Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015).

Another set of moral disengagement mechanisms blurs the distinction between moral roles by transferring responsibility for the wrong to the victim, (e) attribution of blame (Page & Pina, 2015; Richmond & Wilson, 2008). Thus, the offender becomes the victim and the victim – who appears as someone not actually suffering from the consequences of the act – is assigned responsibility for what happened. In the context of date rape, or rape where alcohol is involved, offenders might question the victim's behaviour (e.g. she was drunk, she provoked it, she did not ask me to stop, etc.), thus undermining her credibility and reducing the acuity of the consequences of the offence (Grubb & Turner, 2012).

Again, in so doing, the individual's perception is affected by the behaviour of the person with whom they have compared themselves, to the point where they are convinced of their relative benevolence (Carroll, 2009). Page and Pina (2015) further suggest that this mechanism allows the offender to claim that the victim, and others, have misperceived their actions, resulting in a greater approval of their behaviour.

Thinking of other forms of sexual violence, mechanisms such as (f) displacement or (g) diffusion of responsibility may be playing a pivotal role in the justification of perpetration. The former operates by enabling the person to obscure or minimize their sense of personal agency in an offence by attributing their actions to others; whereas the latter sees a reduction in the

individual's sense of personal agency for detrimental conduct, by the diffusion of their responsibility with others. Both mechanisms enable the offender(s) to view themselves as being personally not responsible for the act committed (Carroll, 2009; Richmond, & Wilson, 2008). In the case of a gang rape, for example, the harmful behaviour carried out can either be largely attributed to others, or at the very least viewed as something the responsibility for which is shared between all the participants (Bandura, 1996; Carroll, 2009).

Another important element which has been shown to contribute to sexual violence perpetration revolves around the (h) dehumanization of the victim. Essentially, a person is dehumanized when others – either explicitly or implicitly – view them as being somehow lacking in positive human attributes (e.g., warmth, morality, and competence) by: (h1) drawing parallels with animals (animalistic dehumanization) or (h2) by treating them as objects (mechanistic/object-like dehumanization; Carroll, 2009; Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014; Page & Pina, 2015).

Thinking specifically about women as targets of dehumanization, authors (Giffin, 1994; Ortner, 1974; Page & Pina, 2015; Reynolds & Haslam, 2011) highlight that this group have historically been viewed as more readily comparable to animals than men, inasmuch as it was believed that they were largely governed by their hormones and emotions, and would therefore not be in control of their bodies. Moreover, researchers (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Langton, 2009) have long argued that sexual objectification constitutes a form of dehumanization, as sexualized women are also, at a basic and automatic level, processed visually as objects (Haslam & Loughnan, 2014). It occurs when a woman's body is no longer viewed as a complete entity; rather, her body parts or sexual function are considered as separate from her as a person, and she is reduced to the status of 'mere instrument' (Fredrickson & Roberts, 1997).

In other words, sexual objectification is a type of appearance-focus, mainly concentrated on women's sexual body parts and affects both the perception of someone's

agency (i.e., capacity of act, plan and exert self-control) and experience (i.e., capacity to feel pain, pleasure and emotions). Similarly to animalistic-dehumanization, this process causes people to strip women of their humanness, rendering them object-like (Gervais, DiLillo, & McChargue, 2014; Gray, Knobe, Sheskin, Bloom, & Barret, 2011; Haslam & Loughnan, 2014; Langton, 2009; Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014). As discussed by Morris, Goldenberg, and Heflick (2014), an emphasis on women's appearance might be an efficient way to dehumanize them (Gray, Knobe, Sheskin, Bloom, & Barret, 2011; Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014).

According to Vance, Sutter, Perrin and Heesacker (2015), when sexual objectification becomes commonplace, a cultural climate of rape acceptance may be created:

Individual differences and aggressiveness interact with the presence of violent stimuli in the elicitation of related aggressive thoughts, emotional states, actions, and tendencies. Therefore, it is possible that highly aggressive people may manifest aggressive responses to violent cues more than less aggressive people through distorted conditions. (Richmond & Wilson, 2008, p. 355)

In accordance, prior research has found that negative perceptions and lessened moral treatment of women can lead to more extreme acts of violence (Loughnan, Pina, Vasquez, & Puvia, 2013; Rudman & Mescher, 2012). For example, after manipulating objectification (by presenting participants with either a sexualized or non-sexualized woman), Loughnan et al. (2013) found that men who implicitly associate women with objects (through a denial of mental states and moral concern) were more likely, not only to perpetrate sexual aggression, but also to deny their suffering and ascribe to them the responsibility for violence suffered.

Are there Social Norms that Make the Perpetration of Sexual Violence Morally Justifiable?

Human beings are fundamentally social creatures (Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiostis, & Sam, 2011; Guerra, 2008) and throughout their lives they become members of different groups (e.g. social class, family, etc.). These groups provide a sense of belonging to the social world, constituting an important element to self-image and relationships. They also guarantee community survival, as they inform individuals about shared ethics, norms and values individuals should follow and/or endorse (Tajfel, 1979).

As previously mentioned, these norms and rules of behaviour instruct individuals as to what is and what is not acceptable within a particular culture. They also offer social standards of what constitutes appropriate (and inappropriate) behaviour and, while it is certainly the case that people establish different relationships with their surrounding environment, most societies agree about the things they consider to be 'right', 'good', and 'worthy' for their members (see Sverdlik, Roccas, & Sagiv, 2012). Aspects such as religion, sex, language, gender norms, moral values, social knowledge, and even clothing or food, are simply a handful of examples of things that individuals internalize in the process of living in society. They highlight the importance of the sociocultural environment surrounding people since the time of their birth to the time of their full development (Guerra, 2008).

These rules persist as the result of in-group and/or out-group pressures to conform; the individual's own expectations regarding the behaviour of their peers; and the possibility of social censure if they do not conform. In other words, the process of socialization sees individuals learn, internalize, and in some way, perpetuate these rules. This allows individuals to build a sense of social identity through the process of dividing the world into 'them' (the out-group/others) and 'us' (the in-group/individual's own group).

According to Bandura (2002), cultural norms exert powerful influences on people's moral thoughts and behaviour, and it is through the environment (and its symbolic elements) that people learn how to behave morally and shape their identities (Bandura, 2002; Vance, Sutter, Perrin, & Heesacker, 2015). These norms provide clues about the ethical content of different situations, affecting individuals' responses to all decisions they are faced with (Moore, 2015). Individuals generally use the anticipation of their actions' consequences to regulate their behaviour, and often this awareness is internalized into a general sense of right and wrong (Kallgren, Reno, & Cialdini, 2000).

Moreover, social norms work by either constraining or enabling a wide range of admissible behaviours for the members of that culture (Vecina, Chacón, & Perez-Viejo, 2016), as they inform people about what is morally approved or disapproved in a given situation, and help individuals anticipate the likelihood that their behaviour will elicit either social rewards or sanctions. Therefore, moral standards and social norms simultaneously inhibit people from behaving immorally, while assisting them in behaving humanely.

I argue, however, that there is another side of the moral domain, which has not been sufficiently explored: even though moral standards work as effective self-regulatory mechanisms, they might also provide the justifications individuals need to both (a) engage in immoral and/or harmful behaviour, as well as (b) morally disengage from the consequences of their actions (Baron & Straus, 1989; Jankowski, Johnson, Damron, & Smischne, 2011). For example, if distorted or irrational, moral standards can supply people with a sense of entitlement that indirectly legitimises the perpetration of different forms of violence, such as rape. As discussed by Moore (2009, p.43):

Once a less ethical set of practices becomes 'normalized', practices that are similar to it, and even less ethical, become normalized as well – by proxy, as it were.

In other words, if X is acceptable, then a marginally worse version of X called Y is probably acceptable as well; if Y is acceptable, then a marginally worse version of Y called Z is then probably acceptable as well; and so on.

As discussed by Ward, Gannon and Keown, (2006), the ongoing practice of cognitively restructuring immoral actions embeds practices within a normative appearance, making use of similar justifications easier. Thinking specifically in terms of sexually aggressive behaviours, for instance, D'Abreu and Krahe (2014) examined the prevalence of, and vulnerability factors for sexual aggression and victimisation in female and male Brazilian college students. Using both cross-sectional and prospective analyses, these authors found support for the assumption that the more socially accepted norms (and beliefs) that legitimise sexual violence there are, the more likely they are to affect the likelihood of men to sexually aggress.

In line with the above, research (Buchwald, Fletcher, & Roth, 2005; Sanday, 2003; Strain, Hockett, & Saucier, 2015) has suggested that the perception of others' acceptance of rape-related attitudes and behaviours, as well as the subtle integration of certain norms into society, make sexual violence easily perpetrated. In other words, rape-supportive environments increase the chances of risk of sexual violence, because its pervasiveness leads to its justification. Different authors have found, for example, that men's acceptance of other men's attempts to pressure women into unwanted sexual activity, accounts for a significant and large portion of the variance in predicting rape proclivity (see Bohner, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2010; Bohner, Siebler, & Schmelcher, 2006 cited by Strain, Hockett, & Saucier, 2015; Swartout, 2013). Similarly, Schwartz and DeKeseredy (2000) argue that peer support plays a crucial role in legitimising college men's personal attitudes about violence against women, as well as their sexually aggressive tendencies.

Further, contrary to the idea that violence is just a matter of "a few bad apples", recent literature (Jennings, Mitchell, & Hannah, 2015) suggests that even those who care about being

a moral person, are at risk of engaging in different forms of immoral, unethical or violent behaviour. Through moral disengagement, for instance, individuals are able to loosen their moral principles and to engage in unethical and/or harmful behaviour without incurring in self-sanction (Bandura, 1991, 1999).

Though not theorised by Bandura, one could even argue that invoking “binding” moral codes such as loyalty, authority or divinity is a form of moral disengagement. This is because “although the binding foundations may help groups and societies flourish, they unavoidably produce the motivation and justification necessary for people to withhold help from and even directly harm out-group members” (Smith, Aquino, Koleva, & Graham, 2014, p. 1558). That is, for some individuals, relying on those moral values may be enough to justify the perpetration of detrimental acts – to themselves and to other – while sustaining a positive view of themselves.

In summary, then, culture plays a vital role in the way individuals construct their moral self. It influences their attachments to social groups and social identities, as well as their ‘psychological contracts’ (see Jennings, Mitchell, & Hannah, 2015 for review). But more importantly, it seems to affect individuals’ perceptions of morality, and their subsequent behaviour. As stressed by Ellemers, Pagliaro and Barreto (2013, p.163), “individual behavioural choices are made in the context of moral goals shared by self-relevant social groups”. Therefore, it is about time for researchers to start exploring the implications of the moral domain for individuals’ behavioural regulation, as this context has not been systematically taken into account (Ellemers, Pagliaro, & Barreto, 2013).

Conclusion

Shared social norms – including gender norms and moral values – are the very mechanism by which researchers can both understand an individual’s own behaviours and attitudes but also, study the similarities and differences between diverse groups (Guerra, 2008). According to Vandello and Cohen (2003), however, little attention has been paid to how these norms can either trigger or inhibit episodes of violence, as well as to what might be appropriate responses to them. To Ward (2014) it is worrying that a vital aspect of human functioning is often overlooked and that “researchers tend to shy away from talk about values, especially when it comes to formulating explanations of problematic behaviours or mental states (p.139). Likewise, authors (Page & Pina, 2015; Vecina, Marzana, & Paruzel-Czachura, 2015) have noted that, even though moral disengagement strategies have been revealed to facilitate some forms of violence, and moral convictions may provide a backdrop for violent acts, very few researchers have dedicated themselves to the task of systematically investigating the relationship between morality and the commitment of sexual crimes.

Relying on the notions of norm conformity and individual behaviour, in this chapter the idea that social norms and morality could help explain sexual violence perpetration, through the lens of moral values and moral disengagement mechanisms is considered. Consistent with Berry, Poortinga, Breugelmans, Chasiostis and Sam (2011), I argue that a discussion about the relationship between social norms and the moral domain is a key element in the understanding of sexual offending, as some social norms may contrive to make sexually violent behaviours morally justifiable (e.g., the normative belief that men ought to behave in certain way towards women in order to prove themselves as “real men”). This is because although considered fundamental for anyone wishing to live effectively within a group, the existence of some rules,

and endorsement of some moral values, may in fact be used to legitimise harmful behaviours while allowing people to live in accordance with their moral standards (Paciello et al., 2008).

That is, when individuals are nurtured in a culture which provides them with the justifications they need to blame the victim, moral disengagement mechanisms may not only be easily accessible and applicable, but may also encourage the occurrence of sexual violence by cognitively distorting the moral repercussions around it (Carnes, Lickel, & Janoff-Bulman, 2015). In addition, individuals might apply different moral disengagement strategies in order to obviate – either prior to or after the event – the ramifications of their engagement in sexually aggressive behaviours.

As discussed by different researchers, people constantly strive to maintain a positive self-concept (both privately and publicly; Jennings, Mitchell, & Hannah, 2015; Jordan, Leliveld, & Tenbrunsel, 2015); and in fact, most individuals believe they are virtuous, just and moral (Tappin & McKay, 2017). More importantly, they believe themselves to be more just, virtuous, and moral than others. Thus, due to the importance assigned to moral goals – and moral self-views – they tend to either: (a) behave in a certain way that enhances and sustains their ‘moral status’ or, (b) they may simply cognitively reframe their construal of the world in order to favour themselves, for example (see Ellemers, Pagliaro, & Barreto, 2013; Monin & Jordan, 2009; Vecina, Marzana, & Paruzel-Czachura, 2015).

Furthermore, understanding the process of the moral domain (i.e., moral values, moral disengagement strategies) serves to enrich the comprehension of the self-regulatory processes underlying sexual perpetration. More specifically, and in accordance to previous research (see Page & Pina, 2015), I speculate that if some men consistently and gradually apply the self-regulatory process of moral disengagement, they are thereby able to eliminate cognitive dissonance. This way, the conflict arising from the desire to sexually offend and the need to

behave in accordance to moral principles is subdued, sexual offences are facilitated, and – more importantly, may become almost easily justifiable over time.

To conclude, then, the main objective of this chapter was to shed light onto what it was considered be an important gap in the literature. More specifically, I aimed to propose a new approach to the issue of sexually aggressive behaviours, and to extend the existing theoretical frameworks of sexual violence perpetration. More important than finding one variable that works as a predictor of individuals' rape proclivity, is an overall appreciation of how variables relate to each other in bringing about offending behaviour, and then examining further possible ways to counteract it. After all, as discussed by Ward (2014, p.140) "individuals' experiences, values and beliefs should be a priority and we ought not to regard this level of analysis as unworthy of research".

CHAPTER THREE

Have we really moved forward? Exploring men's ideas of sociocultural norms and masculinity in Brazil and the U.K.

Introduction

Social norms are the explicit or implicit rules that reflect the way a particular culture organises itself (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Cialdini & Trost, 1998). They encompass a diverse number of factors ranging from simple rules of conduct (e.g., kissing someone's face when greeting) to more complex elements of social human interaction (e.g., moral judgment and/or behaviour). As synthesized by Mackie, Moneti, Shakya & Denny (2015), social norms represent individuals' beliefs about what others *do*, but also about what they think that *they should be doing* (i.e., their expectations) in order to adequately live in society.

These norms only exist because of the reciprocal expectations among those who are part of the reference group (Mackie, et al., 2015). They inform people about the social sanctions that will be applied to those who do not conform; this means that a social norm can persist – and influence individuals' behaviour – even for those who would rather not follow it (Cialdini, Kallgren, & Reno, 1991; Cialdini & Trost, 1998). Some women, for example, may not want to wear a white wedding gown when getting married but, knowing the expectations surrounding this event, might do so to avoid any form of social admonishment. In a similar manner, a man may like to practise ballet but not admit it because he feels that men should not enjoy an activity that is socially labelled as female-oriented (Mackie et al., 2015). Therefore, social norms often serve as a guide for a person's actions in their social setting as they prescribe human behaviour.

Gender Norms and Masculinity

Gender norms are a subset of social norms, and the concept of gender as a social construction has completely changed the ways in which both masculinity and femininity are mastered (Gardiner, 2005). They represent the behavioural expectations that are built around someone's biologically-assigned sex; a form of socio-cultural regulation that encourages individuals to behave in a socially desirable manner. In this sense, neither masculinity nor femininity should be seen as a 'unique object' or a natural character type (Connell, 1995) but instead, as a set of practices with which both men and women engage during their lives. To Peretz (2016), however, only more recently researchers have started to recognise the need for "explicitly investigating men as gendered beings" (p.30).

To McCarry (2010), like girls, boys also learn to judge themselves against their peers as a means of evaluating themselves (and others), and the final product of this evaluation is the development (and performance), from early age, of 'socially approved' modes of being male. Although approved, however, some of these modes are not necessarily good for most men. As discussed by Courtenay (2000), gender is partially negotiated "through relationships of power" (p.1388), and "while men as a group benefit from the association of masculinity and privilege, and hold greater power than women, not all men are powerful (...) [and] men's experiences of powerlessness are harmful, not only for them but also for [those] in their lives" (Ricardo, 2015, p.17). McCarry (2010) argues, for example, that men are routinely encouraged to behave in such a way as to obviate any signs of weakness, vulnerability or lack of emotional control. In addition, they are often pressured to conform to a definition of masculinity that revolves around ideas of them being more independent, powerful, stronger, tougher, and self-reliant than women (Cuthbert, 2015; Smiler, 2014).

Together, these modes can contribute to different forms of male role strain; with clear costs to individuals' physical, psychological, emotional, sexual and relational health (see Reidy, Berke, Gentile, & Zeichner, 2014). Different studies have been consistently demonstrating, for instance, that males – irrespectively of age, class and/or ethnicity – are more likely than females to engage in behaviours that increase their risk of disease, injury, and death (see Courtenay 2000 for review). Furthermore, these modes help perpetuate misogyny, homophobic attitudes, whilst also promoting gender inequality (Connell, 1995).

In line with the above, different authors argue that in a variety of situations violence can serve the purpose of maintaining and/or restoring a 'damaged' masculinity, as well as sustaining and/or regaining power (see Messerschmidt, 1993, 1997; Ricardo, 2015; Yount, Higgins, VanderEnde, Krause, Minh, Schuler, & Anh, 2016). In other words, when masculine norms are promoted, men may feel encouraged to engage either in harmful (i.e., towards themselves and/or others) or coercive behaviours that would not be tolerated otherwise. Due to that, Peretz (2016) argues that "a better understanding of masculinity is necessary to reduce men's perpetration of violence and increase support for gender justice" (p.30).

Connell (2014) stresses, however, that most of the international literature in this area relies on conceptual frameworks derived from the global North, and the specific accounts of masculinity from the global South are yet to be better explored. She further argues that the concept of masculinity is far more complex and men all over the world do not necessarily experience and perform their gender in a similar manner. In fact, not even those from on the same culture may do so.

In a similar manner, Courtenay (2000) comments that there is no single representation and/or form to enact gender, as both masculinity and femininity depend – directly – on the time and space where it takes place. In a series of studies about this topic, Cuddy, Wolf, Glick, Crotty, Chong and Norton (2015) have demonstrated, for example, that individualistic and

collectivistic cultures differ in the way they stereotype gender. These authors found that, whereas in the collectivistic nations, stereotypes of men and women significantly converged, in individualistic nations, the differences in gender stereotypes were more pronounced; concluding that cultural values moderate gender stereotypes. As discussed by Kimmel (1997), due to various experiences (i.e., different histories, cultures, and times) multiple ways to produce and perform a gender identity can emerge. This means that what is regarded as appropriate or normative behaviour for men and women in one culture, does not instantly – and necessarily – apply to another (Phipps & Young, 2013).

Drawing from the above (Connell, 2014), this chapter presents the findings of a study focusing on one individualist (the U.K.) and one collectivist (Brazil) culture (Cuddy et al., 2015; Hofstede, 2001; Hofstede et al. 2010). Through an online-based survey, adult men from Brazil and the U.K. were encouraged to reflect on notions (i.e., their own thoughts, but also cultural expectations) of masculinity and gender performance (i.e., past and actual experiences). In addition, they were invited to discuss the impact of those expectations on the way they understand and perform their intimate relationships.

Method

Participants

A total of 248 adult men (Brazil: N= 139; U.K: N=109), with an age range of 18 to 68 years (Brazil: $M_{age} = 30.23$, $SD = 8.43$; U.K: $M_{age} = 33.75$, $SD = 11.50$) took part in the study. Of these, 36% (N = 50) of Brazilians and 35.2% (N = 38) of Britons declared to be single (i.e., no partner) at the time of the study; and had either a complete or incomplete Bachelor Degree (Brazil: 54.2%, N = 75; U.K: 48.1%, N = 52). The majority identified themselves as

heterosexuals (Brazil: 79.9%, N = 111; U.K: 75.9%, N = 82) and regarding religious affiliation, most participants declared they do not ascribe to a religion (Brazil: 50.4%, N = 70; U.K: 77%, N = 83); with Brazilians attributing more importance to religion (1 = *extremely important* to 5 = *not at all important*) than Britons (Brazil, $M = 3.33$; $SD = 1.34$; U.K: $M = 4.32$; $SD = 1.16$).

Procedure and Measures

In order to allow data collection in the outlined countries, an online self-reported questionnaire was applied. Data was collected in 2016 and participants were recruited via Prolific Academic, social media as well as email lists; when University partners in both countries distributed the link for the research. This method was chosen as online surveys provide a high level of anonymity and convenience for respondents, as they can answer the questionnaire according to their own preferences (i.e., time, location, etc.). In addition, it also allows researchers to collect data from respondents located in different parts of the globe.

The questionnaire was designed in English, yet only distributed in participants' mother tongue (i.e., Portuguese in Brazil and English in the U.K.). To achieve semantic equivalence between both versions, all the questions were translated and back-translated into Portuguese/English by bilingual researchers.

Before starting the survey, participants' eligibility was checked and only those who declared to (a) be older than 18 years old, (b) being born in Brazil or the United Kingdom and (c) to identify themselves with those cultures were presented with the Information Sheet (i.e., information regarding the purpose of the research and nature of their participation). Individuals were then requested to accept the norms of the research, by clicking at the Consent Form Sheet and only after that, they could initiate the survey. Participants were then invited to answer some

socio-demographic questions (i.e., age, religion, etc.) followed by a mix of closed and open-ended questions; which were organised in three distinct sections; according to its overall theme.

To begin with, and aiming to make participants' cultural background more salient, in the first part of the survey they were requested think about their countries. Questions such as "Which are, in your opinion, the most important/relevant characteristics/elements of your own culture?" and "Do you identify yourself with Brazilian/British culture?" were presented to them. After answering those, respondents were invited to take part in the second part of the survey, and to respond questions addressing: (a) their attitudes towards gender norms and masculinity, (b) their views on society's expectations in this arena, and (c) their thoughts on how those expectations might influence – or not – men's lives.

The main survey questions were: (a) "Generally speaking, what do you think of the notion of 'real man'?", (b) "What would be typical of a 'real man' in your culture?" and (c) "Have you ever felt pressured to behave in a certain way because of your gender?". For each of these questions participants were encouraged to provide examples and to reflect about the way they felt regarding this matter (e.g., Could you give an example to us? How did you feel about it? Do people's expectations of "being a real man" affect how you behave in your intimate relationships?).

Finally, those participants who were interested in proceeding with the survey were invited to answer its final part; which covered questions about sexual violence perpetration in Brazil and the U.K (these results will be presented and discussed in Chapter 04). Those who completed the survey were thanked for their participation and presented with a Debriefing Form; where more information about the project was offered and details about relevant support services (i.e., services for both perpetrators and victims of sexual violence) in both countries were provided. In this chapter, only the results that emerged from the second phase of the survey will be reported and discussed.

Data Analysis

Participants' responses (N = 248; Brazil, N = 139; U.K, N = 109), were analysed using Thematic Analysis, with an inductive approach; meaning that this analysis was data-driven. Similarly to the procedure followed by Jackson and Falmagne (2013), the researcher took notes regarding the reasons behind any decision made throughout the process of data analysis; thereby, allowing for a more trustful result (Joontun, McGhee, & Marland, 2009; Peranovic & Bentley, 2017). The sequence of steps is described below.

Firstly, the researcher read the data corpus exhaustively in order to familiarise themselves with its content. Then, initial codes were generated and those units of text which had some form of similarity were grouped together in analytic categories. In addition, any piece of text which exemplified a code was categorized under one – or more – code(s) (Hayes, 2000). Following that, data was reviewed and provisional definitions were attributed to each of the themes created. In following, similarities and differences between and within codes were investigated and after considering the underlying and/or core meaning(s) of each theme a total of three key-themes and 10 subthemes emerged.

Finally, similarly to the process of developing the questionnaire, all the results were systematically reviewed and discussed with bilingual researchers. The initial analysis respected the original idiom in which the data was collected (i.e., Portuguese or English), and only after that (the necessary) results were translated and integrated. To facilitate readers' comprehension, all the responses from Brazilians' participants were translated and will be presented in English. Lastly, as means to illustrate the subthemes emerged, responses from 38 participants will be quoted. See Table 01 for their demographic information and Table 02 for an abbreviate code scheme, description of each subtheme, as well as the frequency of some of the terms used by those participants in order to explain their views.

Results

As previously stated, in this study (Study 01.01) participants were invited to reflect on the notion of ‘a real man’ (e.g., if they agree with this notion; if this notion exists or not) and to elaborate their opinions on the subject. In addition, they were invited to explore their views on those shared norms of masculinity in their cultures. Throughout their responses, participants articulated on the expectations Brazilian and British societies place on them and elaborated on their feelings and experiences regarding this matter.

Overall, Brazilians wrote at length about their personal experiences, as well as the consequences of social expectations for their self-esteem, relationships and so on, whereas Britons were much more concise in their answers. As previously mentioned, the thematic analysis resulted in ten subthemes, which were grouped into three key-themes; describing not only those attitudes and beliefs which are common to Brazil and the U.K but also those elements which are specific to each of them.

Initial analysis revealed that although both Brazilian and British men feel pressure to follow a certain way of living, this feeling seems to be stronger for the former. When asked if they have ever felt pressure to behave in a certain way in order to be considered ‘a real man’ 78.4% of the Brazilian sample (N = 139) answered yes to the question – compared to 51.9% in the U.K (N =109). Each subtheme will now be presented, and examples will be provided. In the subsequent section, results are discussed in light with the literature.

Key-theme 01: Brazilian and British Men’s Views on Gender and Masculinity

The first key-theme to emerge sheds light on participants’ thoughts regarding their gender, as well as the different feelings evoked by being part of a society which expects them

to conform to a certain way of living. More specifically, it highlights participants' discomfort with the notion of 'a real man' and concerns regarding the pervasiveness of such an idea. In addition, this theme draws attention to the differences between societies' expectations, and the characteristics they personally strive to embody, in order to be considered as conforming to that ideal.

The first subtheme [Subtheme 01 – It is a (damaging) label!] denotes participants' feelings that the idea of a 'real man' is unnecessary, outdated and less accurate in modern times, yet still pervasive. Britons, more so than Brazilians, commented that any attempt to ascribe men to a certain definition of masculinity will be fundamentally flawed as this concept is rather simplistic and deterministic. They further stated that nowadays, more than ever, 'manhood' can be expressed in different ways and that men should be able allowed to be (and to do) anything they want. As discussed by five respondents:

[This notion of a 'real man' is] *Unnecessary. People should be free to be whatever they want to be and to behave in the way they want to. This pressure to be a 'real man' does not bring any benefits. (UK04)*

I hate the fact that this notion still exists and that is something still so pervasive/strong. I have never conformed to this notion and I don't intend to do so. It is something strong but at the same time so fragile, as any behaviour which is not in line with this stereotype puts your masculinity at risk. (BRA137)

[This is an] *Unfair label attached to men that they should aspire to. Outdated representation of men that does not incorporate individuality. (UK22)*

Personally, I have no interest in what a 'real' or 'pretend' man is or should be - as I believe that individuals of either gender should be free to take whatever they want

from the spectrum of behaviours & positions that they wish – providing they are not physically or emotionally harming others by doing so. (UK16)

Damaging on the whole, but very pervasive. A notion that I have bought into in the past and would expect to struggle to detach myself from in the future. It's very ingrained, even though objectively I think it's nonsense. (UK94)

In line with the idea that the notion of a 'real man' is unnecessary, participants articulated their concerns regarding this label; as boys are still encouraged to be tough or aggressive whilst discouraged from being emotional or 'soft'. To these participants, these expectations regarding how men should behave are damaging and might even help to legitimise the occurrence of abuse, crime, and violence. In addition, some wrote about this label being used, by society, as a form of manipulation, a method of getting men to silence themselves regarding their feelings and wishes, and to fulfil unrealistic expectations. Participants further explored how those pressures can be especially damaging for young boys' mental health, as well as people around them. Examples of those views can be seen in the following quotes:

I find it [i.e., the concept of a real man] a fallacy perpetuated by people who latch onto the most superficial aspects of it - machoism, drinking capacity, money, capacity for violence (UK55)

Every time I have seen this notion of a real man used it is always used as a method of getting a man to shut up, do as he is told, disregard his own best interests, and to serve someone else – otherwise, they are not a real man. This goes all the way to commanding men to sacrifice their own lives, quite often for no gain for anyone, as it happens in war. (UK19)

[This notion of a real man] *It is something very common in my country. It is a fantasy, which serves to legitimise abuses and crimes and to reinforce violence. (BRA138)*

Usually, it refers to someone who is identified as male, who does not cry, who is strong, heterosexual, enjoys football and cars... it is a very sexist expression that a lot of people use (including myself) without even realising; simply because we are so used to that. (BRA86)

Though most participants discussed the notion of a ‘real man’ as a damaging and negative label, some did not focus on that. Instead, they offered an alternative way to understand this concept and elaborated on its positive side. The second subtheme [Subtheme 02 – If a real man exists, I think he should be...], therefore, sheds light on participants’ idea that a ‘real man’ is someone who possesses some specific traits, such as being kind, honest, and assertive.

To this group of participants, a real man is a gentleman; someone who strives to fulfil positive qualities, such as courage, independence, assertiveness, and integrity. Someone who is well-mannered, and polite. Participants also stressed the importance of being family-oriented, and responsible. More importantly, someone who is respected by, and respectful of, others (e.g., his community and romantic partner). Participants further agreed on the importance of a man taking responsibility for his own actions, being capable to ‘stick to his words’ and to protect (and provide for) his family.

I believe a real man is someone who respects his family, the law, his community, and who obeys his obligations as a member of the society. (BRA38)

A real man is a man who takes responsibility for his actions, he provides for others, is a man of principle, charming, intellectual and possessing athletic ability. (UK18)

I am very open minded and accommodating. However, I feel men should act like men. Being consistent, being honest and having integrity. Being able to protect those less able to [sic]. (UK61)

It is about recognising yourself as that... it about the way you treat other people, your character, honesty... not about sexuality, never! (BRA10)

Key-theme 02: Societies' Expectations around Gender and Masculinity

The second key-theme emerged sheds light on participants' thoughts regarding the way their own culture sees the role of men in society. More importantly, it draws attention to the expectations that are placed on them. The first subtheme [Subtheme 01 – You must man up: avoidance of femininity and restriction of emotions] exposes the fact that Brazilian and British men feel pressured to avoid a wide range of behaviours. Brazilians, more so than Britons, commented that these pressures start very early in their lives; becoming more evident during adolescence. One participant wrote, for example:

(...) as a child, we are often free to express how we feel, but as soon as we become adolescents, things change: we are encouraged to repress our feelings and to relate to people – especially women – in a pejorative way. (BRA136)

This subtheme also sheds light on the connection between masculinity and the need to repress any signs of weakness or femininity. Participants commented, for example, about the

need to avoid crying or talking about feelings to others (e.g., male friends, romantic partners, and family members). In addition, they wrote at length about their discomfort regarding the need to hide their feelings and emotions, the strategies they adopt in order to fulfil these expectations, and actively avoid engaging in any behaviour which could be labelled as ‘feminine’. Some examples are provided below:

I feel as if men have barriers, they are not allowed to talk about their feelings or ask for help. (...) I stand tall and don't act with my emotions as men are not to be emotional. (UK58)

There is a difficulty in 'going deeper' regarding feelings and emotions, as being completely open can be interpreted as being weak and, as a consequence, it can make the other person indifferent to you. (BRA46)

The second subtheme that emerged [Subtheme 02 – You must be strong: the role of strength and aggression] brings up participants’ ideas that Brazilian and British societies still associate masculinity with strength (i.e., physical - “being muscular” - and mental - “being tough”) and aggressive behaviour. Respondents commented that their cultures expect men to assert their authority and reputation through violence, and recalled different situations in which they were expected to get into fights, for example. In addition, Brazilians more so than Britons also explored the pressure they feel to protect the honour of those they care about (i.e., girlfriends and family members). Lastly, participants wrote about their discomfort with these expectations, as well as the consequences for their upbringing. As some mentioned:

As an adolescent, it was important to be physically aggressive to have respect. Having increasingly acted this way for years and hating myself for it, this was part of the reason why I had a breakdown when I was 17. (UK16)

I have been called as a pushover by my wife – who identifies as a feminist – simply because I was nice towards another driver when we were trying to park our cars. I have always tried to be as nice and flexible as possible with my partner. But then, as soon as I realized that she feels I am not man enough, I became more aggressive in traffic and less flexible with the decisions we need to take together. (BRA80)

The next subtheme emerged [Subtheme 03 – You must be successful: the importance of pursuing achievement and status] sheds light on the pressure men feel to be both professionally and financially successful. To both Brazilian and British men, having money secures men a high social status, as it is associated with power and respect. Respondents also commented about how they feel personally responsible to support their families' needs. Once again, they elaborated on how these pressures affect their relationships, self-image, and self-esteem:

You end up feeling a lot of pressure to show off both something that does not necessarily represent you or to show off something you don't necessarily have. If you don't do that society will be seeing you as inferior. People will tell your partner "you deserve more than that", "he is not enough", for example. (BRA76)

In the realm of romantic settings, if I don't act in a certain way I'm almost certain to be not well received by a woman. Acting in such a way is unnatural to me, yet it must be enforced if I'm to be successful. (UK113)

I put myself under a lot of pressure when it comes to providing for my family. My wife gave up her career as an artisan to dedicate herself to our children's upbringing... (BRA134)

It affects in so many ways, for example: if I don't have money to pay for the bill in a restaurant and I suggest we should share, it causes some sort of estrangement, because as a man I should have money. I am always concerned about paying the bills and my revenue because I am already thinking about my future (even though I currently am not married or having kids). (BRA128)

The next subtheme [Subtheme 04 – It is all about women: sex disconnected from intimacy] highlights the social expectations around their sexuality. According to some participants, even when infants, they are required to behave in a heteronormative manner, and to value sex. More importantly, however, is the fact that participants feel the need to act in a way that allows others (i.e., friends, family, partners, etc.) to identify them as virile. Participant BRA121 wrote, for example:

When I was a child I was very 'girlish' and people would tell me to 'act like a proper man'. (BRA121)

According to some, being heterosexual and/or having romantic and/or sexual encounters is not enough. That is, their sexuality goes beyond the private domain and must be publicly performed. To be respected and admired, men are required to make their [hetero] sexuality visible to others. As some mentioned:

Particularly when I was a teenager, I felt pressured to talk about girls and showing my heterosexuality even though I wasn't particularly interested in girls at that time. (UK44)

I feel really bad because this has a damaging effect on the way men are raised in Brazil. I started my sexual life quite late, as I had my first girlfriend only at 21 years old. However, I have always felt external pressure to behave in a way which does not necessarily correspond to what I personally believe. For example: to kiss a girl against her will, to make comments about semi naked women on TV in order to prove my sexuality, to behave in a promiscuous way when young. (BRA96)

Still speaking of the sexual realm, participants wrote about British and Brazilian societies tolerating, and even expecting, men to disrespect women and of the pressure to treat women in a demeaning way. To some of them, there is still a notion that a real man is someone who chases women and sexually objectifies them.

In line with Murray's (2017) findings, participants spoke about the fact that society encourages them to seek out multiple female partners, to express high sexual desire and to demonstrate that they are always ready for, and interested in, sexual activity. They commented, for example, on different occasions in which they were encouraged to manipulate and seduce women (i.e., by pretending to care about her feelings and desires) in order to achieve what they want (i.e., sexual encounters). Interestingly, only Brazilian men commented about the pressure of proving their masculinity by cheating on their partners. Examples are provided below.

Because of our culture, it is quite common for Brazilian men to be labelled as an idiot or a loser if he respects his partner and 'misses a chance' to cheat on her. (BRA136)

(...) For example, I've been pressured to cheat on girlfriends just because some attractive woman would show some she was interested on me. Though I only do what I want this kind of stuff really annoys me. (BRA04)

To Murray (2017), however, although most men publicly endorse these discourses, not all of them feel comfortable acting this way. Instead, they do so because they fear the consequences of failing in performing this role (i.e., having their sexuality questioned; being socially excluded, not finding a partner). As discussed by BRA128:

(...) when I was 15 years old I started a relationship and someone next to me said I should not think about relationships. Instead, I should only 'fuck them'; just use them for sex, because a real man would not waste his time in relationships. (...) the impression I have is that they were expecting me to be someone I am not. And this is humiliating, because, if you are not a man because of your biology, or because of what you do, who are you? I felt like I was those two things at the same time, in the sense that if I was not what they expected me to be, then I was useless. And that, if I was not a man, then it meant I was a woman. And both things were terrible. (BRA128)

Overall, most participants focused on how friends, family and even romantic partners push them to behave in a way that does not necessarily correspond to their wishes; elaborating on the negative effects of that in the way they understand sex and relate to women in the intimate domain. One respondent, in particular, wrote at length about his struggle to match his personal preferences and the expectations of others:

I am not the macho type, I like things to be more calm, romantic, not aggressive, but lately I have been hearing comments – from both men and women – about men only being good in bed if they are aggressive, if the sex is brutal, if it involves some level of violence [“I’ve slapped her!”] ... I personally do that kind of thing, but this is not what motivates me to have sex... but now it looks like this is how women are expecting men to behave. Going into a relationship knowing that, is quite embarrassing (...) ... It looks like women [not all] only wanted that form of intimate contact (...). Writing about these things made me think about how much we need to change in this culture. (BRA60)

Following that, the next subtheme [Subtheme 05 – Don’t be a sissy: when homophobia takes place] sheds light on how men are expected to assert their ‘male status’ by avoiding any conduct that puts their heterosexuality in question. Brazilians discussed, for example, the pressure to avoid commenting on certain topics (e.g., women’s rights) as well as the pressure to avoid supporting certain causes. For example, the LGBT (i.e., lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) cause. British men, on the other hand, focused more on society’s expectations regarding male aesthetics. That is, the way men should ‘look’ in order to be considered ‘a real man’. Some mentioned, for example, not wearing pink clothes as a form to affirm their manhood.

When it comes to exposing my ideas about sexual freedom or feminist and LGBT causes... I don’t feel like I cannot do it, but I feel annoyed that this is still looked upon with distrust. (BRA116)

You cannot touch upon certain topics or to show people you have nothing against homosexuals, for example... Otherwise people will think you are homosexual yourself. There is some kind of monitoring in the way you speak and talk. (BRA84)

It is important when in most social settings to follow the expectations of masculinity to avoid seeming strange. I would never choose a pink top simply because it is not the norm to do so. I used to like horse riding but would not tell some groups of men as it is not seen as a masculine trait. (UK46)

As a homosexual male, I have long felt inadequate and insecure about how macho heterosexuals see me, and so I try to reduce some of my mannerisms that are seen as camp or gay. I like to wear skinny jeans and dye my hair bright colours but have refrained from doing this when I have worked in environments where I felt homosexuality would be less tolerated. (UK107)

The next subtheme [Subtheme 06 – You must not rely on others: the role of self-reliance] touches on the value assigned to self-reliance. According to some participants, men are demanded to perform a certain range of activities without relying on others for that. In this opportunity, respondents commented that although the most evident source of pressure is their peers, women also play an important role in this scenario; as they have high expectations for the way men should behave. Brazilians, more so than Britons, further commented that most women expect men to be independent and confident enough to take the lead in the relationship. Some wrote, for example:

Many females either directly or indirectly demand males to act more masculine. Whether this is by responding better when you show interest in masculine typical things, or actually tell me I am the 'man' and I should decide on things for us. (UK46)

I feel like a lot of women expect to be guided by a real man – and that he is not given space for making mistakes and feel insecure. (BRA46)

Beyond that, it is interesting to note that, although both British and Brazilian men agreed on the value assigned to self-reliance, only Britons discussed the ability to perform manual work as a representation of that. To some of them, men are expected not only to enjoy doing manual work, but also to be competent in the task of ‘fixing things’, for example. Brazilian men did not address this aspect.

(...) I feel the responsibility to lead is on me, and to do the man thing and dispose of spiders when they come crawling, or to put a shelf or fix a car. However, I am personally afraid of spiders myself, and know nothing about cars... so it does make me feel insecure that I am not a suitable provider for my lover. (UK17)

I am the only father who regularly attends one particular church parents and toddlers’ group. Today there was a problem putting down a tent and it was handed to me as the person believed to be the most capable at sorting it out. I didn’t have a clue about what I was doing. (UK12)

Finally, the last subtheme to emerge [Subtheme 07 – When in Brazil, the macho... When in the U.K, the lad!] draws attention to two different characters: ‘the lad’, in Britain, and ‘the macho’ (or ‘machão’), in Brazil. Throughout their responses, participants commented on the pervasiveness of these stereotypes in their countries, and cited alcohol consumption and sports – either watching it (mainly football) or practicing it (going to the gym) – as two important elements in this context. That is, in validating who is a real man and who is not.

In elaborating on that, both Brazilians and Britons mentioned that alcohol has been always seen as a marker of masculinity, and the pressure revolves around not only its consumption, but also (a) the amount consumed, and (b) the type of beverage they drank (i.e., ‘masculine drinks’ such as beer versus cocktails). Both samples also discussed on their negative

impact of those stereotypes both their own lives, and the lives of those around them. There is a well-documented number of studies exploring, for example, the relationship between alcohol consumption and problematic expressions of gender in males. For example: sexual prowess, emotional control, risk-taking behaviours, inclination towards physical aggression and power over women (see Courtenay, 2000; Iwamoto, Cheng, Lee, Takamatsu & Gordon, 2011; Lemle & Mishkind, 1989; Lewis, Logan & Neighbors, 2009; Mahalik et al., 2003 for review).

I am not a heavy drinker, but in the past I have been forced to drink heavily against my own will to fit into the culture surrounding me. (UK18)

[In Brazil, people believe that a real man] must enjoy football and brink beer, etc. (BRA55)

As a young man in London one was expected to partake in copious amounts of drink and chase women (UK75)

Key-theme 03: About Group Dynamics: The Role of Peer Pressure

The third and final key-theme underlies all the previous narratives discussed and draws attention to how group dynamics (i.e., relationship with other men) can work as a powerful engine for traditional masculinity outside of intimate, heterosexual relationships. In their discourses, both Brazilian and British men stressed that even though women (mainly romantic partners) also regulate their behaviour, male friends play the very first significant role (i.e., model) in their lives.

Participants discussed at length their discomfort with the pressure they feel from their male peers, and commented how they tend to judge themselves against their peers as a means of evaluating themselves (and others), and to develop an “approved” mode of being male.

More importantly, respondents commented about the importance of ‘being accepted’, and the strategies they use in order to avoid being ‘excluded’ from the group. Men wrote, for example, that in a variety of situations, even disagreeing with what has been said, (e.g., when friends espouse politically incorrect views and speak and/or act in a demeaning way towards certain groups, such as gay men and women), they silence themselves just so they can avoid any conflict with their peers.

In school, I would hang out with a big group of lads. They would often discuss women in a slightly demeaning way, and I would sometimes join in so that I was agreeing with the group. (UK06)

When with male friends, it is very common that they expect you to behave in a certain way, for example, when it comes to social media, WhatsApp male groups... in these spaces they share porn (videos and pictures) and expect you to make comments that reinforce the ideal of masculinity. I must confess I have already felt uncomfortable to be part of some of these groups because there are comments made which I do not necessarily agree with; but I have learned how to deal with that. In certain moments, I feel comfortable to counter some of these ideas, but in certain moments I don't... and to a certain degree, this goes back to the fact that I would rather avoid conflict. I believe the fact that I stay quiet in some of these occasions helps perpetuate this sexist and prejudicial comments. In a variety of occasions, I would like to condemn these comments... I understand that my omission is a form of peer pressure. (BRA111)

Discussion

Social norms (e.g., gender norms) are held in place through reciprocal expectations of those within a reference group. In the process of living in society, individuals aim to build and sustain their relationships, and the anticipation of approval and/or disapproval of others exert great influence in the way humans behave. To Mackie, Moneti, Shakya and Denny (2015), this process is so natural that most of the times people do not even notice the coincidence between their personal attitudes with those norms in vigour.

In other situations, however, this is not true and individuals consciously choose to abide – or not – to society’s rules; mostly depending on the costs of this choice. This is because, as discussed by these authors whereas ‘moving inward’ (i.e., following the rules) tend to generate some form of reward such as admiration and/or contempt; ‘moving outwards’ (i.e., not following them) often implies in some form of sanction. Verbal disapproval/insult, punishment, extreme threats of death or social exclusion are just a few examples of them (Mackie, Moneti, Shakya, & Denny, 2015).

Said in another way, individuals are in a constant battle between building and maintaining social relationships whilst sustaining a positive self-concept and sense of self-worth. Though common to all cultures, these expectations are even more evident in honour-based cultures. As mentioned in Chapter 02, in these cultures individuals are required to follow the norms of the group in order to secure their reputations; with those who fail in this task being at great risk of receiving some form of punishment.

Hence, it is not difficult to imagine that this task of handling – their own versus others – expectations can be rather challenging. Thinking specifically about gender norms and masculinity, for example, empirical data suggests that a great proportion of men experience gender role conflict and/or stress, driven by conflicts between rigid social expectations of

traditional masculine norms and their own beliefs and attitudes towards this matter (e.g., McDermott, Naylor, Mckelvey & Kantra, 2017; Moore & Stuart, 2005; O'Neil, 2008).

In line with the above, and aiming to further explore these issues, in this study Brazilian and British men's attitudes towards gender norms and masculinity was investigated. Participants were invited to recall some early experiences, to write about their personal beliefs, and to reflect upon society's expectations regarding the way they perform their gender.

The first result obtained refers to the fact that, although coming from two completely different backdrops, more consensus – than conflict – has arisen from participants' narratives. In addition, Brazilians and Britons demonstrated a reasonable level of understanding regarding how their culture creates (and propagates) a normative manhood. This does not mean, however, that because Brazilian and British men reported some common experiences that they are a homogenous group and that differences do not exist; as, in reality, each man will experience their masculinity in a singular way. This is where the importance of providing them the chance to elaborate on this process lies.

For the purpose of this work, however, it was intended to shed light on how individuals' sociocultural background might influence their experiences. That is, those aspects which are common and/or different within and between cultures. It is interesting to note, for example, that Brazilians and Britons considerably differed in the length of their answers; with the former writing, noticeably more (i.e., longer answers, with more details and examples) than the latter. In addition, it is noteworthy that substantially more Brazilians said they felt pressured to sustain a sense of masculine performance than did British men.

More so than a sample's characteristic, this result might reflect their cultural background. As previously discussed, the United Kingdom is considered an individualist culture, and great emphasis is placed over individuals' freedom and autonomy moral values. Generally speaking, in these cultures, someone's worth is not measured in relation to their

reputation and/or the way they present themselves to others. More importantly, as long as no harm is caused, individuals experience more freedom regarding their personal choices (how to live their lives). Therefore, it would make sense to expect that Britons feel less pressure to conform to certain gender norms in order to be considered as a “real man”.

Brazil, on the other hand, is considered a collectivist country, also defined as an honour culture and a macho society (see Tomas, 2016 for review). According to Neto (2007), in these cultures the emphasis is primarily placed on group attainment; meaning that individuals should be obedient and willing to subordinate their needs to the wishes of others. In addition, values related to binding foundations (Haidt, 2015) and/or community and divinity moral codes (Shweder et al., 1997) are highly endorsed (e.g., tradition, conformity, purity and faithfulness to those obligations concerning group membership).

Taken together, this means that, in cultures such as Brazil, men are concerned with expressing themselves in a way that is validated by their peers; as their reputation depends on that. As a result, social norms around masculinity play an important role in guiding individuals' lives. It would make sense, therefore, that Brazilians feel more pressure (when compared to Britons) to assign to more conservative and/or traditional gender roles. As pointed out by Mendoza (2009, p.2) in Latin cultures there is a strong sense of masculine pride that is “so embedded in the culture that it is not only accepted, but often even expected” (i.e., machismo).

In line with some narratives, it has been long argued that in those contexts, men tend to be openly demanded to protect their families and to present a strong character, for example. In addition, being sexually active, heterosexual, and – if necessary – aggressive, constitutes the central point of manhood in these societies (Barker, 2016; Nascimento, Gomes, & Rebello, 2009; Stocker & Damalso, 2016).

In the U.K, the issue of macho culture was mirrored by participants' concern with the pervasiveness of ‘lad culture’ and its damaging effects on men’s attitudes and behaviours

towards themselves, as well as towards women. Founded upon a trinity of ‘drinking, football and fucking’ (Edwards, 1997, p.82) and seen by some as just a bit of fun, ‘lad culture’ has been criticised, and described as a dangerous template of masculinity in Britain; especially for those on university campuses. This is because, as discussed by different authors (Hegarty, Stewart, Blockmans, & Horvath, 2016; Phipps & Young, 2013), lad culture often revolves around women’s sexual objectification, the adoption of politically incorrect views and the normalization of sexual violence; thereby, having a strong negative impact on young men’s identities.

In addition to the above, and directly mapping on to some participants’ responses, Phipps and Young (2013) comment that the involvement with sports and heavy alcohol consumption are integral aspects of lad culture; and often used as a form of determining who does – and who does not – deserve to be a ‘lad’. To McCarray (2010) these aspects are intertwined with young British men’s gender identity; representing two important means “through which normative and dominant forms of manhood are performed” (Phipps & Young, 2013, p.11).

It is also interesting to note how, despite these differences, both Brazilian and British discourses resonate with early models of masculinity, such as the concepts of ‘hyper-masculinity’ and ‘hegemonic masculinity’ coined by Connell’s (1987; 1995). Even though the limitations of those models have been pointed out and discussed by several, including Connell herself (see Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005), it seems that these terminologies still serve as an active frame for gendered performances and gender negotiations (Bengtsson, 2016). Moreover, as pointed out by Jewkes et al., (2015) they still help to identify male attitudes and practices that contribute to perpetuating gender inequality. For example, some of the key issues raised throughout participants’ discourses refer to what they considered to be the central point of an acceptable masculinity in their cultures: being heterosexual and ‘non-feminine’. As

pointed out by Jewkes et al. (2015, p. 123) “a core element of the construction of hegemonic masculinity is heterosexuality, and to a greater or lesser extent hegemonic masculinity is constructed as a gender position that is as much ‘not gay’ as it is ‘not female’”.

Consistent with O’Neil’s (1981) and Qambela (2016) proposition that the internalization of ‘anti-femininity norms’ has been one of the most important components of males’ socialization, participants often stressed their fear of being perceived as feminine. Throughout their answers, they wrote about the pressure to avoid ‘feminine values and behaviours’, and the strategies they apply in order to do so. They commented, for example, about how they abstain themselves from behaving in a way that could be appear vulnerable, fragile or weak.

For the Brazilian sample, more so than for Britons, the ‘anti-femininity norm’ is so strong that it goes beyond the obvious avoidance of ‘feminine behaviours’ (e.g., wearing pink clothes); also affecting men’s freedom to engage in certain conversations. Participants wrote, for instance, about the pressure to avoid publically discussing and/or supporting certain causes (i.e., human rights, feminism and LGBT); as the involvement with those matters could put their masculinity at risk. In addition, the use of violence as a masculine resource (i.e., to solve problems, and to affirm social status) was also discussed at length by these men. As means to achieve a respected position within the group, they stressed, for example, the need to be both mentally and physically strong, and to behave in a way that maintain their power. Participants further commented on the importance their cultures place on aspects such as: men’s success, self-reliance (i.e., being able to provide for their family; being financially successful), and sexuality (i.e., having multiple partners, infidelity, and sexual risk-taking).

Although in the short term these behaviours secure men a powerful position within the group, there are also disadvantages – for both individuals and society – in the long term. As discussed by different authors, the internalization of an ideal body image, as well as those

values associated with it, has been shown to negatively impact men's self-evaluation (e.g., body dissatisfaction, low self-esteem, eating disorders, and feelings of inadequacy and inferiority) and relationships (Adams, Turner, & Bucks, 2005; Dakanalis & Riva, 2013; Duarte & Pinto-Gouveia, 2017; Grogan & Richards, 2002; McCabe & Ricciardelli 2003; Stephens, Eaton, & Boyd, 2017; Yean, Benau, Dakanalis, Hormes, Perone, & Timko, 2013).

Research (Smith, Parrott, Swartout & Tharp, 2015) has been also suggesting that men who have internalized and adhered to 'anti-femininity norms' and beliefs of 'need for dominance' are more likely to take extreme measures in order to maintain their dominance in society. They tend to objectify others – particularly women –, to endorse rape supportive attitudes, and are more likely to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours, to name a few. In addition, by relying on violence to reassure their manhood, men help sustaining a system that simultaneously oppress women, restrict their choices of living and damage their mental health (see Smith, Parrott, Swartout, & Tharp, 2015).

Overall, participants seem to acknowledge the – mostly negative – consequences of those norms to different aspects of their lives. Although some did comment about the positive characteristics men should strive for in order to be considered a 'real man', when it comes to their own experiences, respondents did not elaborate on that. Instead, they focused on the damaging effects of those pressures to their behaviour, preferences, self-esteem and relationships.

Throughout their responses, it became evident how, since early age, the way they conceptualise their experiences is influenced by the environment they are embedded in, with both samples writing about the discomfort resultant from this constant pressure to think, feel and behave in such a manner that fulfils their culture's expectations. Participants often recalled, for example, situations occurred at school and/or college, and wrote about these first memories still being a source of distress for them. Although insufficient to refrain participants from

performing those traditional roles, it is important to recognise that some indeed challenged the legitimacy of these ideals; commenting on how the notion of a ‘real man’ is outdated, intrinsically flawed and, more importantly, damaging and dangerous.

To Sernhede (2003 cited by Ingevaldson, Goulding, & Tedefors, 2016), the relationship between gender norms, culture and the individual is complex and each of these elements has a different impact on the other. As discussed by Connell (1987, 1995) masculinities are constantly challenged, negotiated, and reproduced and the task of understanding “how to be a man” seems to be more complex now than ever before, as the traditional role of masculinity is under deconstruction. What was taken for granted regarding how men should behave, is now being questioned.

In sum, results suggest that although some men are willing to challenge those conservative views regarding masculinity, most of them still feel pressured to conform to those traditional stereotypes. As argued by Butler (1993), social norms materialize bodies. Hence, the materiality of one’s body must to be understood not only invested in a norm (or a group of norms), but in some sense embraced and animated by it (or them). To conclude, it is thus about time to shed some light on “men, their roles, their own and society’s ideas of masculinity, the relationships they share with themselves and others including other men” (Sharma & Das, 2016, p.7); as it is only by becoming aware of the complex dynamic that sustain these discourses and practices, men can create new – and healthier – ways to perform their gender.

Table 01

Participants' demographic information by ID number in Study 01.01

Participant	Age	Relationship Status	Level of Education	Religion	Importance Assigned to Religion	Sexual Orientation
UK04	30	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-MIHO
UK06	26	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK09	22	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
UK12	44	Married	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Extremely important	EH
UK13	23	Singles	High school	R	Extremely important	EH
UK16	42	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
UK17	20	Single*	Associate degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK18	25	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK19	26	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK22	22	Single	Bachelor's degree	R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
UK44	19	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK46	25	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK55	47	Single	High school	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK58	23	Single	Master's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK61	38	Married	Associate degree	N/R	Slightly important	EH
UK75	54	Married	High school	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK94	31	Married	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK107	25	Single*	Junior degree	N/R	Not at all important	EHO
BRA04	46	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA10	20	Single	Undergraduate student	R	Extremely important	EH
BRA15	39	Married	Postgraduate degree	N/R	Neither important nor unimportant	EH
BRA34	43	Married	Bachelor's degree	R	Slightly important	EH
BRA38	24	Single*	Bachelor's degree	R	Neither important nor unimportant	EH
BRA46	30	Single	Postgraduate degree	R	Slightly important	EH
BRA55	37	Married	Master's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA60	24	Single	High school	N/R	Neither important nor unimportant	EH
BRA76	30	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA80	30	Married	Less than high school	N/R	Not at all important	EH

BRA84	21	Single	Undergraduate student	N/R	Neither important nor unimportant	EHO
BRA86	27	Married	Postgraduate degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA96	33	Married	Ph.D.	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA111	29	Single*	Master's degree	R	Very important	EH
BRA116	28	Single*	Postgraduate degree	N/R	Slightly important	EH
BRA121	41	Single*	Ph.D.	N/R	Not at all important	EHO
BRA128	29	Single*	Master's degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-MIHO
BRA136	29	Single*	Bachelor's degree	R	Slightly important	EH
BRA137	27	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Neither important nor unimportant	EH
BRA138	32	Single*	Undergraduate student	R	Slightly important	EH

Note: Single* = Single but in a relationship N/R = Does not belong to any religion. R = Does belong to a religion. EH = Exclusively heterosexual. EHO = Exclusively homosexual. PHE-MIHO = Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual. PHE-IHO Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual

Table 02

Abbreviated coding scheme for responses and examples of comments: Themes and subthemes emerged in Study 01.01

Subtheme	Description and Frequencies	Example
Key-Theme 01: Brazilian and British men's views on gender and masculinity		
It is a – damaging – label	Participants' idea that any notion of 'a real man' is unnecessary, outdated and less accurate in modern times, yet still pervasive. More important, the idea that this is a negative representation what 'being a man' really is. Participants relied on terms such as outdated (N = 98); label (N = 14); damaging (N = 12); unnecessary (N = 16); damaging (N = 09); oppressive (N = 08); absurd (N = 24); excluding (N = 12); product of machismo/sexism (N = 19) in order to describe their feelings and attitudes towards this matter.	<i>“Unfair label attached to men that they should aspire to. Outdated representation of men that does not incorporate individuality”.</i> (UK22)
If a real man exists, I think he should be...	Participants' idea that in order to be considered 'a real man', one's must strive to fulfil a spectrum of “positive” – socially accepted – traits and/or qualities. Participants mentioned, for example, the following terms: trustworthy (N = 15); respected (N = 17); a gentleman (N = 08); able to protect and provide for others – mainly his family (N = 24); honoured (N = 06); a reference for his group (N = 07), honest (N = 03), kind (N = 15); someone with high moral and values (N = 23).	<i>“Someone compromised with his own obligations, who honours his word, who has his own opinions.”</i> (BRA30)
Key-Theme 02: Brazilian and British societies' expectations around gender and masculinity		
You must man up	Participants declared they that since early age men feel pressured to repress any signs (i.e., behaviours) of weakness and/or femininity. Participants elaborated, for example, on the need to hide emotions and feelings (N = 21), avoid crying (N = 23) and/or “acting too silly” (N = 01).	<i>“In certain situations, I was either crying or on the verge of crying and felt pressured to hold this in because of my masculinity. I felt indifferent [about it] as that is just the way it is”.</i> (UK09)
You must be strong	Participants' ideas that Brazilian and British societies still associate masculinity with strength and aggressive behaviour. Participants discussed, for instance, about the need to be “muscular” (N = 03), “mentally tough” (N = 26), “the need to be violent” and get into fights (N = 25) and/or disrespectful (N = 08)	<i>“The notion of a real man as someone who is tough and does not show emotions is rather dated but still prevalent in the UK. In my experience boys are brought up differently</i>

<p>You must be successful</p>	<p>Participants declared that men are pressured to be both professionally and financially successful; and that money gives them (social) status and respect. Respondents discussed, for instance, about the need to have “a lot of money” (N = 16), successful (N = 23), hard-worker/bread-winner (N = 34) and able to provide for others (N = 14).</p>	<p><i>and encouraged to be tough or aggressive whilst discouraged from being emotional or 'soft'.” (UK29)</i></p> <p><i>“In the Brazilian culture [being a real man] refers to someone who is heterosexual, virile and successful. Despite the fact that I do not agree with that, I can see that the majority of the population endorse these ideals.” (BRA15)</i></p>
<p>It is all about women: sex disconnected from intimacy</p>	<p>Participants commented on society’s expectations around their sexuality. More specifically, about the heteronormativity and the value assigned to sex. Brazilian and British men wrote, for instance, about the need to “show up my heterosexuality” (N = 58), to have “a lot of sexual encounters” (N = 66), to value sex (N = 13), to be virile (N = 15) and even about asserting their masculinity through infidelity (N = 02).</p>	<p><i>“Modern people who value masculinity have configured it to now mean someone who is successful with multiple women sexually.” (UK11)</i></p>
<p>You must not rely on others: the role of self-reliance</p>	<p>Participants declared that men are demanded, since early age, to live their lives without asking for help (i.e., they are not allowed to rely on others) (N = 02). Some mentioned, for example, about society’s expectations around men’s ability to perform manual work (N = 03) and to take the lead when in a relationship; as men should be the ones making decisions (N = 15).</p>	<p><i>“[I believe...] a real man works his own way through life with no help. A real man has nobody he is dependent on.” (UK58)</i></p>
<p>Don’t be a sissy: when homophobia takes place</p>	<p>In this subtheme, participants shed light into how men are expected to state their ‘male statuses’ by avoiding any conduct that puts their heterosexuality at risk. Respondents commented, for example, about the need to avoid wearing pink clothes (N = 04). In addition, participants stressed the importance of distancing themselves from causes such as feminism and LGBT rights; as this could lead some to think they are ‘not men’ (N = 20).</p>	<p><i>“I feel there are enormous pressure to dress certain ways and there is a double standard in how a man can behave versus a woman. Particularly with clothing, fashion (...).” (UK04)</i></p> <p><i>“As a homosexual male, I have long felt inadequate and insecure about how macho</i></p>

<p>When in Brazil, the macho. When in the UK, the lad!</p>	<p>This subtheme draws attention to the value assigned to two different characters: ‘the lad’, in Britain, and ‘the butch’ or ‘the macho’, in Brazil. Participants commented, for example, about the need to engage in different forms of sports (N = 23), to perform sexist comments (N = 09), to be a “bloke” and/or a bully, and a “hard drinker” (N = 12)</p>	<p><i>heterosexuals see me, and so I try to reduce some of my mannerisms that are seen as camp or gay. I like to wear skinny jeans and dye my hair bright colours but have refrained from doing this when I have worked in environments where I felt homosexuality would be less tolerated. Also my voice is a 'give away' to my sexuality, and in some instances I have had to put a deeper voice on to avoid ridicule.” (UK107)</i></p> <p>[A real man in the UK] <i>“Drinks beer has sex with lots of women and gets into fights and is tough.” (UK70)</i></p>
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Key-Theme 03: About group dynamics: The role of peer pressure

<p>N/A</p>	<p>This key-theme underlies all the previous narratives and draws attention to how group dynamics (i.e., relationship with other men) can work as a powerful engine for traditional masculinity outside of intimate, heterosexual relationships.</p>	<p><i>“I have felt pressured to go out 'with the lads' drinking and to get drunk to the point of unconsciousness. Whilst I have gone out on occasions with 'the lads' I only drank what I felt I could handle. I never felt that I should give in, only that the pressure and reasons they were presenting me with were childish and banal.” (UK55)</i></p>
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CHAPTER FOUR

Is this really a problem? Men's attitudes towards sexual violence perpetration and prevention strategies in Brazil and the United Kingdom.

Introduction

Sexual violence remains a major social and public health problem in different countries (WHO, 2014), with studies suggesting that between one in three and one in five women will be victimised at some point in their lives, depending on the source (Black, Basile, Breiding, Smith, Walters, Merrick, & Stevens, 2011; UNICEF, UN Women, UNFPA, ILO & OSRSG/VAC, 2013). Due to that, over the years, an increasing number of initiatives attempting to end sexual violence and to engage men in the process of preventing its occurrence have been implemented around the world (DeGue, Holt, Massetti, Matjasko, Tharp, & Valle, 2012; Flood, 2011; Harvey, Garcia-Moreno, & Butchart, 2007; Jewkes, Flood, & Lang, 2015).

Some important progress has been made in this area and men seem to be, more than ever, aware of the seriousness of this phenomenon (Berkowitz & Mathews, 2004; Casey & Smith, 2010). Nonetheless, some questions remain unanswered (or open to interpretation), and challenges still exist. As discussed in previous chapters, most of what is known about sexual offences, for example, comes from research conducted in the USA, followed by some European countries (D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014). Contrary, in Latin America, although the number of sexual offences is alarming, the problem is still extremely understudied (Chan, Straus, Brownridge, Tiwari, & Leung, 2008). On top of that, most studies still fail to account for the social climate in which this form of offence occurs (see Chapter 01). As a result, little is known about those elements which could potentially increase – and/or decrease – men's likelihood to engage in sexual aggression in other parts of the world (e.g., Latin America, Asia, Africa) and any

conclusions regarding the cross-cultural generalizability of already known risk factors are premature and lack theoretical and practical support.

As discussed by Vandello and Cohen (2003), societies vary not only regarding frequency and legislation but also in terms of those events which can be seen to trigger this form of violence. In addition, differences regarding what each culture considers to be an appropriate justification for and/or response to these events are also observed. To Garcia and Lila (2015) the way people understand and/or explain sexual violence perpetrated against women impact attributions (i.e. fault or responsibility), attitudes (i.e., sympathy, derogation, and disdain), and behaviours (i.e. helping, prevention and passivity) towards both victims and perpetrators. Hence, the collective understanding of the nature, causes and people involved in this phenomenon is vital; as it helps shape the social climate in which this form of violence occurs.

Brazil and the United Kingdom: Different Cultures and One Same Problem

As discussed in previous chapters, the United Kingdom (IC Rating = 8.95) and Brazil (IC Rating = 3.90) are two examples of individualist and collectivist cultures (Guerra, 2008). It means that the values endorsed, the orientation of individuals' attitudes, as well as the emphasis placed on aspects such as the importance of group attainment tend to differ considerably between them (Triandis, 1989). For example, whereas collectivistic societies tend to emphasise the group functioning more so than one's freedom of choice, individualistic cultures tend to allocate greater importance on self-centred goals and individuals' independence (Neto, 2007).

In addition, it is also possible to state that Brazilian and British cultures differ on a wide range of meaning criterion. For example, their levels of religiosity, access to education and

services, gender inequality rates, workplace opportunities, access to education, property rights, and women's political participation to name a few. Likewise, differently from Brazil, the U.K is not considered to be an honour culture, nor a macho society (Goldenberg, 2011).

Despite those differences, however, sexual violence has been regularly reported and is, indeed, considered a public health problem in both countries (see Chapter 01). In England and Wales, for example, in 2012 alone, more than 400,000 women were victimised and 53,700 sexual offences were recorded by police (Ministry of Justice, 2013). Likewise, data (Pinheiro, Junior, Fontoura, & Silva, 2016) indicates, for example, that 5,312 cases of sexual violence were recorded in the first trimester of 2012 (Compromisso e Atitude, 2014) and that 2016 saw an increase in 3.5% in this form of offence (i.e., in 2016, 49,497 cases of rape were recorded; Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2017).

As discussed by Radcliffe, D'Oliveira, Lea, Figueiredo and Gilchrist (2017), in research about domestic violence, rates of women's victimisation in these countries are intriguingly similar; and should be better investigated. Thus, drawing from the above, in this part of the study Brazilian and British men's views regarding sexual violence and issues of consent are investigated.

Through the comparison of one Latin-American sample, to one from a European country where rape research is prominent (i.e. the United Kingdom), I aim to identify some of the commonalities and peculiarities across the cohort, and to discuss the social constructions of sexual violence. Moreover, I aim to explore their views on strategies to prevent its occurrence, as this would help clarify why some strategies already in *vigour* might be failing to succeed. In addition, exploring the same phenomenon across countries helps researchers and practitioners to appreciate the variables which might be generalizable and those which might be culture-specific.

Method

Participants, procedure and analysis are identical to those described in Chapter 03. Nonetheless, in this part of the study participants were invited to elaborate on their thoughts regarding the occurrence of sexual violence in their countries. The main questions were: (a) “When thinking about your country do you think that sexual violence is a problem?”, (b) “Sex can be a tricky territory and some men claim that nowadays some people have been misinterpreting “sex” and “sexual violence”. As a result, some men feel that they have been undeservedly blamed for cases of sexual violence. Have you ever come across a case where this difference (i.e., between sex and sexual violence) was less clear?”, (c) “Do you know someone who has been in this position (i.e., being wrongly accused for cases of sexual violence)”, and (d) “Do you think is possible to prevent rape?”. Similarly to Study 01.01, for each of these question participants were encouraged to provide examples and to reflect about the way they felt regarding this matter (e.g., “Could you give an example to us?” “How did you feel about it?” “What are, for you, the factors that are contributing to or causing sexual violence in your country?” “Why do you think some people might find it difficult to see the difference between sex and rape?”).

Results

Aiming to introduce the discussion about sexual violence, a closed-ended question, about whether (or not) participants consider it to be a problem in their own countries was raised. Participants were then invited to justify their answers. Analysis of their responses showed an interesting distinction between the samples, with only 5% (N = 6) of Brazilians – versus 33.3% (N = 36) of Britons – answering *no* to this question.

Following that, participants were asked to elaborate on their thoughts regarding why some men might find it hard to see the difference and consensual sex and sexual violence and, finally, they were asked to comment on those strategies they believe could be used to prevent the occurrence of this offence. Overall responses were grouped into four key-themes, and 17 subthemes. Responses from 34 individuals will be quoted as a form to illustrate the subthemes emerged. See Table 03 for an overview of their demographic information and Table 04 for an abbreviated code scheme, and a description of each subtheme.

Key-theme 01: Sexual Violence? This is Definitely Not a Problem in the U.K.

Understanding why men believe sexual violence is a problem in their culture is important. Equally important, however, is to understand the reasons why they believe this is not an issue; as recognising the existence of a problem is the first step to promote its change. Interestingly, British respondents, more so than Brazilians, believe sexual violence not an issue to be considered.

Analysis of Britons' responses suggested the emergence of three subthemes and raised important questions regarding the role of media in providing individuals with a sense of safety (and distance) regarding this offence. Because Brazilian participants did not elaborate on the reasons why they think sexual violence is not a problem, their responses could not be analysed.

The first subtheme to emerge [Subtheme 01 – I am not really aware of it] highlights the fact that some believe sexual violence is not a problem in the United Kingdom simply because they are not aware of any cases. According to them, because this is not a topic often covered by the mainstream media, its prevalence must be either rare or restricted to an extreme. As participant UK33 stated:

I read of isolated incidents which are reported through newspapers and television. These don't appear to be the norm, more standalone incidents. (UK33)

Others, instead, commented that they do not feel the need to 'worry about it'; as they believe the prevalence of this offence is not as high in the U.K as it is in other countries [Subtheme 02 – It's definitely a problem: for others... not for us!]. Respondent UK18 commented, for example, that:

I don't think it is ingrained in British culture (...) whereas in other cultures I believe it is much more prevalent. (UK18)

Some participants also relied on the assumption that British people are well-educated on this matter, and that the U.K has been able to control and prevent the occurrence of sexual violence through laws, policies, and campaigns, for example [Subtheme 03 – We are in control of it]. Therefore, there would be no strong reasons to call it 'a problem'. As participant UK14 stated:

Although I'm sure it does occur, I believe most people in this country have too much conscience to want to commit sexual violence, and most of those that don't will do it out of fear or the consequences. As the number that does is very small I haven't referred to it as a 'problem'. (UK14)

As aforementioned, though only a minority of the sample did state sexual violence is not a problem, their discourses draw attention to how different aspects of the social functioning affect individuals' perception and conceptualisation of different phenomena; including

violence. In this case, for example, despite the high number of women being sexually victimised in this country, the absence of media reports addressing this issue lead some to believe this is not a problem in the U.K. As discussed by Marhia (2008), the press is a major source of information, facts, and ideas. It reflects the sociocultural dominant relations and arrangements and helps people to shape opinions about a wide range of subjects and to construct a reality. Therefore, “it matters profoundly who and what is selected to appear in news coverage, and how individuals and events are portrayed. Equally, it matters who is left out and what is not covered” (Gallagher, 2005, p. 16)

To Franiuk et al., (2008) because the clear majority of sexual offences do not fit the prototype of a ‘real rape’ they never receive any publicity and/or get very little press coverage. This distorted picture helps to shape and to maintain a certain stereotype of violence, victims, and offenders, as it tends to draw heavily on stereotypical myths. Thus, raising awareness of the reality of the occurrence of sexual violence is vital to educate people on the issue and to catalyse change.

Key-theme 02: Sexual Violence? This is Definitely a Problem!

Moving on to why some believe sexual violence is indeed a problem, analysis of their responses suggested men still call upon rape myths to explain the reasons for the occurrence of this phenomenon. In line with different authors’ discussions and findings (see Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2009; Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum, & Effler, 1998; Burt, 1980; Viki & Abrams, 2002), respondents often declared, for example, that “some men are not able to control their own sexual urges”, and/or “women provoke their own victimisation”. Parallel to that, some also explored the effects of the sociocultural element on the way men behave towards women in the sexual domain; either (a) encouraging men to perpetrate sexually

aggressive behaviours, or (b) providing them with the tools they need to morally disengage from the violence perpetrated.

The first subtheme to emerge [Subtheme 01 – It’s her fault] sheds light on the idea that women are (partly and/or completely) responsible for being victimised; as they provoke men (intentionally or not) to the extent that they are not able to control their ‘sexual impulses’. As discussed by Ullman (2007, p.411) “the expectation that women resist, serves to hold women responsible for controlling male sexual aggression and contributes to victim blaming in cases of rape”. A discourse by one participant employed this strategy to the extent that, according to him:

Women are very uncultured and undignified, they get wasted to the point of oblivion and wonder why they get targeted. Men are trained to have to hunt out women and so become forceful and aggressive as women turn them down all the time. (UK30)

The way women provoke men. The way they dress. I mean, not that their clothes are a problem, (...) but there are some who wear it and then instigate the guys to ‘have sex’. (BRA62)

Few also commented on how some women purposely embrace the role of victim (i.e. ‘cry rape), aiming to get some secondary benefits from that. As stated by BRA28:

In the last few days I’ve been reading a few reports showing that a lot of cases of sexual violence are, in fact, false allegations made from women who want to punish their - actual or ex - partners or to get away with a situation. (BRA28)

While some assigned to women the blame for their victimisation, others advocate that society should concentrate their attention on understanding the reasons why men engage in this form of violence [Subtheme 02 – We should focus on him]. In line with previous research on rape myths (Payne, Lonsway, & Fitzgerald, 1999), participants hypothesised that men “do not mean to offend”, but end up engaging in violent behaviour due to reasons such as, limited knowledge and/or distorted ideas regarding sex and relationships, or possible “mental health issues” (e.g., inability to control their sexual drive). It is interesting to note, however, that some participants pointed out that some men might actually engage in this form of violence due to a sense of entitlement and/or desire for power:

If children were taught, from an early age, to respect others and to respect their personal space they would have better relationships. When someone says that rapists are monsters it sounds wrong to me, as often the offender is someone we know, a 'normal person'. The problem, I believe, is deeper than that. (BRA39)

(...) most men understand that it will cause the woman suffering. For them to nonetheless engage in rape, I would suppose that their desire is stronger than their care for the women's well-being. (UK13)

I think most rapes are down to drunkenness and the men don't understand what they are doing wrong. (UK28)

Brazilian men further elaborated on that possibility and commented that Brazilian men still struggle to accept the fact that women are not only more independent than ever before, but also willing to fight for their rights. In this sense, violence would be used to punish those women who challenge their social status; a form of ‘backlash’; thereby, restoring the ‘social order’. Even though only a small number of respondents mentioned that, I argue on the

relevance of this category, as gender inequality is a serious problem in Brazil. As participant BRA73 wrote:

Some men are simply not prepared to (deal with) women's autonomy and freedom in actual society. (BRA73)

In line with the above, some participants (i.e., Brazilians more so than Britons) argued on a direct link between sexual violence and an environment which emphasises the male need for sex, puts pressure on men to behave in a hyper-masculine manner, portrays women as sexual objects and regards them as inferior to men [Subtheme 03: It is a matter of culture]. Nonetheless, although both samples agree on the impact of culture on men's likelihood to sexually offend, each of them focused on different aspects of their cultures to justify this phenomenon. For example, whereas Brazilians centred their attention on the effects of traditionalism, religion and macho culture, Britons explored the impacts of laddism and British drinking culture in this context:

There is this culture that men are superior to women (...) the conservatism (...) and the power of Church on families' lives, makes men and women (even unconsciously) accept the idea that women should be submissive to men. (BRA73)

Drinking alcohol seems to cause a lot of violence so that would be a contributing factor. Also, someone's upbringing and their exposure to violence in early years would contribute. (UK10)

Respondents also agreed that the way media portrays not only cases of violence but also women, in general, encourages men to behave aggressively against them [Subtheme 04 –

The way media portrays it... It's just becoming trite]. According to some participants, women are often depicted in a sexualized manner, in (semi)-pornographic images and TV shows, as well movies, romanticises abusive relationships. UK77 commented, for example, that:

(...) maybe the increase in media that glorifies sexuality such as movies, music, and porn may all contribute to some individuals becoming sexually focused and frustrated enough that they commit acts of sexual violence. (UK77)

In addition to those common themes, one more subtheme has emerged for each sample. The first subtheme, [Subtheme 05 – It is not about us; it is about them] highlights Britons' idea that sexual violence is caused by immigrants who are not able to adapt themselves to the British culture. Although they did not write at length about it, the emergence of this subtheme is pertinent, as immigration has been considered a very sensitive topic in the British culture (Ford & Heath, 2014). In addition, this discourse reflects one more strategy in which men distance themselves from this phenomenon. To participant UK95, for example:

We adapt to people from other cultures and have many different cultures in my country but some people from different cultures do not adapt to our culture, and in their culture this (sexual violence) is deemed as normal. (UK95)

Next, the second exclusive subtheme to emerge [Subtheme 06 – They do it because they feel they can] brings up Brazilians' idea that the combination of increasing poverty, poor investment in education and escalating levels of general violence creates an environment that entitles men to sexually aggress. Respondents further elaborated on the idea that impunity as a serious problem – not only regarding this offence, but for most crimes and that that this form

of violence occurs because offenders feel that they will not suffer any consequences for behaving in this way. As pointed out by some:

[Brazil has] *an ingrained culture of impunity, where crimes can be committed without any consequences for their perpetrators*; meaning that certain social climates encourage men to behave in this way. (BRA75)

In the current social situation – political and economic – things are becoming more difficult, which can be the reason why different forms of violence – including sexual violence – are becoming more frequent. (BRA103)

Overall, it is interesting to note, however, that although participants frequently discussed the individual aspect (i.e., someone's mental health issue) of sexual offending, they also often stressed the socio-cultural element of it. That is, how offenders are embedded in an environment which either: (a) does not offer them the necessary tools to avoid engaging in sexual violence, or (b) provides them with the tools they need to morally disengage from the offence perpetrated. As seen throughout their answers, participants often discussed, for example, the role of media, cultural norms, pornography, and even poverty, on the way men behave towards women in the sexual domain. Thereby, increasing these men's chances to sexually aggress.

These responses highlighted some important elements for the understanding of men's attitudes towards sexual violence, but they do not provide the full picture. Therefore, in order to further explore those views, and to better understand why some men might find it difficult to see the difference between sex and rape, participants were invited to write about their thoughts on the matter of consent and other factors that may affect men's views. Analysis of the responses suggested three common categories, which are discussed below.

Key-theme 03: About Sex and Rape: Do Men Know Really Understand What Consent Is?

Firstly, both Brazilian and British men, but mainly the former, wrote about their struggle to understand why someone would find difficult to recognise the difference between a consensual sex and rape. In line with that, the first common theme [Subtheme 01 – The difference is clear. They are just pretending they do not know it] revolves around participants' belief that there should be no room for doubts with respect to what sexual violence is.

Relying on the assumption that these are two completely distinct events, participants discussed the fact that men have clear knowledge of the limits of consent, yet some consciously choose to ignore them. According to both British and Brazilian respondents, several enjoy being aggressive and dominant towards women. Therefore, any sexually aggressive behaviour would be the ending result of someone's decision; the apogee of his own desires. It is important to stress, however, that Brazilian men brought up this possibility much more frequently and discussed it in much more detail than the British participants:

From my point of view, I can't see how anyone could not see the difference between the two. It is clear as night and day. (UK06)

Some men just do not care about the women; therefore, they just pretend the 'no' they said was a 'disguised yes'. (BRA01)

Some participants, however, believe this difference is not so clear. In the second common theme [Subtheme 02 – Lines can be blurred] respondents discussed the different variables which could, from their own perspective, blur the lines between a consensual intercourse and rape. British and Brazilian men often stressed, for example, the role alcohol in this context. Differently to what participants previously discussed, however, in this moment

alcohol was not portrayed as an ‘underline cause’ (i.e., addiction to alcohol) of men’s inability to control their sexual urges. Instead, it was pointed out as a contextual variable; as they believe its consumption may lead men to misinterpret friendly behaviour as a sign of interest or sexual availability, for example.

Participants also discussed how the limits between rape and consensual sex might be blurred because of shared distorted ideas surrounding this offence, and the people involved in that (i.e., offenders and victims). Both Brazilian and British men commented, for instance, that some men still believe women “play hard to get”, and that rape must involve the use of extreme violence. That is, once again, participants invoked some of the most common myths surrounding sexual violence to justify this offence.

Every case is a different case. If a husband and a wife have sex, and the wife hasn’t said yes, is it rape? Despite the fact that people are in romantic union together? If one party is drunker (sic) than the other one, is it rape if they haven’t consented? It’s a very grey area on occasions. (UK18)

Rape produces an image of forced sex, usually the person is grabbed and forced to have sex; sex in a hotel room where the victim went unforced and seems to have decided to consent only to change their mind doesn’t come across as a violent act. (UK25)

Still in line with the idea that different variables can affect male sexual behaviour, and blur the lines between consensual and non-consensual intercourse, participants wrote about the availability of pornographic content on the internet. Both Brazilian and British men, but mainly the former, discussed porn as a vital element in this context. According to them, it affects the way men understand sex and relationships, as well as the way they view – and treat – women.

I would guess it is down to porn. They may have been watching porn that features women being treated roughly. Perhaps over time some guys struggle with blurred lines between reality and the fiction that they watch. (UK26)

Finally, the last category emerged [Subtheme 03 – They lack in education] revolves around Brazilian and British men’s idea that sexual violence might happen due to individuals’ lack of education, and awareness regarding this matter. To some participants, men are not taught about how to adopt healthy sexual behaviours. Therefore, the limits of consent might simply not be clear for a proportion of the population. As discussed by D’Abreu and Krahe (2014, p.160) “learning to respect the limits imposed by their partners and deal with their own sexual needs in a responsible and socially acceptable way is a critical developmental task”. Nonetheless, those skills are often required, but rarely taught. As pointed out by one of them:

[it comes down to a] Lack of education. Arrogance and ignorance. Sometimes people may define their act as something in the middle, they don’t see themselves as rapists – therefore, again, education is necessary to combat people’s ignorance. (UK22)

Brazilians further explored this topic, and discussed the effects of being raised in a macho culture in the way both men and women perform their genders. More importantly, to these participants, those socio-cultural norms affect the way they relate to each other in the intimate domain:

Culturally this difference is not clear in Brazil. Men think they do not need women's consent for sex. They are often aggressive yet interpreting it as sex. This difference is not clear for women as well. (BRA49)

(...) rape is not a crime of will, but because men are educated to think of women as individuals who do not have the right to decide with whom they want to have sex. (BRA25)

That is, to these participants, in their culture, whereas women often think that men are (or should be) always willing to have sex (even though this is not necessarily true), men are raised to think that they are entitled to have sex with them (even against their own will, if necessary). As a result, both genders lack in complete understanding regarding consensual sex and healthy relationships.

Key-theme 04: If This Is a Real Problem... How Can We Prevent It?

With respect to sexual violence, societies differ on aspects such as sexual violence rates, legislation and events which can be seen to trigger this offence (Vandello & Cohen, 2003). The collective understanding of nature, causes, and the characteristics of those involved in this phenomenon is vital; as it helps shape the social climate in which this violence occurs. Likewise, societies also vary in regard to those actions aimed to resolve it.

In attempting to explore some of these questions, in this part of the study participants were also invited to elaborate on their thoughts regarding how to prevent sexual violence in their countries (i.e., as they are often the targets of those initiatives). Analysis of responses suggested similar patterns for both Brazil and the United Kingdom; with most participants declaring that they believe it is possible to prevent rape (U.K: 65.7%, N = 71; Brazil: 89.9%,

N = 125). Not surprisingly, when asked about how this issue could be addressed, participants focused on those factors they had previously cited as being responsible for its occurrence. Themes emerged revolve, for instance, around the need for education, socio-cultural changes, more security for the victims and harsher punishment and/or treatment for offenders.

The first subtheme [Subtheme 01 – We must educate men!] highlights participants’ belief that men must be educated – from an early age – on topics such as consent, sexism, gender equality, sex, and emotions. Brazilians and Britons commented, for example, that most men struggle to adopt healthy sexual behaviours and stressed the importance of public campaigns as a form of raising awareness and informing individuals about the consequences of sexual violence. It is also interesting to note that whereas Brazilians stressed the need to educate men about topics such as machismo and ‘rape culture’, Britons focused on the limits of consent and the need to ‘demystify’ this offence. Some examples are:

Through educating people on the consequences of rape both for the victim and the criminal. Additionally, educating people on the definition of rape and issues regarding consent, which I think people often view as a grey area. Addressing issues in society which may make people more likely to be rape; for example, prostitution, etc. (UK22)

There is a need to overcome the rape culture and the victim blaming discourse. We must clear away this ‘real man’ idea, making the relationships more ‘human’. (BRA46)

With education, not forcing to instil in people’s minds that it is ok to live in a society where rape culture exists. We must end this “gender war” created by feminists (i.e., as they condemn women who prefer not to have a job. They also encourage women to get naked, to paint their bodies and to “perform lesbian kisses” in public places... as a form of protest). Instead, we need to show people that men and women can live in harmony and that rape can be prevented if one’s family is able to educate their children in the way they

believe it is appropriate. To educate people we also need to stop including these discussions about gender in schools; as they ignore their biology and foster this “gender war”. In my view, the feminist movement causes more problems than anything else when it comes to ending sexual violence. (BRA97)

Still in line with the notion that education is the key element to prevent sexual violence the next subtheme to emerge sheds light on participants’ idea that society must invest in educating women – not men – about how to prevent sexual violence [Subtheme 02 – We must educate... women!]. Recalling the idea that women cause their own victimisation, some participants wrote about the need to educate women regarding prevention strategies. Respondents commented, for example, that women should have access to guns and/or self-defence classes, should be able to identify risk areas and/or situations and more importantly, they should be taught about how ‘properly behave’.

*Better education of potential victim demographic in awareness and self-defence.
Potential victims not putting themselves at risk, such as getting drunk and being unsafe.
More care when being promiscuous. (UK49)*

Though rape can be committed in any place /environment, (...) [I believe that] there are places where this form of violence is more likely to occur. Thus, if a woman avoids such places, she would be preventing herself from being a victim. In the same way, there are individuals who have a history of sexual offences...so, if I do not want to be a victim you should not be with this person. (BRA114)

As pointed out by Ullman (2007), there is still an expectation that lies on women the responsibility for controlling male sexual aggression. That is true to the extent that one of the participants commented, for example, that in order to prevent violence:

Women should be taught to not reject men because of the way they look, as they also have feelings and might be hurt. (BRA32)

Broadening the idea that individuals must be better educated, participants mentioned that only cultural/social changes would be able to prevent sexual violence [Subtheme 03 – We must change the culture!]. Respondents wrote, for example, about the need to challenge social views and attitudes towards women; and to address problems such as sexual objectification, gender inequality, and gender norm expectations. Here, participants go beyond the need for education concerning sex and consent and comment that only a radical change on gender dynamics will secure women safe. As UK15 commented:

Ultimately, it would only be possible to prevent rape if a culture is changed where sexual power dynamics are equalized and the power elements are removed. Traditional gender roles would no longer exist. (UK15)

I believe we can prevent it... but we need change our culture in order to do so... we need not only better education but also changes in the way media portrays it; we need more people concerned about issues such as respect, for example. Also, less conservatism, and more rights ... to all of us. (BRA139)

Counterweighting the aforementioned discourses, a small subset of the sample argued that educating and/or changing cultural norms would not be enough to prevent men from

sexually offend against women. In line with the idea that sexual violence occurs as a result of individuals' personal tendencies and/or pathologies, participants wrote about the need for: (a) psychological assessments and treatment and/or (b) new legislation and harsher prison sentences [Subtheme04 – I mean... just do something to him!].

To those participants, governments and society should concentrate their efforts on finding different ways to identify those at risk of offending, and to treat and/or punish those who have already done something 'wrong' (e.g., reforming the Justice System, in order to secure a better conviction rate). Brazilians and Britons wrote, for example:

Maybe through (...) much sterner sentencing, much higher police presence in vulnerable areas!? (UK83)

I don't know... give people who show any signs of being capable of sexual assaults through treatment and counselling. Give them sex dolls for free if needs be. (UK84)

More severe penalties such as the death penalty or reduction of the penal age would make the offender think twice before doing something. However, for those who are "mentally ill", I think they should seek treatment for their "psychosis"... I mean, they are not stupid, they just do not have something to fear. (BRA62)

Lastly, Britons also referred to alcohol as a vital (underlying or contextual) element in the context of sexual violence perpetration in their country. In this final subtheme [Subtheme 05 – Alcohol consumption policies], participants elaborated on their feelings that most offences involve some form of alcohol consumption. Therefore, any effort to prevent sexual violence should take this element into account: either via education, legal regulation, or both.

[To prevent sexual violence, it is necessary to] *Reduce the consumption of alcohol. Many of the cases reported in the media are committed by someone who drink too much and lost their self-control. I also think society (as a whole) would do better if overall consumption was drastically reduced. Not only it would reduce crimes such as rape, but various others issues too, such as those relating to health. (UK24)*

It is noteworthy that although alcohol consumption has been pointed out as a risk factor for men to engage in aggressive behaviour around the world (see Abbey, Clinton-Sherrod, McAuslan, Zawaki & Buck, 2015 and WHO, 2002 for review) Brazilians did not write about it.

Discussion

In recognising the need for a more contextualised picture of sexual violence in different parts of the globe, an online survey with a Latin American (Brazil) and one European (United Kingdom) sample was conducted. Since Brazil is the largest country in both South and Latin America, and the fifth-largest in the world (by both area and population), it makes studying sexual violence in this country essential if one considers the high prevalence rates in comparison to the dearth of research on the topic. In addition, even though men are often the target of prevention initiatives, their views on this matter is yet to be fully explored.

This study aimed, therefore, to add to the current literature by offering the results of a cross-cultural investigation of men's views on sexual violence, and thoughts regarding ways to prevent it. The first important result to arise refers to the fact that most participants declared that they do acknowledge the prevalence – and seriousness – of this form of violence (i.e., Brazil: 95%; U.K: 66.7% of the sample agree sexual violence is a real issue).

Though this result appears to be encouraging, these numbers must be approached with caution. Analysis of responses suggests, for example, that men still call upon sexually aggressive and/or rape myths (Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2009; Burt, 1980) to make sense of this phenomenon and, sometimes, to distance themselves from a place of responsibility without incurring in harm to their moral standards. That is, to morally disengage. As proposed by Page (2015) though the relationship between these constructs are yet to be explored, since the 80's Bandura (1986) had already "noted that mechanisms of moral disengagement are embodied within rape myths that serve to blame the victim and exonerate the rapist" (Page, 2015, p.27).

Further inspection also revealed how some still struggle to detach themselves from traditional views of what sexual violence actually is and to recognise the need, for them, to engage as agents of change. In line with some of the most common myths around this offence (see Bohner, Eyssel, Pina, Viki, & Siebler, 2009; Burt, 1980), for example, sexual violence was often promoted as an isolated and rare offence, caused by a pathology or deviance. In addition, some men still rely on the assumption that sexual violence must involve the use of physical violence; leaving great part of cases (e.g., acquaintance, dating and/or marital rape) behind. Lastly, several also still believe that some women 'cry rape' and that the responsibility of actively communicating limits and preventing violence lies on women's shoulders.

As wrote by Du Mont, Miller and Myhr (2003) rape myths are culturally located and socially learned ideologies that help to perpetuate the violence. Through ideas such as (a) women provoke their own sexual assault by the way they present themselves; (b) "it wasn't really rape"; (c) "he didn't mean to do it" and (d) "women cry rape", individuals are able to excuse male perpetration of sexual violence, and support the idea that women are responsible for their own victimisation. In addition, as discussed by several (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005; Hattingh, 2011; Sawyer, Thompson, & Chicorelli,

2002) rape myths help narrowing the spectrum of behaviours that are recognised as ‘true violence’; having serious implications for both victims and offenders.

The more accessible these myths are, the harder it becomes to eliminate sexual assault in a society (Franiuk, Seefeldt, Cephess, & Vandelo, 2008). This is because individuals who are inclined to readily accept them, are far less likely to recognise a given situation as rape, even if legal criteria are met (Anderson & Doherty, 2008; Bohner, Jarvis, Eyssel, & Siebler, 2005; Hattingh, 2011; Sawyer, Thompson, & Chicorelli, 2002). They also tend to show less sympathy for the victims of this violence and assign more blame to them, than to perpetrators, and to trivialise the consequences of sexual aggression (Bohner, Reinhard, Rutz, Sturm, Kerschbaum, & Effler, 1998; Viki & Abrams, 2002).

As considered by D’Abreu and Krahe (2014), it is about time to acknowledge how rape myths might help to pave “the way for crossing the boundary from consensual to coercive sex” (p.160). For example, the idea that ambiguous communication is an integral part of a “normal” sexual life, that sexual violence is a problem restricted to ‘3rd world countries’ or that men should be sexually aggressive to prove their masculinity (see Chapter 01).

Even in the presence of what appears to be a largely similar discourse, throughout their responses, participants made evident how some (un)subtle aspects of their culture affect the way they understand this phenomenon. For example, Brazilians brought to the discussion aspects such as the influence of the Church, traditionalism, machismo and rape culture. Britons, on the other hand, built most of their discourse around the offender himself and, more importantly, were less inclined to recognise this offence as an issue in their country.

Those patterns are in line with the *cultural syndromes* approach (i.e., collectivism vs. individualism, see Guerra, 2008; Hofstede, 2011 and Hofstede et al., 2010 for review) as well as the discussion raised in Chapter 02 regarding those moral values each culture endorse the most (i.e., community, autonomy, divinity moral codes and/or binding and individualizing

foundations). Collectively, they provide further evidence that, in order to prevent sexual violence, strategies must account for those elements that may be influencing not only one's definition of rape, but also the general idea of what an immoral behaviour is. For example, in designing campaigns targeting lad culture or immigration might work well in the U.K, it would not have the same effect for Brazilians; as they might be more concerned with expressions of machismo. By the same token, strategies focusing on group behaviour may be a good strategy in Latin American countries, but not for those in the U.K.

First, however, governments/agencies must account for another vital element: the extent to which individuals see themselves as part of the problem. That is, the first challenge when it comes to ending sexual violence is to address individuals' inability or refusal to recognise its existence as well as their justifications for why it happens (Franiuk et al., 2008). Without that, any discussion and/or intervention has its chances of success substantially reduced.

Some Britons, for example, do not even recognise sexual violence as an issue to be considered. Brazilian men's discourses, on the other hand, were often marked by contradictions and certain confusion regarding the social mechanisms underlying this form of offence. To illustrate, some participants stressed the need of a 'change in culture' and more rights to women' while simultaneously standing themselves against the feminist movement and the idea that topics such as gender could be discussed in schools. Therefore, participants' responses to some of the questions might not actually represent their views on this matter but rather, a conscious effort to present themselves in a socially desirable manner. As commented by Bandura (2004, p.133) "where everyone is responsible, no one really feels responsible".

Another possibility is that these results could simply represent an immediate effect of the recent discussions on rape culture in Brazil (BBC Latin America & Caribbean, 2016); since more attention has been paid to this concept since a case of gang rape occurred in this country

(i.e., May 2016). Due to its extreme violence, this assault sparked a debate over sexism and violence and attracted a great deal of attention from the Brazilian press. Different media outlets discussed the case at length and a public debate about rape, rape culture and sexual violence was instigated (“Mass rape’ video on social media”, 2016). Hence, whether participants’ claim for a “more fair and equal society” represents a true change in the way they understand this phenomenon – or whether it is just an immediate effect of that – remains to be seen.

As pointed out by Garcia and Lila (2015), even though efforts to make society aware of this issue have been made, they have not been necessarily translated into a sense of personal responsibility and personal involvement for most men. In other words, most men still resist seeing themselves as part of this equation. As seen throughout this chapter, for some, the problem of sexual violence perpetration is still designated as a women’s issue and “it seems that all years of educating the public about these issues have resulted only in the expectation that women should now know better than to let themselves get raped” (Robertson, 2015, p.37).

Therefore, addressing how each culture build their ‘system of justification’ (e.g., sexism, gender roles), for the male perpetration of sexual violence seems to be a crucial step to make men become part of the solution rather than part of the problem (Naved, Huque, Farah, & Shuvra, 2011). More specifically, how this system could be serving as means, for men, to morally disengage from their responsibility in the pervasiveness of this phenomena (e.g., decreasing their willingness to engage in preventive strategies and/or increasing victim blaming).

In consonance with the above, and aiming to contribute to the discussion, Chapter 05 will describe the first two studies (i.e., from a total of five studies) conducted with the aim to empirically test the role of culture and morality in men’s endorsement of rape myths and proclivity to rape.

Table 03

Participants' demographic information by ID number in Study 01.02

Participant	Age	Relationship Status	Level of Education	Religion	Importance Assigned to Religion	Sexual Orientation
UK06	26	Single	Less than high school	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK11	23	Single	Less than high school	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK13	23	Single	Less than high school	R	Very important	EH
UK14	34	Single*	Bachelor's Degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK15	52	Single*	Junior College	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK18	25	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK22	22	Single	Bachelor's degree	R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
UK24	27	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK25	37	Single	Less than high school	R	Not at all important	EH
UK26	28	Married	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK28	50	Single*	Less than high school	R	Extremely important	EH
UK30	34	Single	Masters' Degree	R	Very important	EH
UK33	46	Married	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Slightly important	EH
UK39	60	Married	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK49	39	Married	Bachelor's degree	R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
UK77	26	Married	Masters' degree	R	Very important	EH
UK83	25	Single*	Less than high school	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-MIHO
UK84	31	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
UK95	40	Single*	Less than high school	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA01	36	Married	Masters' Degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA12	25	Single*	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH
BRA25	34	Single	Bachelor's degree	N/R	Neither important nor unimportant	EHO
BRA28	22	Single	Junior College	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
BRA32	18	Single*	Junior College	N/R	Slightly important	EH
BRA46	30	Single	Masters' degree	R	Slightly important	EH
BRA49	57	Divorced	Doctoral Degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHE-IHO
BRA62	22	Single	Junior College	R	Extremely important	EH
BRA 63	34	Married	Masters' degree	R	Very important	EH

BRA73	36	Married	Masters' degree	N/R	Not at all important	PHO-IHO
BRA75	27	Single*	Masters' degree	R	Very important	PHE-IHO
BRA97	28	Single	Post-Graduate Student	R	Very important	EH
BRA103	51	Married	Masters' degree	N/R	Very important	EH
BRA114	28	Single	Post-Graduate Student	R	Very important	EH
BRA139	30	Single	Doctoral Degree	N/R	Not at all important	EH

Note: Single* = Single but in a relationship N/R = Does not belong to any religion. R = Does belong to a religion. EH = Exclusively heterosexual. EHO = Exclusively homosexual. PHE-MIHO = Predominantly heterosexual, but more than incidentally homosexual. PHE-IHO Predominantly heterosexual, only incidentally homosexual. PHO-IHO = Predominantly homosexual, but more than incidentally heterosexual

Table 04

Abbreviated coding scheme for responses and examples of comments: Themes and subthemes emerged in Study 01.02

Subtheme	Description and Frequencies	Example
Key-Theme 01: Sexual violence? This is definitely not a problem in the U.K.		
I am not really aware of it.	This subtheme represents participants' ideas that sexual violence is not a problem in Britain; as they do not see this form of offence being frequently reported in the press.	<i>I read of isolated incidents which are reported through newspapers and television. These don't appear to be the norm, more standalone incidents. (UK33)</i>
It is definitely a problem: for others... not for us!	This subtheme sheds light on participants' idea that the prevalence of this offence is not as high in Britain as it is in other countries. Therefore, they do not feel there is a reason to worry about it.	<i>I don't think it is ingrained in British culture (...) whereas in other cultures I believe it is much more prevalent. (UK18)</i>
We are in control of it.	This subtheme combines participants' idea that Britain has been able to control and prevent the occurrence of sexual violence through laws, policies and campaigns.	<i>Although I'm sure it does occur, I believe most people in this country have too much conscience to want to commit sexual violence, and most of those that don't will do it out of fear or the consequences. As the number that does is very small I haven't referred to it as a 'problem'. (UK14)</i>
Key-Theme 02: Sexual violence? This is definitely a problem!		
It is her fault.	This subtheme represents participants' idea that women are (partly and/or completely) responsible for being victimised, as some provoke (intentionally or not) men to the extent that they are not able to control their own 'impulses'.	<i>The way women provoke men. The way they dress. (...) there are some who wear it and then instigate the guys to 'have sex'. (BRA62)</i>
We should focus on him.	In this subtheme, participants commented that sexual violence is a "man's issue". Precisely, those participants, there is a variety of reasons (e.g., alcohol,	<i>I think most rapes are down to drunkenness and the men don't understand what they are doing wrong. (UK28)</i>

	<p>lack in education, mental health issues, etc.) why some men might engage in sexually aggressive behaviour. The main idea, here, is that beyond culture, context or victims' behaviour, "he" (i.e., the offender) is the one we should be focusing on.</p>	
<p>It is a matter of culture</p>	<p>This subtheme sheds light on participants' idea that sexual violence occurs as a result of individuals living in an environment that emphasises the need for sex, puts pressure on men to behave in a hyper-masculine manner, portrays women as sexual objects and regards them as inferior to men.</p>	<p><i>There is this culture that men are superior to women (...) the conservatism (...) and the power of Church on families' lives, makes men and women (even unconsciously) accept the idea that women should be submissive to men. (BRA73)</i></p>
<p>The way media portrays it ... It is just becoming trite!</p>	<p>In line with the idea that context has a strong influence in the way individuals behave, this subtheme combines participants' ideas that the way media portrays not only this offence (i.e., the violence itself, as well as victims and offenders) but also women – in general – creates an environment that allows men to be sexually aggressive.</p>	<p><i>(...) maybe the increase in media that glorifies sexuality such as movies, music, and porn may all contribute to some individuals becoming sexually focused and frustrated enough that they commit acts of sexual violence. (UK77)</i></p>
<p>It is not about us. It is about them!</p>	<p>This subtheme only emerged for the British sample. In this subtheme, participants commented that sexual violence is caused by immigrants who have been educated in a "different" manner and, as a consequence, have not been able to adapt themselves to the British culture.</p>	<p><i>We adapt to people from other cultures and have many different cultures in my country but some people from different cultures do not adapt to our culture, and in their culture this (sexual violence) is deemed as normal. (UK95)</i></p>
<p>They do it because they feel they can.</p>	<p>This subtheme only emerged for the Brazilian sample. It represents their idea that sexual violence occurs as a result of offenders' perception of impunity in this country. That is, because offenders feel that they will not suffer any consequences for behaving in this way.</p>	<p><i>[Brazil has] an ingrained culture of impunity, where crimes can be committed without any consequences for their perpetrators; meaning that certain social climates encourage men to behave in this way. (BRA75)</i></p>

Key-Theme 03: About Sex and Rape: Do Men Know Really Understand What Consent Is?

The difference is clear. They are just pretending they do not know it.

This subtheme combines Brazilian and British men's ideas that sexual violence and sex are two completely different events and that there is no room for 'misunderstandings'. To those respondents, sexual offenders are just 'pretending' they do not understand what the consequences of their acts.

From my point of view, I can't see how anyone could not see the difference between the two. It is clear as night and day. (UK06)

Lines can be blurred.

This subtheme sheds light on participants' beliefs that, in some situations, the limits between consensual and non-consensual sex might not be completely clear. Hence, some cases of sexual violence might be the ending result of those 'blurred lines'.

Rape produces an image of forced sex, usually the person is grabbed and forced to have sex; sex in a hotel room where the victim went unforced and seems to have decided to consent only to change their mind doesn't come across as a violent act. (UK25)

The lack in education.

This subtheme highlights participants' idea that sexual violence might happen due to individuals' lack of education regarding issues of consent. In addition, it also sheds light on participants concern around the way men are educated in both Brazil and the U.K regarding sex and relationships. To those, the limits of consent might simply not be clear for a proportion of the population.

(...) rape is not a crime of will, but because men are educated to think of women as individuals who do not have the right to decide with whom they want to have sex. (BRA25)

Key-Theme 04: If this is a problem... How can we prevent it?

We must educate men.

This subtheme sheds light on participants' beliefs that only through education societies will be able to prevent rape. Participants commented, for example, on the need for individuals to be educated on topics such as consent, sexism, gender equality, sex and how to deal with their own feelings and desires; as well as on the consequences of rape for both the offender and victim's lives.

There is a need to overcome the rape culture and the victim blaming discourse. We must clear away this 'real man' idea, making the relationships more 'human'. (BRA46)

We must educate ... women!	In this subtheme, we have combined participants' ideas that women should be held responsible – partially or completely – for their own safety. Respondents commented, for example, that women should have access to guns and should to be able to identify risk areas and/or situations (i.e., drinking 'too much' and walking back home by themselves).	<i>Better education of potential victim demographic in awareness and self-defence. Potential victims not putting themselves at risk, such as getting drunk and being unsafe. More care when being promiscuous. (UK49)</i>
We must change the culture!	This subtheme sheds light on participants' beliefs that only through drastically cultural changes, societies will be able to prevent rape. Beyond the need for education, this topic sheds light on participants' idea that gender dynamics need to be challenged and changed in order to secure women some safety.	<i>Ultimately, it would only be possible to prevent rape if a culture is changed where sexual power dynamics are equalized and the power elements are removed. Traditional gender roles would no longer exist. (UK15)</i>
I mean... Just do something to him	In this subtheme, participants commented instead of focusing on "social changes", societies should focus on more investments in security (i.e., more police on vulnerable areas) and reform in the Justice System.	<i>Maybe through (...) much sterner sentencing, much higher police presence in vulnerable areas!?! (UK83)</i>
Alcohol consumption policies.	This subtheme has only emerged for the British sample. In line with participants' idea that most cases of sexual violence occur as a result of individuals' intoxication, they believe that the U.K government should focus on regulating alcohol consumption. In addition, some commented on the need to educate people regarding the consequences of that habit to their lives.	[To prevent sexual violence, it is necessary to] <i>Reduce the consumption of alcohol. (UK24)</i>

CHAPTER FIVE

Morality: An additional dimension to ambivalent sexism in understanding men's rape proclivity in Brazil and the U.K.

Introduction

In every society, there are shared norms about what is right and wrong and it is through socialization that individuals learn which moral standards they should internalise (Bandura, 1986, 2002; Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, & Pastorelli, 1996). These standards act as guides for future behaviour, and usually prohibit immoral conduct (e.g., do not lie and/or harm others, etc.); thereby assuring the cohesion and survival of the group. They help individuals to make judgments not only about their own behaviour, but also about the actions of others (Ward, Gannon, & Keown, 2006). As a result, individuals who engage in any form of behaviour that violates these principles might be at risk to suffer some form of negative consequence; e.g., social exclusion, and/or feelings of guilt and shame.

According to Shweder et al. (1997), cultures rely on three different ethics when it comes to moral norms (i.e., also known as moral codes and/or moral goods). They are: the ethics of community, autonomy and finally, divinity. Though these three ethics can coexist in one same culture, the emphasis assigned to each of them tends to differ from one to another (Guerra, 2008). For example, whereas individualist cultures (e.g., United Kingdom and the United States of America) often value the ethics of autonomy more so than the other two, collectivistic cultures (i.e., Brazil) tend to emphasise community and divinity to a greater extent (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010).

As previously discussed, the ethic of autonomy is considered the universal moral code par excellence (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2009). It refers to values such as the prevention of

harm, maintenance of justice, and respect for human rights. According to Shweder et al. (1997), in cultures where this code is valued, the focus tends to be placed on the individual and there is less pressure on him (or her) to follow the norms of the group. Instead, individuals are encouraged to follow their self-centred goals, to pursue their own independence, and to achieve power; with the relationship between them being based on the assumption that each individual should have their rights protected (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2009; Shweder et al., 1997).

The ethic of community, on the other hand, prioritises group instead of individual welfare. In cultures where this code is highly valued, loyalty, deference to authority, and honour are considered important frameworks for people's lives and individuals are expected to behave in line with traditional social roles (e.g., one's gender, social position, or age). Lastly, the ethic of divinity introduces the spiritual domain to the discussion around individuals' moral behaviour. Within this framework, one's body is considered to be a spiritual entity and should be preserved as pure. Generally speaking, cultures that value this ethic expect individuals to act according to natural guidelines, expressed via different rules and traditions, and authorised by religious authorities and texts, spiritual entities, or the natural order.

Together, these ethics help individuals to live in society. They inform groups about what is – and what is not – morally approved in a given context, providing them with a framework to regulate their behaviour (Shweder, Much, Mahapatra, & Park, 1997; Vecina, Chacón, & Perez-Viejo, 2016). To Sverdlik, Roccas and Sagiv (2012), however, the existence of shared moral norms is not always enough to keep individuals from committing harmful acts. In fact, some of those norms might even encourage individuals to engage in – socially approved – forms of detrimental behaviour (Haidt, 2012).

In describing his experience in India, Haidt (2012) discusses what he calls “the beauty” and “the ugly side” of the various moral codes and his initial struggle to understand how individuals from non-Western societies embody these norms. For example, whereas the

endorsement of community urges individuals to deny their own self-desires and interests (i.e., respect the elders, the need to prioritise their own group), it also allows some to behave in an abusive manner (i.e., leaving some – particularly women – in a position of subordination).

The same is true for the ethics of divinity. To Haidt (2012) whilst on the “beautiful side”, this code emphasises values such as self-control, resistance to temptation, cultivation of one’s higher and nobler self, and negation of selfish desires, in its “ugly side” this ethic can interfere with values such as compassion and egalitarianism, for example. Precisely, once one allows “visceral feelings of disgust” (Haidt, 2012, p.9) to guide their conception of what God wants, then minorities who trigger even a hint of disgust in the majority can be ostracised and treated with cruelty (Haidt, 2012).

However, this scheme of moral domains has received scant attention in relation to the social problem of sexually aggressive behaviours. As noted by Ellsberg and Heise (2005) and discussed in previous chapters, social discourses in the sexual domain and discriminatory attitudes towards groups such as women help justify the perpetration of sexual violence. Some prejudicial attitudes include, for example, normative beliefs that men ought to prove their masculinity (e.g., being sexually aggressive, and/or having a great quantity of sexual partners) or that only women who obey deserve to be respected and taken care of (Connell, 1990; Glick & Fiske, 1996). These gender norms may themselves be supported by larger moral norms of community, which reinforce and justify social roles, and of divinity, which in many understandings of religion further enforce differences between male and female behaviour as divinely ordained and natural.

Having explained the content of the three moral ethics, I will now explain the gender norm and sexual violence constructs used in my research before framing the research itself.

Ambivalent Sexism as a Gender Norm

It is important to recognise that gender norms that promote sexism and sexual violence need not be uniformly positive toward men and negative toward women. In fact, according to Glick and Fiske (1996) there are two forms of sexist attitudes which, in combination are called “ambivalent sexism”. Negative ideas about women are represented by what these authors defined as “hostile sexism”; whereas superficially positive ideas that ultimately restrict the role of women are known as “benevolent sexism” (Glick & Fiske, 1996). “Hostile sexism” ideology is the more obvious form of prejudice, made up of negative beliefs and resentments against women, aimed mainly towards those who rebel against traditional gender expectations. To hostile sexist men, women should be pleased with their prescribed place in society – not questioning male dominance. Some examples of items measuring hostile sexism are: “women are too easily offended” or “once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash” (Bohner, Ahlborn, & Steiner, 2010; Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Benevolent sexism, on the other hand, portrays women as better than men, natural and idealized caregivers, and reinforces the idea that women should be protected. To Chapleau, Oswald and Russell (2007), these positive stereotypes can even prescribe pro-social behaviours (e.g., “women should be treated as princesses”; “In a disaster, women ought to be rescued before men”). Nevertheless, despite its subjectively kind-hearted appearance and tone, these beliefs sustain the idea that women are weak, vulnerable, incompetent and not able to take care of themselves. In addition, a benevolent sexist attitude feeds into hostile sexism, by fostering discrimination and violence against women who depart from this positively valued role. Furthermore, it reduces women’s ability to recognise violence perpetrated against them, affecting their self-esteem and self-value (Glick, 2013).

In practice, research has demonstrated that hostile sexist men tend to show a more favourable attitude towards domestic violence, justifying such violence as a result of female behaviour (Valor-Segura, Expósito & Moya, 2011). Moreover, hostile sexism has been also linked to rape myth acceptance, victim-blaming, adversarial sexual beliefs, the acceptance of interpersonal violence and men's rape proclivity (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Chapleau, Oswald, & Russell, 2007; Ferreira, Barros, & Souza, 2001; Glick, Sakalli-Uğurlu, Ferreira, & de Souza, 2002; Masser, Viki, & Power, 2006). The literature regarding benevolent sexism, however, is still contradictory in relation to male perpetration of violence against women.

Some authors have found, for example, a protective effect of benevolent sexism against men's violence toward partners (Allen, Swan, & Raghavan, 2009) and a negative relationship with rape myth acceptance (Chapleau, Oswald & Russell, 2007). Others suggest that benevolent sexism provides men with justification for punishing women who do not conform to their 'natural' role in society; either through religion or not (see Pedersen & Strömwall, 2013). Likewise, Durán, Moya and Megias (2011) found that in the context of marital rape, men who scored high on benevolent sexism were more likely to perceive that the wife had the duty to satisfy her husband's sexual desires, and less likely to interpret the violence committed ('forced sex') as a rape.

Drawing from the above, Studies 02 and 03 aim to investigate whether this hypothetical connection between moral ethics, gender norms, and acceptance of sexual violence can be demonstrated; and to look at differences between Britain and Brazil in the relative strength of each of these elements. In addition, they aim to investigate whether, as might be expected, autonomy ethic endorsement might relate to lower levels of both kinds of sexism, because this ethic emphasises the rights of individuals. Conversely, it might be also expected that traditional forms of morality (i.e., community and divinity) relate to acceptance of social and "natural"

roles, and therefore both relate to higher sexism in general. However, based on the literature, it is also possible that acceptance of moral restrictions on behaviour from community and divinity ethics might be more strongly related to the more prosocial benevolent form of sexism, than to the hostile form.

Ultimately, as well, these variables were studied to gain further insight into cultural differences in the downstream consequences of morality and sexism, most importantly the perpetration of sexual violence against women. Specifically, while high levels of non-autonomy morality, higher levels of sexism, and greater acceptance of sexual violence, among men in Brazil compared to the U.K are expected, I wanted to see whether morality had similar relations with sexism and violence attitudes in both countries.

To these ends, Study 02 explored the relationship between ambivalent sexism and moral values within and between the two nations studied. In Study 03 these variables were measured again, but in the context of manipulated reminders of hostile or benevolent sexism (vs. a control group), and with outcome variables including endorsement of rape myths, propensity to morally disengage and, more importantly, proclivity to rape.

Study 02

Study 02 was designed with the aims to provide initial understanding of relations between moral codes and ambivalent sexist gender norms, comparing a Brazilian and British male sample. Participants' endorsement of the three moral codes, as well as – using established measures of – sexism was assessed. In addition, their level of religiosity as an attitude related to the divinity moral code was also considered.

Hypotheses

Firstly, it was predicted that hostile and benevolent sexism would each show a different pattern of relationship with the three moral ethics, although there was no hypotheses for how the relationships might be different across cultures. More specifically, it was predicted that hostile sexism would show a nonsignificant or negative relationship with autonomy (Hypothesis 1), but positive relationships with both community (Hypothesis 2) and divinity (Hypothesis 3) moral codes. Likewise, it was expected that benevolent sexism would show a nonsignificant or negative relationship with autonomy (Hypothesis 4), but positive relationships with both community (Hypothesis 5) and divinity (Hypothesis 6) moral codes.

These predictions were based on the supposition that the autonomy domain emphasises ideals of fairness, rights, justice, and avoidance of harm, and stresses that each person is an autonomous human being, minimising considerations of gender in their treatment. Community and divinity moral codes, on the other hand, emphasises the value of traditional norms in the regulation of individuals' behaviours and people are socialised to adhere to them (Hofstede, 2001, cited by Boer & Fischer, 2013). Thus, it makes sense that traditional gender norms would be supported both by community ethics involving social roles, and by divinity ethics involving natural and supernatural justification for essential gender differences. Similar results for religiosity as for the related divinity ethic are expected. Thus, a positive relationship between importance of religion and both hostile (Hypothesis 7) and benevolent (Hypothesis 8) was expected.

Considering that Brazil and United Kingdom are prime examples of collectivist and individualistic cultures (see Chapter 01), it was further expected that the relationship between those variables would differ depending on participants' nationality. Therefore, Hypothesis 9 predicts that *Nationality* could work as a moderator between one's endorsement of sexist

attitudes towards women and importance assigned to moral values. Nonetheless, no further specific a priori predictions have been made regarding this matter.

Method

Participants

Three hundred and twenty-two adult men (over 18 years old) from southeastern Brazil (N = 181) and from the southeastern United Kingdom (N = 141) volunteered to take part in the study. Participants' ages ranged from 18 to 70 (Brazil: $M_{age} = 28.67$, $SD = 11.61$; U.K.: $M_{age} = 28.04$, $SD = 10.84$) and held a variety of occupations.

Procedure and Measures

The experimenter and/or a group of assistant researchers approached potential participants in a variety of locations in the southeast areas of Brazil and the U.K (e.g., universities, high street, etc.). They were asked to complete a paper-based questionnaire on "men's beliefs about women in different countries" and in order to assure their anonymity, participants were instructed to place their questionnaire in an envelope with other completed surveys. The questionnaire was presented in the predominant language of the country (i.e., English for the British sample and Portuguese for the Brazilian sample), and it was composed of the following measures in order:

Socio-Demographic Information Questions: Age, gender, religion, country of origin and years living in own country were assessed, as well as the importance attributed to religiosity.

Community, Autonomy and Divinity Scale (CADS): The CADS scale was developed by Guerra and Giner-Sorolla (2010) and consists of 44 items reflecting the three moral codes proposed by Shweder et al (1997): Community (e.g., “It is socially accepted”), Autonomy (e.g., “It restricts the individual’s rights”), and Divinity (e.g., “It is God’s will”). In this scale, participants are presented with the question “An action or behaviour is right/wrong if...” and indicate with what frequency the items justify someone’s action as right or wrong by using a 7-point scale (1 Never to 7 Always). For the Brazilian sample, a validated Portuguese version (Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010) was used.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI): The ASI is a 22-item measure developed by Glick and Fiske (1996) in order to assess their endorsement of sexist attitudes. This scale consists of two 11-item subscales (hostile sexism and benevolent sexism) and participants are required to indicate their degree of agreement for each statement using a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 Strongly disagree to 6 Strongly agree). For the Brazilian sample, a validated Portuguese version (Formiga, Gouveia, & Santos, 2002) was used.

Data Analysis

Because the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory as presented had low reliability ($\alpha = .75$), items were removed until deletion did not improve reliability any more (Field, 2013); deleting items 03, 06 and 13. Across the whole sample, the final versions of both ASI ($\alpha = .80$) and the CADS Scale ($\alpha = .95$) presented good reliability.

Results

Overview of Analyses

First, to explore the relationship between sexism and moral values, zero-order correlations for the whole sample were tested. After that, the relationship between participants' endorsement of prejudice against women and the importance assigned to moral values was examined via considerations of participants' nationality.

To test the effects of nationality as a moderator of sexism and morality, hostile and benevolent sexism sub-scales were combined to create a total score of sexism (ASI). Participants' means were centred. *Nationality* was used as a moderator and a new variable (dummy coded) was created; i.e., 0 = Brazil; 1 = U.K. *Moral values* was as the outcome variable and then, three moderation analyses were performed: (a) one testing the relationship between sexism and community moral code; (b) one testing the relationship between sexism and autonomy moral code and, finally; (c) one testing the relationship between sexism and divinity moral code (see Figure 01).

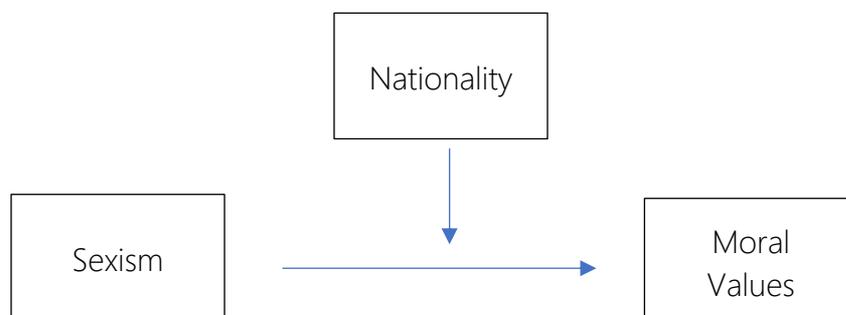


Figure 01: Hypothesised model testing the participants' *Nationality* as a moderator variable of the relationship between sexism and moral values.

It is expected that participants' nationality moderates the relationship between these two variables. Nonetheless, as previously stated, due to the exploratory nature of this study no *a priori* hypothesis regarding the strength of this effect (i.e., for each moral code) in each country was made. Results are presented in two subsections and a summary with all predictions tested can be seen in the table below (Table 05).

Table 05
Predictions tested on Study 02

Hypothesis	Prediction	Analysis
H1	Analyses for hostile sexism will yield a nonsignificant or negative relationship with autonomy.	Zero-order Correlations
H2	Analyses for hostile sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with community moral code.	Zero-order Correlations
H3	Analyses for hostile sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with divinity moral code.	Zero-order Correlations
H4	Analyses for benevolent sexism will yield a nonsignificant or negative relationship with autonomy.	Zero-order Correlations
H5	Analyses for benevolent sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with community moral code.	Zero-order Correlations
H6	Analyses for benevolent sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with divinity moral code.	Zero-order Correlations
H7	Analyses for hostile sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with importance attributed to religion.	Zero-order Correlations
H8	Analyses for benevolent sexism will yield a significant and positive relationship with importance attributed to religion.	Zero-order Correlations
H9	Participants' nationality may work as a moderator between their endorsement of sexist attitudes towards women and the importance they assign to moral values.	Moderation

The Relationship of Moral Codes and Ambivalent Sexism

Results for the whole sample yielded significant and positive zero-order correlations among most of the variables (see Table 06). As expected, autonomy did not correlate with hostile or benevolent sexism (Hypotheses 1 and 4), whereas community and divinity moral codes correlated positively with both (Hypotheses 2, 3, 5 and 6). Importance of religion also correlated positively with both forms of sexism (Hypotheses 7 and 8), and among the ethics, was most strongly correlated with divinity.

Table 06
Correlational analysis among Study 02 variables when the whole sample was considered

Variables	M	SD	BS	HS	COM	AUT	DIV	IR
BS	3.44	0.68	-	-	-	-	-	-
HS	3.26	0.75	.43**	-	-	-	-	-
COM	4.17	0.96	.39**	.23**	-	-	-	-
AUT	4.73	0.94	-.02	-.07	.27**	-	-	-
DIV	3.86	1.28	.57**	.35**	.71**	.08	-	-
IR	4.10	2.16	.52**	.35**	.41**	-.06	.60**	-

Note: N = 322; DIV = Divinity; AUT = Autonomy; COM = Community; HS = Hostile Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism; IR = Importance of Religion; * p < .05; ** p < .001

Subsequently, in line with the idea that sexism might work as a social norm, and that individuals' endorsement of moral values might not be as stable as once thought (see Chapter 02), it was hypothesised that participants' nationality could moderate the relationship between sexism (i.e., measured via ASI scale) and morality (i.e., measured via CADS). Thus, to assess the statistical significance of the interaction term between individuals' endorsement of sexist attitudes towards women and importance assigned to moral values, three moderation analyses were conducted.

Firstly, the interaction between sexism and country fell short of statistical significance for autonomy moral values [$F(1, 317) = 2.99, \Delta R^2 = .025, p = .67$], as evidenced by the addition

of a nonsignificant .02% of the interaction term explaining an additional of the total variance ($p = .50$). Results for community and divinity moral values, on the other hand, did reveal an interaction effect; thus, suggesting that being Brazilian or British does affect the strength of the relationship between one's endorsement of sexist attitudes towards women and the importance assigned to more conservative moral values. For community, the overall model was significant [$R^2 = .20$, $F(3, 317) = 17.88$, $p < .001$] and there was a statistically significant moderator effect of country, as evidenced by the addition of the interaction term explaining an additional 2.5% of the total variance ($SE = .17$, $p = .02$). Simple slopes analysis further indicated that there was a statistically significant positive linear relationship between sexism and community moral values for both Brazilians [$b = .75$, $t(317) = 5.27$, $p < .001$] and Britons [$b = .34$, $t(317) = 3.72$, $p < .001$].

Similarly to what was found for community moral values, the overall model of divinity was found to be significant [$R^2 = .33$, $F(3, 317) = 47.27$, $p < .001$], and there was a statistically significant moderator effect of country, as evidenced by the addition of the interaction term explaining an additional 3% of the total variance ($SE = .18$, $p < .001$). Simple slopes analysis further indicated that there was a statistically significant positive linear relationship between sexism and community moral values for both Brazilians [$b = 1.35$, $t(317) = 8.69$, $p < .001$] and Britons [$b = .69$, $t(317) = 6.91$, $p < .001$].

Discussion

The current research was conducted with the aim to explore the relationship between the three moral values and the two forms of sexist gender norms among adult men, and to compare these processes in a relatively individualistic (i.e., the United Kingdom) and a relatively collectivistic (i.e., Brazil) culture. As initially predicted, both forms of sexism

correlated with each other. This result is not surprising considering that, over the years, research has already shown a positive correlation between those; both at the individual ($r = .40$ or higher) and national ($r = .89$) levels (see Bohner, Ahlborn, & Steiner, 2010). As suggested by Glick (2013, p.5) “nations in which people strongly endorse benevolent sexism are those where people most strongly endorse hostile sexism – the two go hand in hand”.

Regarding the relationship between all three moral codes and sexism, as expected, autonomy was the only moral code that did not correlate with both benevolent and hostile sexism. This result could be explained by the fact that the ethics of autonomy emphasises ideals of fairness, rights, justice, and avoidance of harm, but more importantly stresses that each person is an autonomous human being (Guerra, 2008). Nonetheless, this finding needs to be further explored; as negative relationship between those variables is also plausible (i.e., the more individuals rely on autonomy ethics to guide their lives based, the less they would endorse of different forms of prejudice against women).

Community and divinity, on the other hand, support – in their own ways – a hierarchical system, and the endorsement of conservative social norms. The former emphasises the importance of respect for social roles (e.g., one’s gender, social position, or age) and values related to social functioning; whereas the latter stresses the idea that individuals should act according to natural guidelines expressed, for example, via duties and obligations to the authority of a god, spiritual entity or natural order. That is, in some degree both moral codes suggest that individuals should follow the ‘natural guidelines’ as well as the norms of their culture (Guerra, 2008; Haidt et al., 1993). Therefore, it would be plausible to expect a positive and significant relationship between those variables. Further analyses also yielded a positive and statistically significant relationship between the importance assigned to religion and the endorsement of prejudice against women.

Subsequently, the relationship between sexism and moral values was examined via considerations of participants' nationality. In providing support for the theory, and in line with our hypotheses, results emerged from a moderation analysis provided initial evidence that the relationship between one's endorsement of sexist attitudes towards women and importance assigned to certain moral values (i.e., community and divinity) is moderated by their cultural backdrop. Even though results need to be further elaborated, taken together, Study 02 provides an initial step in the assessment of the processes underlying the occurrence of sexual violence in different cultures, and extends the knowledge regarding this issue through the consideration of the moral domain in its relationship with prejudice against women.

Study 03

Study 03 aims to extend these findings and to explore the role other covariates play on individuals' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours. To investigate whether individual differences in endorsement of moral ethics would be responsive to examples of gender norm enforcement, this study experimentally manipulated participants' exposure to an example of hostile or benevolent sexism.

While inspired by previous studies which manipulated exposure to sexual violence descriptions, (e.g., Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Landstrom, Stromwall, & Alfredsson, 2015; Stromwall, Alfredsson, & Landstrom, 2012; Stromwall, Landstrom, & Alfredsson, 2014), in this study a less severe and more common situation was described. In addition, the victim behaviour was not manipulated. By focusing on the male conduct towards the woman (but not the woman's behaviour), the behaviour in question was presented as a norm relevant to men. More specifically, in this experiment, participants were randomly assigned to one of the three possible conditions created. Each of them described an interaction

between a couple in which the male character acts in a way that could be considered (a) hostile, (b) benevolent or (c) neutral/non-sexist.

Following that, the importance assigned to moral ethics was assessed, but this time without the religiosity proxy, and added new outcome measures of likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours. In addition, effects on sexually aggressive myths and propensity to morally disengage were also explored. As with Study 02, this experiment was carried out among men in Brazil and the U.K.

Hypotheses

Firstly, and in line with previous research utilising similar methodology (Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Koepke, Eyssel, & Bohner, 2014; Viki & Abrams, 2002), an effect of condition on participants' approval of aggressor behaviour (Hypothesis 1) and victim blaming (Hypothesis 2) was predicted. Precisely, it was hypothesised that participants would: assign less blame to the victim in the hostile versus benevolent sexism condition because open demonstrations of prejudice have become less accepted nowadays, and show more approval of the aggressor's behaviour in the benevolent versus hostile condition, because individuals often have a hard time in recognising a situation/attitude as prejudice if it was manifested in a subtler manner. Unlike the cited researches, this study also took the step of including a control group with no sexist behaviour, to see whether sexist norms (in particular, benevolent sexist) would actually be approved of as if they were normal.

Following that, it was hypothesised that presenting participants with either benevolent or hostile sexism would temporarily affect their endorsement of sexually aggressive myths (Hypothesis 3), their likelihood to rape (Hypothesis 4), as well as their propensity to morally disengage (Hypothesis 5). No *a priori* predictions regarding the direction of those effects were drawn.

Additionally, it was predicted that presenting participants with different forms of prejudice would temporarily affect the importance assigned to those ethics underlying sexism, and endorsement of more universalistic ethics. As discussed by Leidner and Castano (2011, p.82), “morality is less of an absolute than we would like to think”; with individuals’ judgment of similar events varying as a result of which moral foundation is guiding their evaluation at that moment. The *a priori* hypothesis was that, because sexist attitudes and community/divinity ethics were shown to be related, making either type of sexism salient (i.e., as a form of social norm) would strengthen respondents’ endorsement of community (Hypothesis 6) and divinity (Hypothesis 7) moral codes.

Method

Participants

Participants in this study were 444 adult men from the U.K (N = 191) and Brazil (N = 253) with an average age of 27.3 years ($SD = 8.9$). Most of them were married (52.7%) or in a relationship (33.8%) by the time of this study. Data were collected online using an Internet survey and participants were recruited both through formal (e.g., University Research Participation) and informal (e.g., social networking groups, such as Facebook and Twitter) sources. In addition, different research groups and departments in both Brazilian and British universities were individually contacted and asked to distribute the survey link to students’ email accounts.

Procedure and Measures

Participants were presented with the measures described below. As with Study 02, where necessary, the questionnaire was translated and back-translated by independent translators into Portuguese/English in order to achieve semantic equivalence between both versions.

Socio-Demographic Information Questions: Age, gender, country of origin and years living in own country were assessed, as well as relationship status (i.e., single, married, divorced, widowed or in a relationship).

Vignettes: Participants were randomly assigned to one of the three possible conditions: Benevolent Sexism; Hostile Sexism or Control. For each condition, participants read a story about a couple who was planning to go out for dinner, but who ended up cancelling their plans. The female protagonist's behaviour was similar for all conditions, but the male character behaviour was manipulated in order to depict different forms of sexism.

All three vignettes, as well as the following questions, were based both on previous scenario based studies (Abrams et al., 2003; Koepke, Eyssel, & Bohner, 2014; Landstrom, Stromwall, & Alfredsson, 2015; Stromwall, Alfredsson, & Landstrom, 2012; Stromwall, Landstrom, & Alfredsson, 2014; Viki & Abrams, 2002). Moreover, they were pilot tested using a separate convenience sample of thirty British males (N = 30). These participants were recruited online, as volunteers. They were presented with one of the scenarios followed by an explanation about benevolent and hostile sexism. After that, they were asked to categorize the story they read based on their similarity to construct definitions provided. Participants were also encouraged to provide feedback regarding the content and clarity of each scenario. Overall, most participants (N = 28/30) were able to correctly categorise all three vignettes, with a few of them providing feedback regarding their content. This feedback was discussed among

the researchers, and all the changes considered to be relevant were made. The final scenario were depicted as follows:

“Lydia was invited to a party in her department and agreed with John, her boyfriend, that he would pick her up at 8pm and then they would go to a restaurant to have dinner together. At 8pm he goes to the address she provided but she does not appear to be at the meeting point. After 5min waiting he decides to call her, but she doesn’t reply. After 10min more he starts to feel worried and then, at some point, he decides to enter the party to look for her. He discovers her on the balcony drinking wine and talking to a friend, but she does not see him. He is initially relieved for finally seeing Lydia and approaches her. Then (...)”:

- a) *Benevolent condition*: he proceeds and tells her about how worried he was: “Lydia, please, do not do this kind of thing anymore! You know how fragile you can be when you are drinking. I am always afraid about what could happen to you. You know women have low tolerance for alcohol!” Lydia explains that she had just one glass of wine. She also tells him that she forgot her phone at work, but ends up agreeing with John. After talking for a while he decides that they should go home and have dinner there because she seems to be too drunk to go out.
- b) *Hostile condition*: He is getting angrier at seeing Lydia talking to her friend and approaches her. He starts an argument: “This is what happens when I tell you that it is ok for you to go out without me. Look how drunk you are! You embarrass me. This is why men cannot trust women!” Lydia explains that she had just one glass of wine and that she is not doing anything wrong. She also apologizes and tells him that she forgot her phone at work. He does not accept her explanations and behaviour and decides that he is going home alone, as he doesn’t want to talk or have dinner with her anymore.

- c) *Control*: He approaches her and says hi. She introduces her friend to John and tells him that she forgot her phone at work. John jokes about being super hungry but after talking for a while they decide to stay at the party and to grab something to eat later.

After reading the scenario, participants were asked to answer the following measures in order:

Approval of Aggressor's Behaviour and Victim Blaming: Participants were asked to answer the following four questions measuring victim blame: (a) In your mind, to what extent did this situation depict an instance of unfair treatment based on gender (e.g., do you think John would have behaved differently if Lydia was a male friend)? (1 Not at all, it definitely was not an instance of unfair treatment based on sex to 8 Very much so, it definitely was an instance of unfair treatment based on sex); (b) Considering her behaviour: Should Lydia have anticipated such an ending? (1 Not at all anticipated such an ending to 8 Surely anticipated such an ending); (c) Do women who behave like Lydia deserve such reactions from their partners? (1 Do not deserve such reactions at all to 8 Absolutely deserve such reactions); (d) How much sympathy do you feel for her regarding this situation? (1 No sympathy at all to 8 A lot of sympathy); (e) Was John's action in this situation justified? (1 Not at all justified to 8 Absolutely justified). After reverse coding for two of the items (i.e., unfair treatment based on gender and sympathy item), all the five items about victim blaming were averaged to form a standardised index of 'victim blaming'.

Participants were also asked a forced choice question, analysed separately, about who was to be blamed for the situation: (f) Who is mainly responsible for the situation ending like this? (John or Lydia). Lastly, to assess participants' self-reported approval of the aggressor's behaviour, participants were presented with the following item: "Would you have acted similarly?" (1 Would surely not have acted like that to 8 Would surely have acted like that).

Propensity to Morally Disengage Scale (Moore, Detert, Trevino, Baker, & Mayer, 2012): this scale was developed by Moore et al (2012), based on Bandura's theory of moral disengagement. It covers a wide range of behaviours and answer options range from 1 "Strongly disagree" to 7 "Strongly agree". There are no reversed items and there are 24 questions, 8 subscales:

- a) Moral justification (e.g., "It is okay to spread rumours to defend those you care about.");
- b) Euphemistic Labelling (e.g., "Taking something without the owner's permission is okay as long as you're just borrowing it.");
- c) Advantageous Comparison (e.g., "Considering the ways people grossly misrepresent themselves, it's hardly a sin to inflate your own credentials a bit");
- d) Displacement of Responsibility (e.g., "People cannot be blamed for misbehaving if their friends pressured them to do it.");
- e) Diffusion of Responsibility (e.g., "It's okay to tell a lie if the group agrees that it's the best way to handle the situation.");
- f) Distortion of Consequences (e.g., "Taking personal credit for ideas that were not your own is no big deal.");
- g) Dehumanization (e.g., "It's okay to treat badly somebody who behaves like scum.")
- h) Attribution of Blame (e.g., "People who get mistreated have usually done something to bring it on themselves.").

The Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression (AMMSA) (Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007): The AMMSA scale was developed by Gerger et al. (2007), as a self-report measure in which participants indicate their level of agreement or disagreement with 30 statements (e.g., "Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a 'sexual assault'") ranging from 1 "Totally disagree" to 7 "Totally agree". There are no reversed items.

Rape Proclivity Measure (Bohner et al., 1998): The Rape Proclivity measure (Bohner et al., 1998) consists, originally, of five acquaintance-rape scenarios. Participants are presented with a short vignette, and instructed to imagine themselves in the same situation of the male character before answering three questions: Expectations of sexual arousal - “How sexually aroused would you have felt in this situation?” (1 Not sexually aroused to 6 Very much sexually aroused); Rape proclivity - “Would you have behaved like this in this situation?” (1 Not at all to 6 Very much). Sexual dominance – “How much would you have enjoyed getting your way in this situation?” (1 Not at all to 6 Very much). There are no reversed items, and the questions designed to access rape proclivity (i.e., questions 02 and 03) were combined to yield a RP Score.

It is worth mentioning that despite the strong psychometric properties and validity of this measure, the use of all five vignettes – followed by three questions – was considered to be impractical, as they would be administered in tandem with an array of measures. Therefore, for this particular study, (and after advice from the author of the original measure: Prof. Bohner) only the first three scenarios were applied. These scenarios they describe the more ambiguous cases of sexual violence.

Data Analysis

Prior to testing the aforementioned hypotheses, the reliability of the measures applied using Cronbach’s alpha. The Victim Blaming Score ($\alpha = .78$), Rape Proclivity Index ($\alpha = .85$), AMSSA ($\alpha = .93$), the CADS ($\alpha = .95$) and Moral Disengagement ($\alpha = .86$) scales all presented a good reliability.

Results

Overview of Analyses

To understand whether individuals respond differently to measures assessing attitudes and beliefs related to sexually aggressive behaviours depending on both their cultural background and their exposure to different forms of sexism, a two-way MANOVA was run. *Condition* was chosen as *focal variable* and consisted of three levels (Benevolent, Hostile and Control); whereas *Nationality* (i.e., Brazil or UK), like Study 02, was chosen as *moderator*. Dependent variables were: the importance individuals assign to moral values, their endorsement of sexual aggression myths; the extent they blame the victim and approve the aggressor's behaviour; and, finally, their likelihood to rape. Similarly to Study 02, the results will be presented in different subsections. For a summary of the hypotheses tested see the table below (Table 07).

Table 07
Predictions tested on Study 03

Hypothesis	Prediction	Analysis
H1	As an effect of manipulation, less blame will be assigned to victim in hostile condition.	MANOVA
H2	As an effect of manipulation, more approval of the aggressor's behaviour is expected in the benevolent condition.	MANOVA
H3	As an effect of manipulation, participants will differ in their endorsement of sexually aggressive myths.	MANOVA
H4	As an effect of manipulation, participants will differ in their likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour; i.e., rape proclivity.	MANOVA
H5	As an effect of manipulation, participants will differ in their propensity to morally disengage.	MANOVA

H6	As an effect of manipulation, participants will differ in the importance assigned to community moral values.	MANOVA
H7	As an effect of manipulation, participants will differ in the importance assigned to divinity moral values.	MANOVA

The Effect of Manipulation on Brazilians and Britons' Responses

Firstly, results indicated that there was homogeneity of covariance matrices, as assessed by Box's M test ($p = .03$). Likewise, there was homogeneity of variances for all variables but Rape Proclivity ($p = .006$), Victim Blaming ($p = .003$) and Approval of Aggressor Behaviour ($p = .001$), as assessed by Levene's Test of Homogeneity of Variance ($p > .05$). Overall, assumptions were met and analyses could be carried out (Field, 2013).

Analyses did not reveal a statistically significant interaction between participants' *Nationality* and *Condition* on the combined dependent variables, $F(1, 444) = 1.37$, $p = .15$; Wilks' $\Lambda = .938$, partial $\eta^2 = .032$. Nonetheless, there were statistically significant main effects of *Condition* [$F(1, 444) = 5.59$, $p < .001$; Wilks' $\Lambda = .778$, partial $\eta^2 = .118$] and *Nationality* [$F(1, 444) = 18.30$, $p < .001$; Wilks' $\Lambda = .696$, partial $\eta^2 = .304$] on the combined dependent variables. Thus, in line with Pituch and Stevens's (2016) advice, the univariate interaction effects were investigated.

When each dependent variable was individually considered, a marginal statistically significant *Nationality x Condition* interaction emerged on the victim-blaming outcome [$F(1, 444) = 2.91$, $p = 0.06$, $\eta^2 = .02$; i.e., following Laerd Statistics' (2016) advice, a Bonferroni correction was applied and p value became statistically significant as $p = .03$]. No further statistically significant results have emerged, however (see Table 08).

Further inspection of these numbers revealed that Brazilians and Britons differ in Victim Blaming only when exposed to hostile sexism [$F(1, 438) = 16.04, p < .001$] but not to benevolent sexism [$F(1, 438) = 0.67, p = .41$] or control conditions [$F(1, 438) = 0.50, p = .48$]. Precisely, participants' score of Victim Blaming was lower in the hostile condition when compared to both benevolent [$M = -.46, SE = .151, 95\% CI (-.81, -.11), p = .007$] and control [$M = -.79, SE = .171, 95\% CI (-1.19, -.39), p < .001$] conditions (See Figure 02).

Table 08
Main Effects of Condition: Overview of Results

Outcome	F	P	η^2
Community	1.35	.26	.008
Autonomy	2.02	.13	.012
Divinity	.45	.64	.003
Sexually Aggressive Myths	.68	.51	.004
Rape Proclivity	.87	.42	.005
Moral Disengagement	.06	.94	.000
Approval of Aggressor's Behaviour	.47	.63	.003

Note: N = 444; df = Degrees of Freedom; η^2 = Eta Squared: the proportion of the total variance that is attributed to an effect.

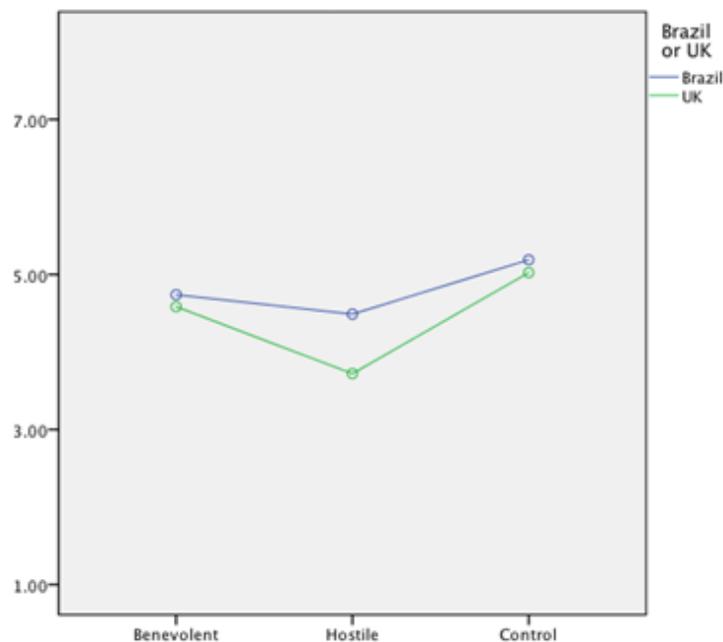


Figure 02 Estimated marginal means of victim blaming score

Note: Interaction effect for the relationship between *country* and *condition* on the extent participants blamed the victim.

In following, results revealed a statistically significant main effect of *Condition* on individuals' Approval of Aggressor's Behaviour [$F(1, 420) = 24.45, p < .001, \eta^2 = .125$]; confirming, therefore, the effect of the manipulation. Approval of Aggressor's Behaviour score was statistically significant different after exposure to both hostile [$M = 1.61, SE = .301, 95\% \text{ CI } (.90, 2.32)$] and benevolent [$M = 2.03, SE = .309, 95\% \text{ CI } (1.31, 2.75)$] conditions when compared to control; with $p < .001$. Further inspection of participants' means indicated that being presented with either hostile ($M = 3.02$) or benevolent sexism ($M = 3.50$) was related to a lower approval of the behaviour of the offender – when compared to the control ($M = 5.13$) condition. That is, both Brazilian and British samples were more receptive of that situation in which no form of prejudice was displayed.

Main effects of *Condition* were also found for individuals' endorsement of Sexually Aggressive Myths [$F(1, 444) = 3.31, p = .04, \eta^2 = .019$]; with participants' score being .34 [95% CI (-.64, -.04), $p = .02$] higher after exposure to control compared to the benevolent sexism. No further statistically significant differences between conditions have emerged.

Lastly, and in addition to the above, main effects of *Condition* have also been found in two of the moral codes related to more conservative views of the social functioning: i.e., community [$F(1, 444) = 3.95, p = .02, \eta^2 = .023$] and divinity [$F(1, 444) = 3.36, p = .04, \eta^2 = .019$]. Regarding community, participants' score was .30 [95% CI (.01, .59), $p = .04$] higher after exposure to benevolent sexism when compared to hostile. Inspection of the means ($SE = .125$) for the community moral values indicated that control and benevolent conditions did not differ from each other ($p > .05$); whereas the hostile condition was statistically significant different from both ($p < .05$). For divinity, however, differences lied between hostile sexism and control condition; with scores being .43 [95% CI (-.01, -.87), $p = .03$] higher after exposure to the former when compared to latter. For that, inspection of the means ($SE = .188$) revealed

that being presented with hostile sexism also reduced participants' endorsement of divinity moral codes compared to the control condition, although benevolent sexism did not ($p > .05$).

Discussion

Study 03 sought to extend the results and further understand the effects found in Study 02 by testing how those variables might end up perpetuating a culture that justifies sexual violence and influences men's likelihood to perpetrate such acts. To do so, participants were randomly assigned to one of the following conditions created: benevolent sexism, hostile sexism or control. After that, the effects of their exposure to those conditions on outcomes related to sexual violence was investigated.

Firstly, results did not suggest an interaction effect of *Condition* and *Nationality* on those combined outcome variables emerged. Nonetheless, further analyses did reveal a statistically significant interaction on Victim Blaming, as well as some main effects of *Condition*. In line with Chapters 01 and 02, it was initially hypothesised that making benevolent or hostile sexism salient (i.e., as a form of social norm) would strengthen respondents' endorsement of these two moral codes; particularly for those participants coming from a more traditional and conservative background (e.g., Brazil). The present study failed to show this effect. Instead, results suggest that participants not only downplayed the importance assigned to community and divinity codes but they also increased their endorsement of autonomy when presented with hostile and benevolent sexism (using the control condition as a baseline). In addition, instead of taking the character's behaviour as evidence of a norm and accept it, both Brazilian and British men rejected the male character's behaviour in the benevolent and especially in the hostile sexism condition.

Though not expected, such findings are consistent with the argument (see Castano, 2011; Leidner & Castano, 2012) that people shift the importance attributed to some moral values as a motivated response to a threat to their morality. The actual findings make more sense if one assumes that men acknowledged the hostile and benevolent sexist actions of the character as morally wrong. In hindsight, the action did cause overt harm and distress to the female character, and disrupted her enjoyment of the party. In addition, the incident was blamed on the woman least when hostile sexism was expressed, and second least in the benevolent condition, but both less so than the control group. Thus, it might have been recognised as a blatant moral wrong that the character justified using the corresponding form of sexist attitudes.

When facing a situation in which an in-group member commits a moral violation, individuals tend to experience great discomfort due to the perceived inconsistency between their personal beliefs (i.e., about how their in-group members should behave) and other's behaviours. Furthermore, because endorsing sexism is considered politically incorrect in the current days, presenting this form of behaviour in such obvious manner may have challenged participants' own moral standards; thus, provoking cognitive dissonance. Hence, in order to reduce distress, diminish the costs of the self-sanction and ultimately, protect their own identity, individuals might downplay the value assigned to some of these codes.

In this study, as participants were exposed to a vignette depicting sexism in a blatant and unpleasant manner, their shift in moral codes' endorsement may have been an attempt to distance themselves from that individual and his presumed moral justification. This might have been done with the aim of protecting not only their own self-concept and moral standards, but also other in-group members' reputation. On top of that, as discussed in Chapter 04, overt demonstrations of prejudice have become less socially tolerated across the globe and

individuals are now – more than ever before – aware of the negative consequences they can face if they publicly support such statements.

In other words, because in those scenarios only the male character's behaviour (i.e., making the in-group membership salient) was manipulated, it could be argued that those results emerged as a result of participants' experience of moral conflict. It is not uncommon, for instance, to see men putting themselves forward to state they are “not like them” and/or “not all men are rapists” every time a case of sexual violence is exposed in the press. In sum, even though it is premature to draw the conclusion that one – and only – exposure to sexist actions may have been enough to cause participants to question their moral values, these results draw attention to the importance of defensive processes.

General discussion

First, Study 02 provided initial evidence of a relationship between individuals' prejudicial attitudes towards women and the importance they assign to more conservative moral values: i.e., community and divinity moral codes. In addition, it provided support for the assumption that cultures may differ in regard to this matter. After consideration of those results, Study 03 was designed with the aim to provide a better understanding of these relationships and, more importantly, to test the effects of sexism on different outcomes related to sexually aggressive behaviours in Brazil and the U.K.

Results suggested that participants differ in the extent they blamed the victim as a result of the interaction between their nationality and the type of prejudice perpetrated against her. Results did not indicate, however, that individuals' cultural background played a role in the extent they approve the aggressor's behaviour, or endorse modern myths of sexual aggression. Likewise, no differences on the importance assigned to values such as honour, respect for

authority and tradition have been found. Instead, results suggested that Brazilians and Britons' responses to these measures did not depend on their nationality, but to which form of sexism they were presented with (i.e., overt or blatant forms of prejudice against women, when compared to those in a neutral condition).

More specifically, when presented with blatant expressions of prejudice against women individuals downplayed the importance assigned to community and divinity values (i.e., which in a related theory have been linked as group-binding moral codes (Graham, Haidt, & Nosek, 2009). What can be observed is that, as consequence of being presented with an in-group member's behaviour that they considered to be inappropriate, participants (irrespective of their nationality) lowered their endorsement of those values associated with the binding foundations.

These results suggest that individuals' endorsement of moral values might be more context-dependent than once thought; especially if this situation has the potential to threaten their moral standards and involves an in-group member. More specifically, it could be argued that, by shifting the values endorsed, individuals are able to distance themselves from any harmful act committed by fellow in-group member; therefore, avoiding any feelings of social/group responsibility for their actions.

Though some of these findings are not in line with initial hypotheses, they do advance the knowledge on the relationship between individuals (im)moral behaviour and the environment they are embedded in. They also might help explaining one important mechanism behind men's difficulty (or even refusal) to take collective responsibility for the pervasiveness of this issue. If not acknowledging that "any man" can be an offender and that "all men" must take responsibility to help preventing sexual violence, women will continue to be at risk of victimisation.

In following, although no interaction or main effects of manipulation on individuals' propensity to morally disengage have emerged, findings suggested that individuals may rely on cognitive strategies (e.g., sexually aggressive myths) to justify sexually aggressive discourses and acts without incurring any harm to their moral-standards. To Bandura's (1986), however, rape myths and moral disengagement are, to a certain extent, comparable. Therefore, one could argue that this study failed to show a relationship between sexism and moral disengagement due to the characteristics of the instrument applied (i.e., a general measure of propensity to morally disengage). Alternatively, it could be claimed that because participants recognised and rejected the offenders' behaviour, they did not feel the need to rely on those strategies.

To conclude, these results not only add to the field via consideration of moral values and moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence perpetration, but they also raise some interesting questions regarding the different processes underlying individuals' approval of and/or engagement in sexually aggressive discourses and behaviours. Even though the manipulation did not suggest a direct effect of sexism on participants' rape proclivity, an effect on community and divinity was found. Thus, rape proclivity may represent an activating variable that is necessary, but not sufficient, for perpetration to occur. Nonetheless, to solidify these inferences and to address the limitations of these studies, more research is necessary. Likewise, to resolve this issue and to clarify the role of those cognitive strategies in sustaining and perpetuating violent discourses and practices against women, future research should strive to develop a more specific measure of moral disengagement; designed to capture the specific elements involved in the phenomenon.

CHAPTER SIX

The development and preliminary validation of the MDinSV: Moral disengagement and men's likelihood to sexually aggress

Introduction

Sexual violence refers to any attempt (successful or otherwise) to obtain sexual contact from someone without their consent (i.e., the victim; WHO, 2010). It can take many forms and, contrary to what some believe, sexual violence is not restricted to penetrative contact. As discussed by Mont and White (2007), a wide range of acts such as forced marriage, prostitution, rape, abortion, sexual harassment and unwanted sexual advances, are all contained under the 'sexual violence umbrella'. Likewise, intentional touching, voyeurism and unwilling exposure to pornography are also considered to be expressions of such (Basile & Saltzman, 2002).

Although both men and women can be vulnerable to sexual violence, over the years, research (see WHO, 2010 for review) has been consistently indicating that women are at a greater risk to be the victims and men the perpetrators. Hence, some authors (Ministry of Justice, 2013; Saffioti, 2001; Scarpati, 2013; Souza & Adesse, 2005) hold that this phenomenon needs to be understood within a perspective that is able to encompass the reciprocal interaction between individuals' predispositions, their – most likely, favourable – context (Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015), as well as the gender aspect of this offence.

As discussed by Bandura (2002) it is through the environment and its symbolic elements that people learn to self-regulate both their thoughts and actions and, ultimately, which beliefs they should endorse in order to adequately behave in society (Vance, Sutter, Perrin, & Heesacker, 2015). In other words, in virtue of the socialization process, people internalise their “moral standards”, i.e. affective self-regulatory mechanisms that work

simultaneously inhibiting individuals from behaving immorally whilst assisting them in acting humanely.

As discussed in previous chapters, moral standards serve as a guide to people's lives; they provide an appreciation of the consequences of one's conduct, and help the ongoing process of self-regulation. They do not, however, function as fixed internal regulators of conduct. In fact, they only operate if activated (i.e., if the individual proactively engages in moral reasoning) and may even become crystallised over time if the individual doggedly pursues their own self-interest and/or contextual inhibitors are overridden (Bandura, 2002, 2004; Paciello, Fida, Tramontano, Lupinetti, & Caprara, 2008).

Thus, in order to live in accordance with moral standards, people employ different strategies that allow them not to incur self-evaluative emotional reactions when social norms have been (and/or are about to be) violated (Carroll, 2009; Page & Pina, 2015). For example, shame, guilt and/or remorse. Through the use of these strategies, detrimental acts become socially and morally acceptable and any conflicting moral beliefs and behaviours can be experienced largely without self-reproach. As a result, even those individuals with apparently high moral standards are able to: (a) behave reprehensibly (Richmond & Wilson, 2008) and/or (b) justify detrimental acts committed by others.

As briefly mentioned in Chapter 02, these psychosocial strategies are collectively known as the mechanisms and/or strategies of 'moral disengagement'. A detailed explanation of their content and function will be presented in the following section.

The Eight Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement in the Context of Sexual Violence

There exist eight mechanisms of moral disengagement through which individuals can reconstruct immoral or harmful acts (Bandura, 1990; 1999). These mechanisms operate by

ruling individuals' own behaviour and regulating the way others' conducts are perceived and judged (Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015).

The first mechanism, *moral justification*, refers to the means whereby the individual justifies his behaviour in order to guarantee social and moral acceptability (Gutzwiller-Helfenfinger, 2015). As discussed by Bandura (2002), individuals only engage in detrimental behaviour if they have firstly convinced themselves of the morality of their actions. In the sphere of sexual violence, for example, individuals may seek to find justification for their behaviour in the moral foundations of their culture (see Chapter 02).

The second mechanism – *euphemistic labelling* – refers to the reframing of language in order to enable the perpetrator to reinterpret the act (i.e., to be committed or already perpetrated) in such a way as to make it appear benign and inoffensive – and sometimes even acceptable – to the target as well as to himself. That is, the application of this euphemistic language allows the perpetrator to reconstruct their actions, thereby reducing their own feelings of culpability. Page and Pina (2015) further suggest that this mechanism allows the offender to claim that his actions have been misperceived by the victim and by others, resulting in a greater approval of his behaviour.

Advantageous comparison is the third mechanism and is essentially the attempt to reframe any detrimental act in a way that looks acceptable – or at least more easily acceptable – depending on which another act is has been compared to. As discussed by Carroll (2009), people seek to avoid self-censure by favourably comparing their own behaviour against those they consider to be more offensive. In so doing, their perception is affected by the behaviour of the person to whom he has compared himself to a point where he is convinced of his relative benevolence. According to Page and Pina (2015), when considered in tandem, these three mechanisms represent the most effective means of disengaging internal moral control.

The fourth mechanism is the *displacement of responsibility*; which operates by enabling the person to obscure or minimise their sense of personal agency in an offence by attributing their actions to others. Individuals might, for example, assign to their superior, peers and/or even their culture the responsibility for their acts. In this way, they view themselves as being not personally accountable for any injurious behaviour displayed (Carroll, 2009; Richmond & Wilson, 2008). In the context of war, for example, one's perpetration of sexual violence can be seen as a justifiable weapon of intimidation (Sideris, 2003).

Similarly to displacement of responsibility, this next mechanism – *diffusion of responsibility* – sees a reduction in the individual's sense of personal agency when a detrimental conduct is perpetrated. Here, however, the responsibility for the act is not assigned to someone else. Instead, it is shared among individuals to the point that, once a certain level of anonymity is achieved, an individual's moral control is weakened and harmful behaviours can be carried out (Bandura et al, 1996; Carroll, 2009). As far as sexual violence is concerned, gang-rape might stand out as the more obvious example of this mechanism.

The sixth mechanism – *disregard for or distortion of the consequences* – describes the process of denying, minimising or distorting the harmful effects of an offensive behaviour in order to disarm any moral self-sanction (Page & Pina, 2015; Richmond & Wilson, 2008). According to Carroll (2009), when the distortion is successful, people are able to discredit the evidence of harm presented by the victim; thereby minimising any feelings of guilt and responsibility. To illustrate, it is common to hear that victims tend to overreact and/or exaggerate about the consequences of a sexual offence to their self-esteem and relationships.

The next mechanism is the *attribution of blame*. It refers to the process of transferring, to the victim, the responsibility for their own victimisation. In doing so, the offender is able to rationalise that the victim did something wrong and therefore “she deserves” what has happened. This strategy is most frequently seen in situations where the offender undermines

the victim's credibility and justifies acts of sexual violence by questioning her behaviour (e.g., "That would never happen if she was not wearing revealing clothes. She provoked me").

Finally, the last strategy is that of *dehumanization*. Essentially, a person (usually women) is dehumanized when others explicitly or implicitly view them as being somehow lacking in positive human attributes (e.g., warmth, morality, competence, agency and experience) by: (a) drawing parallels with animals (animalist dehumanization) or (b) by treating them as objects (mechanistic/object-like dehumanization; Carroll, 2009; Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014; Page & Pina, 2015). Dehumanization entails people to strip other's humanness, to render them object-like (Gray et al., 2011; Morris, Goldenberg, & Heflick, 2014) and, ultimately, increase their risk of victimisation. To Vance, Sutter, Perrin and Heesacker (2015), when the sexual objectification becomes commonplace, a cultural climate of rape acceptance is created. For example, Rudman and Mescher (2012) found that men who implicitly associate women with objects are more likely to perpetrate sexual aggression.

Objectives

In 1996 Bandura, Barbaranelli, Caprara, and Pastorelli (1996) found that individuals (i.e., sample was constituted by Italian elementary and high school students) who scored high in moral disengagement were more inclined to engage in detrimental behaviours and, more importantly, less likely to report feelings of guilt in relation to those who were least susceptible to morally disengage. To assess such behaviours, the authors developed the Mechanisms of Moral Disengagement Questionnaire (Bandura et al, 1996); a 32-item measure representing the eight moral disengagement strategies proposed by Bandura's Socio Cognitive Theory

(Bandura, 1986, 1996) in which participants are invited to rate the extent they agree and/or accept a series of moral exonerations for transgressive conduct.

Since then, other authors have investigated the use of moral disengagement strategies across diverse behavioural contexts and empirical data indicates that one's use of those mechanisms is, indeed, a good predictor of a wide range of detrimental behaviour. Juvenile offending, aggression, delinquency, doping and vandalism are just a few examples (see Page, 2015 for review). It is interesting to note however, that despite the relevance of these strategies for the understanding of human behaviour (especially in relation to the perpetration of harmful acts), there has been almost no theoretical or empirical research which appreciates how they might impact upon men's likelihood to engage in sexual aggression (Carroll, 2009; Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015). More specifically, to the knowledge of the author, with the exception of line of work looking at moral disengagement in the context of sexual harassment (Page, 2015), no more work has been done in this area.

Hence, aiming to address this gap in the literature, and in line with our own previous findings, this chapter presents the results from two studies in which a measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence (The Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale - MDinSV) was developed and validated. The main aim of Study 04 was to explore the dimensionality of the MDinSV Scale and to select a smaller number of items to be included in this measure. Preliminary assessment of convergent and discriminant construct validity was also performed.

In following that, Study 05 aimed to further explore the psychometric properties of the new measure by testing the fit of two competing measurement models. Similarly to Study 04, preliminary assessment of convergent and discriminant validity was also performed.

General Assumptions

Dimensionality of Moral Disengagement

Although each mechanism of moral disengagement has its own characteristics, Bandura (1990; 1996; 2002) argues that they are all intrinsically linked to a common latent trait that makes individuals (more or less) prone to morally disengage. That is, though each mechanism plays a distinct role in the way one justifies the immoral behaviour perpetrated, moral disengagement could be explained by a unidimensional structure. In line with that, Page, Pina and Giner-Sorolla (2015) have recently found the 1-factor structure to be the best solution for their measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual harassment in the workplace.

This result was not true for all research in this field, however. Boardley and Kavussanu (2007), for example, have found a six-factor solution for their scale (Moral Disengagement in the Context of Sports' Practice Scale); whereas both Newton, Stapinski, Champion, Teesson and Bussey (2016) and McAlister, Bandura and Owen's (2006) results were better fitted by a four-factor solution. Drawing from that, in this research the dimensionality of moral disengagement was explored with both unidimensional and multidimensional factor solutions.

Convergent and Discriminant Validity

Firstly, it was predicted that the MDinSV would display statistically significant and positive correlations with modern myths around sexual violence, ambivalent sexism, and men's endorsement of masculine gender norms (i.e., convergent validity). To a certain extent, and similarly to moral disengagement mechanisms, rape and sexually aggressive myths help individuals to deny and justify male sexual aggression against women (Burt, 1980; Lonsway

& Fitzgerald, 1994). Hence, it could be claimed these myths are a form of moral disengagement (Vance, Sutter, Perrin, & Heesacker, 2015); even though the latter is not restricted to the former.

Differently from these myths, moral disengagement strategies are not necessarily untrue, distorted and/or “wrong” from an ethical perspective (Burt, 1980; Bohner et al, 1998). For example, when one says: “there is no reason to worry about sexual violence in the U.K; as this phenomenon is more prevalent in other countries” (see discussion regarding this matter on Chapter 04), they might be, indeed, speaking about a fact. What is interesting, though, is to what extent the use of this discourse assists this individual: (a) to sustain a system that helps perpetuating this offence and/or (b) to justify their own inclinations to behave aggressively. For the purpose of this study, sexually aggressive myths were measured with the AMMSA scale (Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007).

Ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) also plays an important role in men’s likelihood to engage in different forms of sexual violence; with several studies discussing the effects of hostile sexism (see Martín, Vergeles, Acevedo, Sánchez, Adel, & Visa, 2005 for review) in this context. It is, therefore, plausible to predict that the new scale would also display a strong positive correlation with hostile attitudes towards women.

More recently, however, researchers have started to advocate for the relevance of benevolent sexism in this context (Bosson, Parrott, Swan, Kuchynka, & Schramm, 2015). As discussed in Chapter 05, it is still not clear how men’s endorsement of subtler forms of prejudice against women might contribute to the way they behave towards them in the sexual realm, and findings are often contradictory. Nonetheless, relying on the assumption that hostile and benevolent sexism feed into each other (Glick & Fiske, 1996); thereby creating an environment where women are treated as inferior to men, the emergency of a moderate to strong relationship with benevolent sexism is expected to emerge. Ambivalent sexism was

measured using the ASI Short-Form scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014).

An additional function of moral disengagement is to influence how individuals perceive and/or judge immoral acts committed by others (Bandura et al, 1996). More specifically, how individuals judge behaviours perpetrated by those within their social group (Bandura et al., 1996; Castano, 2008; Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006). That is, people they share characteristics or traits with. Relevant to this research, it is vital to note how, by interacting with their peers, and comparing their own behaviours against others, males not only learn “what means to be a real man” but they also evaluate (and reevaluate) their moral standards (see Chapter 02). Consistent with that, Study 05 expands the investigation and explores the relationship between moral disengagement and gender norms around masculinity. Drawing from previous work (Page, 2015), it was expected that males who endorse a more traditional view of manhood would be more likely to make use of acquitting strategies to deny, downplay, and justify their own – as well others – sexually aggressive behaviour. Men’s attitudes towards masculine gender norms was measured using the Gender Role Conflict Scale Short-Form (Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012).

Lastly, in consonance with previous discussions (Carroll, 2009; Page & Pina, 2015; Vance, Sutter, Perrin, & Heesacker, 2015) on the relationship between rape myths and men's proclivity to commit acts of sexual violence, it was hypothesised that the MDinSV would be positively correlated to men’s likelihood to rape. To test this hypothesis, Bohner’s et al. (1998) rape proclivity measure was applied.

To assess MDinSV discriminant validity, an impression management (BIDR) scale was administered both Studies 04 and 05. This scale measures social desirability; thus, it is expected to not correlate significantly with moral disengagement.

Study 04

Method

Development of Items

Based on conceptual framework proposed in Chapter 02, results from a qualitative study with adult men in two different cultures (see Chapters 04 and 05), and a comprehensive literature review on measures of moral disengagement (Bandura et al., 1996; Bandura, 2002), rape myths (Burt, 1980; Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007) and ambivalent sexism (Glick & Fiske, 1996) an initial pool of items was created. To ensure items (a) represented the mechanism they were intended to measure and (b) were clearly worded, concise and unambiguous, three subject-matter experts with experience in the domains of sexual violence and moral disengagement were invited to review their content.

After that, items considered to be either redundant or unsuitable were consensually deleted, resulting in a set of 59 items for preliminary testing (See Appendix I). Collectively, these items represent a range of socially shared discourses and practices around sexual behaviour that broadly map onto the eight mechanisms of moral disengagement proposed by Bandura et al. (1996).

Participants

A total of 351 native English speakers took part in this study. Participants were predominately women (N = 274, 77.8%), either from Britain (N = 245) or North America. (N = 40) and their age ranged from 18 to 78 years old ($M = 32.18$; $SD = 11.44$). Respondents were

mostly white (N = 305, 86.6%), identified themselves as heterosexual (N = 287, 81.5%) and declared to be in a relationship (Cohabiting: N = 144, 40.9%). In relation to their education, most of the sample had completed either a 4-year degree (N = 97, 27.6%) or a professional level degree (N = 87, 24.7%); with 49 participants (13.9%) holding a Doctorate degree. Finally, the majority of the sample declared that they do not subscribe to any religion (N = 220, 62.5%) and that religiosity and/or religious affiliation is “not at all important” (N = 227; 64.5%) to their lives.

Procedure and Measures

Study 04 was conducted online as an Internet survey (Qualtrics website) in which participants were invited to complete a questionnaire on “different aspects of relationships between men and women in our society”. Universities’ departments across the country were individually contacted and asked to distribute a web link to students’ email accounts, and the link for the research was also divulged in different social media platforms.

Firstly, following the requirements from the University ethics committee, participants’ eligibility was checked, the Information Sheet was presented and all respondents were required to provide written informed consent before starting answering the survey. After that, they were instructed to answer some socio-demographic questions and to complete the MDinSV scale. Following the MDinSV scale, participants answered the Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression (AMMSA), the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short-Form (ASI-SF) scales and the BIDR scale (i.e., impression management subscale). Finally, those who completed the survey were fully debriefed in writing and were given a chance to enter a prize draw.

Socio-Demographic Information Questions: Age, gender, religion, country of origin and years living in own country were assessed, as well as the importance attributed to religiosity.

Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale (MDinSV) for this first study, the pilot version of the MDinSV, composed of 59 items, was applied. Items represented an array of discourses and practices within the eight moral disengagement strategies proposed by Bandura et al. (1996) that help explaining individuals' sexually aggressive behaviour. Examples of items are: "Drunk women are fair game" and "Sexual violence is an issue of blurred lines". Participants are invited to rate the extent they agree with each of these statements on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 Strongly disagree to 7 Strongly agree) and there are no reversed items.

The Acceptance of Modern Myths about Sexual Aggression (AMMSA) Scale (Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007) is a unidimensional 30-item self-report measure of individual differences in sexual aggression myth acceptance. Example items include "When it comes to sexual contacts, women expect men to take the lead" and participants are invited to the extent they agree with items on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 Strongly disagree to 7 Strongly agree). There are no reversed items.

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short Form (ASI-SF) Scale (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014) is a 12-item self-reported measure used to assess the extent individuals endorse both hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes toward women. Hostile sexism (items 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12) is measured using items such as "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", whereas benevolent sexism (items 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11) is assessed through items such as "Women should be cherished and protected by men". Participants respond to these items on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 Disagree strongly to 6 Agree strongly). There are no reversed items.

The Impression Management Scale of the Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding (BIDR; Paulhus, 1991; Paulhus & Reid, 1991): the BIDR consists of a 40-item self-report measure of individual's tendency to present themselves in a socially desirable manner. For the purpose of this study, however, only the 20-items referring to Impression Management were utilised (BIDR-IM). Participants respond to items on a 7-point Likert-type scale (1 Strongly agree to 7 Strongly disagree). Example items include: "I never swear" and "Once in a while, I laugh at a dirty joke". Reverse scored items are: 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17 and 19.

Data Analysis

All analyses were conducted using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 24) (V.20.0; IBM, Armonk, New York, USA) and the FACTOR 9.2 software (Lorenzo-Seva & Ferrando, 2006). The sociodemographic characteristics of the participants were analysed descriptively and presented as mean (\pm SD) or number (percentage (%)) based on the type of data.

Results

Exploratory Factor and Parallel Analyses

Items were initially subjected to exploratory factor analysis (EFA) and treated as continuous; thus, Pearson correlations were estimated. An unweighted least squares' estimator (ULS) was used and the structure was rotated using Promax rotation (oblique). In addition, a parallel analysis was employed (O'Connor, 2000). As discussed by Fabrigar et al. (1999), this method provides a more robust indication of how many factors should be retained; as it

compares the eigenvalues of empirical components with those derived from random datasets with a similar number of variables and participants. For this analysis, the software FACTOR was utilised.

Examination of the Kaiser-Meyer Olkin measure of sampling adequacy ($KMO = .95$) and Bartlett's test of Sphericity [$\chi^2(1711) = 10570.2, p < .001$] suggested that the sample was factorable. Firstly, to determine the number of interpretable factors, the scree plot was inspected. Results indicated a clear decline after the first factor, followed by smaller demarcations at the third and fourth points; suggesting a possible two or three-factor solution (see Figure 02).

In line with those results, the Parallel Analysis advised for a possible three-factor solution (see Table 23). Despite that, examination of fit indices ($CFI = .98$, $GFI = .96$; $RMSE = .069$; $UniCo = 0.96$; $ECV = 0.87$, and $MIREAL = 0.18$) suggested that data could be treated as essentially unidimensional and that a single factor solution would suit the data adequately (see Table 09).

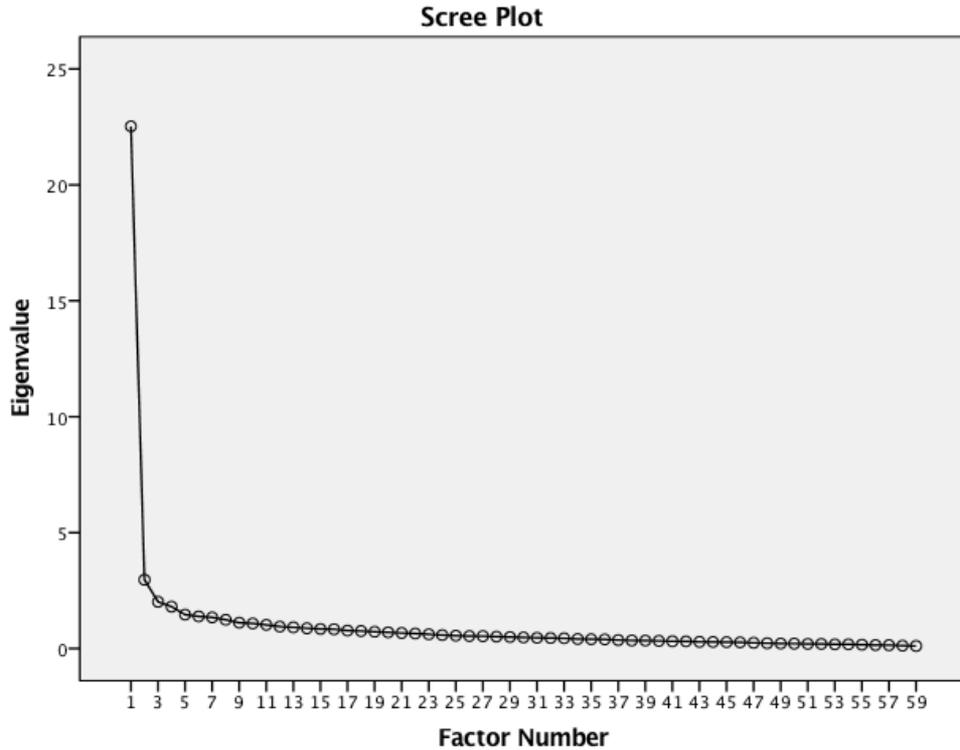


Figure 03 Scree plot of the pilot MDinSV Scale

Table 09
Comparison of observed and criterion eigenvalues from parallel analysis

Variable	Real-data % variance	Mean of random % of variance	95 percentile of random variance
1	33.9	3.8	4.0
2	5.4	3.6	3.8
3	3.8	3.5	3.6
4	3.2	3.3	3.4

Note: Real-data variance that is greater than random variance (mean- and percentile-based) is highlighted in bold.

The measure was further refined with reference to the psychometric properties of each of the 59 items. After consideration of the factor structure and items' factor loadings (see Table 10) items considered to be problematic were removed (e.g., smaller factor loadings and content analysis) and a unidimensional solution was preferred. They were: items 03, 10, 16, 34, 50. Hence, a total of 54 items was retained.

Table 10

One-factor solution and item factor loadings of the pilot MDinSV Scale (59 Items)

<i>Item</i>	<i>F1</i>
18. Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it.	.786
22. If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to find a girlfriend, then he shouldn't be blamed if he is pushy with a girl he wants to have sex with.	.773
20. On a night out, it's acceptable to "feel up" an attractive woman.	.766
23. A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of forced sex, as she would often have sex with people she doesn't like for money.	.765
47. If a woman doesn't physically try to stop a man from having sex with her, then she is partial to blame.	.764
54. It is not that traumatizing if the person was drunk and they can't remember they had sex.	.733
35. A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction of her partner, by any means necessary.	.732
17. If an attractive man forces a less attractive woman to have sex, it wouldn't be that unpleasant for her.	.731
48. To maximize your pleasure, it is ok to take off the condom during sex without asking your sexual partner.	.728
56. If the man is the one paying for all the household expenses, he should be one deciding when, and how to have sex.	.720
05. If a woman doesn't physically resist sex – even if she did say no initially – she is probably enjoying the situation.	.719
40. A man should not feel guilty for doing something towards a woman that he knows his friends would approve of.	.711
24. A woman who flirts with a man but then just stops before sex, shouldn't be surprised if he tries to have sex with her anyway.	.708
59. Drunk women are fair game.	.696
28. If someone is already having sex with a woman and asks you to join, then you can't be blamed if something gets out of control.	.696
19. If a man pays for a date, it's not fair for the woman to hold out on him.	.689
13. It is a man's duty to take control in all aspects of relationships, including sex.	.685
51. An ugly woman should be thankful that any man would want to have sex with her, even if she doesn't want it.	.684
42. If two people have met through a dating app, it should be expected that they will have sex.	.682
31. If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is fair to pressure for sex.	.676
6. Men in relationships do not rape: "why buy the cow if you can have the milk for free"?	.676
30. If a woman is raped while drunk, she is also responsible for what happened to her.	.674
39. Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get too caught in the moment to stop.	.672
44. If a guy is raised under adverse conditions, he cannot be blamed for behaving aggressively during sex.	.664
57. The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising that men lose control over their sexual urges.	.662

45. One should not be blamed for behaving in a sexually aggressive manner towards women if every man around him behaves in a similar way.	.660
25 It is ok to push your partner to try something sexual that they don't yet know they will enjoy.	.650
58. Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual violence as well as its consequences.	.650
32. "Having your way" with a sexual partner is not a big deal.	.647
08. Being a bit "pushy" during sex should not be considered a problem.	.633
11. A man showing a woman his desire by touching her is the ultimate form of compliment.	.630
26. "Boys will be boys" when it comes to sex.	.628
15. Forcing a virgin to have sex is way more serious than doing the same to a woman with an active sexual life.	.622
12. Women should know by now that if they act provocatively towards men, they will eventually get into trouble.	.615
09. If a woman is forced to have sex by her partner it is less traumatizing than being forced to have sex by a stranger.	.598
37. Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you want to show that you are interested.	.595
07. When women wear next to nothing on a night out, it shouldn't be surprising that men will try to have sex with them.	.586
21. Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence we should focus on victims of war.	.585
43. Sexual violence is an issue of "blurred lines" in sexual encounters.	.581
49. It shouldn't be considered rape if the man is drunk and didn't realise his actions.	.577
53. It shouldn't be considered rape if they are both drunk during forceful sex, and they didn't realise his actions.	.569
36. Women should be held responsible for the way they communicate their refusal to have sex.	.569
14. "Roughing up" your partner during sex is just a bit of fun.	.558
01. Being forceful during sex just means someone is a "real man".	.553
52. If someone is paying to have sex they have a right to decide what should happen.	.526
46. The best partner is one who always does what you want in bed.	.460
03. It is better to take a drunken girl home for some fun than leave her behind for someone else to take advantage.	.452
55. One shouldn't feel sorry for women behaving like animals on a night out; drinking heavily and not respecting themselves.	.449
38. It is acceptable to "push the boundaries" during sex.	.442
29. If you and your group of friends are sexually target by someone on a night out, it would not be as traumatizing than if you were alone.	.430
27. Sexual violence is not that much of a problem in this country, compared to other parts of the world.	.429
04. Once desire takes over, men are not that good at controlling their sexual instincts.	.425
50. Lad/Macho culture is an example of how one cannot be blamed for being sexually aggressive towards women.	.416
34. On a night out, if a group of men is being sexually aggressive towards a woman, it is unfair to blame any one person for it.	.388
33. Forcing a woman to have sex with you is far less serious than killing someone.	.368
41. You shouldn't feel sorry for a woman who sleeps around.	.338

02. "Pushing the boundaries" in sex can be pleasant.	.232
16. Frequent use of hard core pornography makes some men unable to distinguish between consensual and non-consensual sex.	.079
10. The way that relationships are portrayed in the media leads some men to think it is 'ok' to be forceful when it comes to sex.	-.024

Note: Items that were excluded from the 59-item measure are highlighted in yellow.

Reliability

In following, sum scores were created and the reliability of scores from each measure was verified. In the case of MDinSV, sum scores were calculated based on the 54-item version. For both AMMSA and ASI-SF scales, coding was reversed where necessary, so all responses would have a similar direction (i.e., 1 = strongly agree and 6 or 7 = strongly disagree). After that, reliability was tested using Cronbach's coefficient (α). In the current research, MDinSV ($\alpha = .96$), AMMSA ($\alpha = .91$) and the ASI SF scales ($\alpha_{\text{overall}} = .97$; $\alpha_{\text{hostile}} = .90$; $\alpha_{\text{benevolent}} = .83$) presented excellent reliability; whereas BIDR-IM presented good reliability ($\alpha = .78$).

Convergent and Discriminant Validity

To assess convergent and discriminant validity, hypotheses about the associations between moral disengagement in the context of sexual aggression and other variables were tested. Firstly, as previously stated, it was hypothesised that MDinSV scale would correlate with sexual aggression myths and ambivalent sexism (convergent validity) and would not correlate with impression management (discriminant validity).

As expected, the MDinSV was indeed strongly and significantly correlated with participants' acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression (AMMSA; $r = .82$, $p < .001$) as well as prejudice against women (ASI-SF; $r = .74$, $p < .001$); with correlations between MDinSV and HS ($r = .74$, $p < .001$) being stronger than those with BS ($r = .60$, $p < .001$). Contrary to initial hypothesis, however, results emerged suggest that MDinSV were significantly and negatively correlated with Impression Management ($r = -.15$, $p = .005$); even though the correlation is very weak.

Although weak, the correlation between these two scales indicates that participants that tend to engage with moral disengagement strategies, also tend to not report themselves in a social desirable manner. As discussed by Page (2015) in developing a measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual harassment, participants' responses to the scale, might not “completely resistant to social desirability response biases across samples” (p.73). Additional research is necessary to understand these bias effects and ways to overcome such issues.

Further analyses also revealed – weak although significant and positive – correlations between MDinSV and importance assigned to religion ($r = .31$; $p < .001$). T-tests for independent sample [$t(345) = -5.47$, $p < .001$] also revealed that males ($M = 5.76$, $SD = 6.28$) tend to accept those statements to greater extent, when compared to females ($M = 6.28$, $SD = .61$).

Discussion

The primary purpose of Study 04 was to explore the dimensionality of moral disengagement, and to develop, select and pilot-test a number of items to be included in a measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence perpetration: The Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence (MDinSV) Scale. Overall, initial evidence for its internal structure validity was found and the measure presented excellent reliability; with results from EFA providing primary indication for a one-factor solution.

A further aim of Study 04 was to gather evidence that these items converge and discriminate with other measures according to previous results from the literature. More specifically, impression management, the ideological variables of benevolent and hostile sexism toward women (Glick & Fiske, 1996) and the modern myths about sexual aggression

(Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007). As expected, a strong relationship between ideological variables and modern myths was found; meaning that individuals who hold prejudices against women and endorse different forms of myths about sexual aggression also tend to rely on mechanisms of moral disengagement to self-regulate their own transgressive behaviour and/or judge the negative and immoral actions of others. The correlation with impression management was unexpectedly significant; however, the correlation was very weak, which partially supports the prior hypothesis that social the two scales are independent. As contended by McCreary (2012), any research addressing anti-social behaviours faces the challenge of social desirability bias; as individuals are “prone to report false information in order to make themselves look ‘better’ in the eyes of the researcher” (p.9) and to their own eyes.

Although the MDinSV was observed to be strongly positively related to both AMMSA and ASI-SF, it could be argued that these are empirically separable measures. This is because whereas the ASI-SF focuses on general attitudes towards women and the AMMSA addresses myths around sexual aggression, the MDinSV scale is specifically designed to assess individuals’ use of all the different strategies available in order to justify those actions that – directly or indirectly – allow for the perpetration of sexual violence. More importantly, contrarily to these measures assessing attitudes and/or myths, the MDinSV sheds light on socially shared justifications that are not necessarily held true by individuals.

Participants’ overall means (for the MDinSV Scale) were generally low, indicating that most of them do not agree and/or endorse the content of the scale. This result is not surprising; as most participants were (a) well-educated (b) women. As discussed by McCreary (2012), well-educated individuals tend to disagree with overt expressions of violence and/or prejudice and to hold a more positive – and politically correct – outlook towards inappropriate sexual

behaviour. Likewise, in contrast to the general male population, women may hold stronger egalitarian attitudes and beliefs (see Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007 and Page, 2015).

To confirm the unidimensional factor structure and to inspect how the scale would behave in a different sample of male native English speakers, Study 05 was run.

Study 05

Method

Participants

The sample consisted of 410 British adult men, with an age range of 18 to 75 years old ($M_{age} = 38.4$; $SD = 11.79$). Most respondents declared to be white ($N = 379$; 92.4%), asserted to be either married ($N = 161$, 39.3%) or in a relationship/cohabiting ($N = 130$; 31.7%) and had completed either a 4-years degree ($N = 118$; 28.8%) or college ($N = 112$; 27.3%). Similarly to the previous study, most of the sample also declared that they do not subscribe to any religion ($N = 255$; 62.2%) and that religiosity and/or religious affiliation is “not at all important” ($N = 289$; 70.5%) to their lives.

Procedure and Measures

Study 05 was conducted with an Internet survey (Qualtrics website) and participants were recruited online through the Prolific Academic crowd-sourcing platform. Similarly to Study 04, after checking their eligibility, individuals who fit the criteria were presented with the Information Sheet, where all the details regarding the study was explained. Following that,

they were asked to read the terms described in the Consent Form. If they agreed in taking part in the study, respondents were then required to answer some socio-demographic questions, such as their nationality, religious affiliation, level of religiosity, and age.

After that, participants were presented with the subsequent measures: (a) the MDinSV Scale, (b) the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory SF (ASI-SF), (c) The Rape Proclivity Vignettes and (d) the Impression Management and Self-Deceptive Enhancement Scale (BIDR-16). In addition, and aiming to further explore participants' endorsement of 'masculinity norms' (see Chapter 03), respondents were also invited to answer the Gender Role Conflict Scale SF. Finally, those who completed the survey were fully debriefed in writing.

Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence (MDinSV): in this study, the 54-item version of the measure, developed in Study 04, was applied. Examples of items are "Drunk women are fair game" and "'Having your way' with a sexual partner is not a big deal". Respondents are invited to rate their agreement with each item on a 7-point Likert scale; ranging from 1 "Strongly disagree" to 7 "Strongly agree".

Gender Role Conflict Scale Short-Form (Wester, Vogel, O'Neil, & Danforth, 2012): this is a 16-item measure designed to assess the extent men endorse some of the most common male gender role expectations. Examples of items are "I strive to be more successful than others". Respondents are invited to rate their agreement with each item on a 6-point Likert scale; ranging from 1 "strongly disagree" to 6 "strongly agree".

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short Form (ASI-SF) (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014): this is a 12-item self-reported measure used to assess the extent individuals endorse both hostile and benevolent sexist attitudes toward women. Hostile sexism (items 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 12) is assessed through items such as "Women seek to gain power by getting control over men", whereas benevolent sexism (items 1, 2, 4, 5, 10, 11) is measured through items such as "Women should be cherished and protected by men". Participants respond to

these items on a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 Disagree strongly to 6 Agree strongly). There are no reversed items.

The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Short-Form (BIDR-16) (Hart, Ritchie, Hepper, & Gebauer, 2015): the BIDR-16 consists of a 16-item self-report measure of individual's tendency to present themselves in a socially desirable manner. Participants respond to items on an 8-point Likert-type scale (1 Totally disagree to 8 Totally agree). Examples of items are: "I always know why I like things" and "I never cover up my mistakes" and half of the items are reversed-coded.

Rape Proclivity Measure (Bohner et al., 1998): it consists of five different acquaintance-rape scenarios where participants are instructed to read a vignette and to imagine themselves in the same situation of the male character before answering three questions: "How sexually aroused would you have felt in this situation?" (1 Not sexually aroused to 6 Very much sexually aroused); "Would you have behaved like this in this situation?" (1 Not at all to 6 Very much) and "How much would you have enjoyed getting your way in this situation?" (1 Not at all to 6 Very much). These questions measure, respectively, participants' expectations of sexual arousal, rape proclivity and sexual dominance. For the purpose of this study, only the first three scenarios were utilised.

Data Analysis

All analyses were conducted using Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS 24) (V.20.0; IBM, Armonk, New York, USA), and AMOS (Arbuckle, 2014). The socio-demographic characteristics of the participants were analysed descriptively and presented as mean (\pm SD) or number (percentage (%)) based on the type of data.

Results

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

Results from Study 04 provided initial evidence that this data could be treated as unidimensional. Nonetheless, because the results from the Parallel Analysis advised for a possible multidimensional solution two possible competing solutions were explored: one unidimensional and one bi-factorial model.

To test that, a confirmatory factor analysis was performed and models' test was based on the covariance matrix using maximum likelihood estimator (ML). To set the metric of the model, the factor variance was fixed at 1 and factor loadings were freely estimated in both models. The bi-factor model was tested with one general factor (Moral Disengagement; MD) influencing all items, and eight group factors accounting for non-explained variance from the main factor. The group factors were hypothesised to reflect the eight moral disengagement mechanism from (Bandura et. al, 1996; Bandura, 2002): Moral Justification, Euphemistic Labelling, Advantageous Comparison, Displacement of Responsibility, Diffusion of Responsibility, Disregard for and/or Distortion of Consequences, Attribution of Blame, and Dehumanization.

The competing models were then judged against each other, using both incremental and absolute measures of fit such as: χ^2 test of model fit, Comparative Fit Index (CFI), Explained Common Variance index (ECV), Percent of Uncontaminated Correlations index (PUC), and the average absolute parameter bias. In addition, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA) was also considered. According to Hu and Bentler (1999), the RMSEA has been considered the most informative index of model fit due to its insensitivity to elements such as sample size, model misspecification (see Hooper, Coughlan, & Mullen, 2008; Hu & Bentler,

1999; Jackson, Gillaspay, & Purc-Stephenson, 2009; Kline, 2011). Values close to 0.06 indicate a well closefitting model (Hu & Bentler, 1999). The representation of the models is displayed in Figure 04 and the model fit statistics for these competing models are presented in the table below.

Table 11

Model fit statistics for 1-factor and Bi-factor models

Model	χ^2	df	CFI	RMSEA
1-factor solution	4604.885	1377	.76	.07
Bi-factor solution	3790.763	1323	.82	.07

Note. χ^2 = Chi-Square *df* = Degrees of Freedom. CFI = Comparative Fit Index; RMSEA = Root Mean Square Error of Approximation These models refer to the 54-items MDinSV scale.

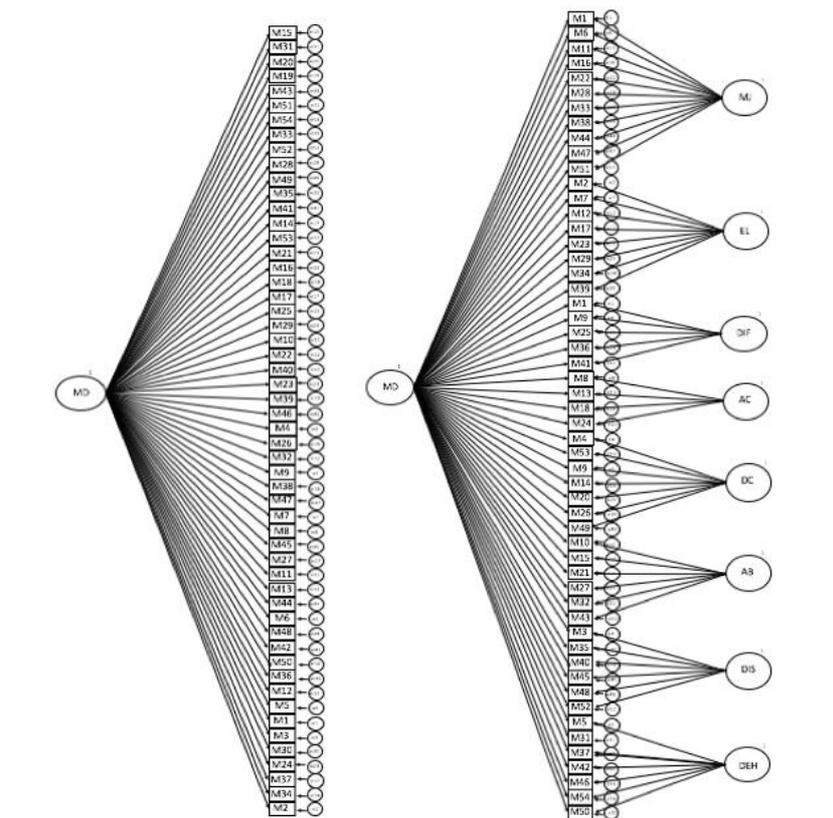


Figure 04 *Models tested with Confirmatory Factor Analysis.*

Note. The first model is unidimensional. The second model is bi-factorial, with one general factor and eight group factors. MD = Moral Disengagement. MJ = Moral Justification. EL = Euphemistic Labelling. AC = Advantageous Comparison. AB = Attribution of Blame. DIF = Diffusion of responsibility. DIS = Displacement of Responsibility. DEH = Dehumanization.

Although results suggested a slightly improvement in the bi-factor model, both Explained Common Variance (ECV = .82) and Percentage of Uncontaminated Correlations (PUC = .88) provided further evidence that the data is essentially unidimensional. As discussed by Rodriguez, Reise, and Haviland (2016b) when the Average Relative Parameter Bias (ARPB) is less than 15%, ECV is > .70 and PUC > .70 the unidimensional solution can be accepted without concerns. Hence, after consideration of these results, and in line with Bandura's theoretical proposition, it was decided that a 1-factor solution would explain the data better (Table 12 displays all the retained 54-items, with their respective standardised factor loadings). For a review in regard this matter, see Bonifay, Reise, Scheines, and Meijer (2015), Reise, Schienes, Widaman and Haviland (2013), and Rodriguez, Reise and Haviland (2016a).

Table 12

Standardised factor loadings of the main factor of the pilot MDinSV Scale (54 Items): One-factor versus Bi-factor solutions

	1-factor	Bi-factor
15. Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it.	.770	.779
31. A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction (...)	.754	.761
20. A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of (...)	.738	.736
19. If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to (...)	.737	.751
43. If a woman doesn't physically try to stop a man from having sex (...)	.737	.729
51. If the man is the one paying for all the household expenses (...)	.736	.754
54. Drunk women are fair game.	.717	.734
33. Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you (...)	.715	.706
52. The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising (...)	.710	.695
28. If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is (...)	.708	.704
49. It is not that traumatizing if the person was drunk and they can't (...)	.707	.709
35. Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get	.702	.687
41. One should not be blamed for behaving in a sexually aggressive manner	.697	.707
14. If an attractive man forces a less attractive woman to have sex, it (...)	.694	.722
53. Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual (...)	.689	.680
21. A woman who flirts with a man but then stops just before sex, shouldn't	.686	.657
16. If a man pays for a date, it's not fair for the woman to hold out on him.	.685	.702
18. Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence we (...)	.681	.683
17. On a night out, it's acceptable to "feel up" an attractive woman.	.676	.692
25. If someone is already having sex with a woman and asks you to (...)	.674	.661
29. "Having your way" with a sexual partner is not a big deal.	.673	.664
10. Women should know by now that if they act provocatively (...)	.668	.664
22. It's ok to push your partner to try something sexual that they (...)	.668	.651
40. If a guy is raised under adverse conditions, he cannot be (...)	.666	.682

23. "Boys will be boys" when it comes to sex.	.659	.644
39. Sexual violence is an issue of "blurred lines" in sexual encounters.	.656	.651
46. An ugly woman should be thankful that any man would want (...)	.655	.685
4. If a woman doesn't physically resist sex – even if she did (...)	.653	.655
26. If a group of people is sexually targeted by someone on a night out (...)	.653	.645
32. Women should be held responsible for the way they communicate (...)	.648	.624
9. A man showing a woman his desire by touching her is the (...)	.646	.642
38. If two people have met through a dating app, it should be expected (...)	.643	.639
47. If someone is paying to have sex they have a right to decide what (...)	.634	.624
7. Being a bit "pushy" during sex should not be considered a problem.	.632	.621
8. If a woman is forced to have sex by her partner it is less (...)	.632	.620
45. It shouldn't be considered rape if the man is drunk and didn't (...)	.621	.644
27. If a woman is raped while drunk, she is also responsible for what (...)	.617	.610
11. It is a man's duty to take control in all aspects of relationships, (...)	.609	.615
13. Forcing a virgin to have sex is way more serious than doing the (...)	.604	.605
44. To maximize your pleasure, it is ok to take off the condom during (...)	.598	.623
6. When women wear next to nothing on a night out, it shouldn't be (...)	.594	.578
48. It shouldn't be considered rape if they are both drunk during (...)	.583	.572
42. The best partner is one who always does what you want in bed.	.582	.582
50. One shouldn't feel sorry for women behaving like animals (...)	.560	.551
36. A man should not feel guilty for making a something towards (...)	.553	.546
12. "Roughing up" your partner during sex is just a bit of fun.	.537	.533
5. Men in relationships do not rape: "why buy the cow (...)	.522	.532
1. Being forceful during sex just means someone is a "real man".	.477	.482
3. Once desire takes over, men are not that good at controlling their (...)	.448	.434
30. Forcing a woman to have sex with you is far less serious than (...)	.440	.418
24. Sexual violence is not that much of a problem in this country (...)	.429	.409
37. One shouldn't feel sorry for a woman who sleeps around.	.422	.412
34. It is acceptable to "push the boundaries" during sex.	.414	.383
2. "Pushing the boundaries" in sex can be pleasant.	.235	.209

Note: Items that were excluded from the 54-item measure are highlighted in yellow

Though the unidimensional solution could be considered satisfactory, there was still room for improvement; especially regarding the length of the measure and the content of some items. As discussed by DeCoster (1998) CFA not only allow the researcher to test whether their data fit the hypothesised measurement model, but it also provides the opportunity to better inspect potentially problematic indicators. Drawing from that, the overall model was then re-evaluated and after consideration of items' loadings, contribution for the overall measure, content (e.g., possible similar or redundant wording) and distribution within each moral disengagement strategy, 16 more items were deleted; thereby achieving a more concise and

adequate set of items. Items 2, 3, 4, 11, 14, 16, 24, 26, 30, 34, 37, 44, 45, 46, 50, 51 were removed and the final trimmed model was composed of 38 items.

To confirm the adequacy of the final version of the MDinSV scale (1-factor model, with 38-items) items were subjected to another CFA and results indicated an acceptable fit to the observed data: $\chi^2 = 2125.532$, $df = 665$, $p < .001$; CFI = .84; RMSEA = .07 (Kline, 2011; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Iacobucci, 2010; Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger, & Müller, 2003). See Table 13 for the final set of items, as well as their standardized factor loadings.

Table 13
Standardised factor loadings of the unidimensional MDinSV Scale (38 Items)

	1-factor
10. Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it.	.757
32. If a woman doesn't physically try to stop a man from having sex	.753
14. A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of forced sex,	.745
22. A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction of her	.740
36. The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising that men	.730
24. Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you want to	.727
25. Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get too caught in	.720
15. A woman who flirts with a man but then stops just before sex, shouldn't	.719
13. If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to find a girlfriend, then he	.713
20. If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is fair to	.708
37. Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual violence as	.698
7. Women should know by now that if they act provocatively towards men,	.695
35. It is not that traumatizing if the person was drunk and they can't remember	.693
38. Drunk women are fair game.	.688
30. One should not be blamed for behaving in a sexually aggressive manner towards	.686
18. If someone is already having sex with a woman and asks you to join, then you	.684
21. "Having your way" with a sexual partner is not a big deal.	.680
16. It's ok to push your partner to try something sexual that they don't yet know	.675
17. "Boys will be boys" when it comes to sex.	.672
12. Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence we should	.668
28. Sexual violence is an issue of "blurred lines" in sexual encounters.	.668
23. Women should be held responsible for the way they communicate their	.663
11. On a night out, it's acceptable to "feel up" an attractive woman.	.659
6. A man showing a woman his desire by touching her is the ultimate form	.656
27. If two people have met through a dating app, it should be expected that they	.650
1. If a woman doesn't physically resist sex – even if she did say no initially – she is	.646
29. If a guy is raised under adverse conditions, he cannot be blamed for behaving	.646

33. If someone is paying to have sex they have a right to decide what should happen.	.642
4. Being a bit "pushy" during sex should not be considered a problem.	.634
5. If a woman is forced to have sex by her partner it is less traumatizing than being	.628
19. If a woman is raped while drunk, she is also responsible for what happened to her.	.617
3. When women wear next to nothing on a night out, it shouldn't be surprising that	.612
9. Forcing a virgin to have sex is way more serious than doing the same to a	.602
34. It shouldn't be considered rape if they are both drunk during forceful sex, and	.584
31. The best partner is one who always does what you want in bed.	.572
26. A man should not feel guilty for making a something towards a woman that	.556
8. "Roughing up" your partner during sex is just a bit of fun.	.525
2. Men in relationships do not rape: "why buy the cow if you can have the	.509
10. Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it.	.757
32. If a woman doesn't physically try to stop a man from having sex with her,	.753
14. A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of forced sex, as	.745
22. A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction of her partner,	.740
36. The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising that men lose control	.730
24. Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you want to show that	.727
25. Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get too caught in the	.720
15. A woman who flirts with a man but then stops just before sex, shouldn't be	.719
13. If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to find a girlfriend, then	.713
20. If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is fair to	.708
37. Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual violence as	.698

Reliability

After achieving a final set of items, the reliability was tested using the Omega's coefficient (ω) for the MDinSV and Cronbach's coefficient (α) for all the other measures. The decision of using Omega's coefficient was based on the factor structure of the MDinSV not presenting equal factor loadings in the main factor. Cronbach's alpha was applied for the other measures given that their factor structures were not tested; thus, not being possible to calculate Omega. In the current research, the 38-items MDinSV ($\omega = .97$), the ASI-SF ($\alpha = .89$), the Gender Role Conflict Scale SF ($\alpha = .85$) and the Rape Proclivity Measure ($\alpha = .87$) presented excellent reliability. BIDR-16 ($\alpha = .73$) presented good reliability.

Convergent and Discriminant Validity

In following, to assess convergent validity, hypotheses about the associations between moral disengagement in the context of sexual aggression and other variables were tested through correlational analyses. Firstly, it was hypothesised that results achieved in Study 04 would be replicated and participants' use of moral disengagement strategies (MDinSV scale) would correlate with prejudice against women (ASI-SF Scale). In addition, a positive and statistically significant relationship with attitudes towards society's expectations regarding male gender role (Gender Role Conflict Scale) and, more importantly, individuals' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour (Rape Proclivity Measure) (i.e., convergent validity) was also expected. Lastly, it was hypothesised that MDinSV would not correlate with social-desirability (i.e., discriminant validity).

Supporting the predictions, MDinSV was indeed moderately correlated with participants' rape proclivity ($r = .61, p < .001$), as well as their endorsement of prejudice against women ($r = .63, p < .001$). Correlations between MDinSV and each form of sexism were statistically significant different from each other [$t(407) = 21.05, p < .001$]; with the relationship with benevolent sexism ($r = .56, p < .001$) being stronger than the one with hostile sexism ($r = .32, p < .001$).

Still in line with some of the hypotheses, MDinSV was significantly correlated with participants concerns with rules and expectations around gender's performance ($r = .34, p < .001$) and the importance individuals assign to religion ($r = .33; p < .001$), but not with individuals' tendency to present themselves in a socio-desirable manner ($r = -.08, p = .09$). Though not hypothesised, it is worth mentioning that participants' concerns with masculinity norms correlated with both rape proclivity ($r = .21, p < .001$) and ambivalent sexism ($r = .42, p < .001$). See Table 14 for an overview of all the relationships emerged.

Table 14

Correlational analysis among Study 05 variables

	MDinSV	ASI	BS	HS	RP	SD	SE	IM	GR	RE	WF	SPC	EBM
MDinSV	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASI	.63**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BS	.56**	.86**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HS	.32**	.45**	.84**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RP	.61**	.35**	.30**	.15**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SD	.08	-.06	.02	.10*	-.17**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SE	.09	.11*	.13**	.11*	-.04	.74**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IM	-.18**	-.15**	-.06	.07	-.21**	.88**	.33**	-	-	-	-	-	-
GR	.34**	.42**	.42**	.28**	.21**	-.17**	-.09	-.18**	-	-	-	-	-
RE	.10**	.13**	.10*	.04	.05	-.12*	-.14**	-.07	.71**	-	-	-	-
WF	.14**	.24**	.21**	.11*	.07	-.15**	-.13*	-.13*	.68**	.37**	-	-	-
SPC	.32**	.39**	.38**	.26**	.21**	-.16**	.01	-.24*	.63**	.18**	.31**	-	-
EBM	.36**	.38**	.42**	.34**	.24**	-.04	.01	-.06	.67**	.33**	.14**	.27**	-

Note: MDinSV = Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence; ASI-SF = Ambivalent Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism; HS = Hostile Sexism; RP = Rape Proclivity; SD = Socio-desirability; SE = Self-enhancement; IM = Impression Management; GR = Gender Role Conflict; RE = Restricted Emotionality; WF = Conflicts between Work and Family Relations; SPC = Success, Power and Competition; EBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behaviour between Men; *p < .05; **p < .001

Discussion

The primary purpose of Study 05 was to confirm the dimensionality of moral disengagement and to achieve a smaller and meaningful set of items for a measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence perpetration. In addition, Study 05 aimed to test whether the data fit the hypothesised measurement model, and to collect evidence that this measure is indeed inter-related with other measures addressing issues around this topic (e.g., benevolent and hostile sexism towards women, norms around masculine gender norms, and rape proclivity).

After consideration of competing models, a unidimensional solution composed of 38 items was retained and results indicated that the model proposed fits the data adequately. The final model also supports Bandura's theoretical proposition (Bandura, 1996, 2002) and previous findings (Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015) in the field regarding the unidimensionality of this construct.

More importantly, overall findings support the hypothetical relationship between moral disengagement and myths about rape and sexual aggression and delivers evidence of the relevance of morality in the task of unpacking the mechanisms underlying men's likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour. Lastly, and equally importantly, relationships emerged provided further proof of how social norms (i.e., gender roles) contribute to perpetuate gender-based violence. Taken together, these findings support the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 02.

General Discussion

Generally speaking, the MDinSV displayed good psychometric properties and excellent levels of internal consistency across both studies; with those results indicating enough proof for its convergent and discriminant validity. Study 04 provided initial evidence of the link between individuals' displacement of harmful behaviours and their use of those mechanisms. Study 05 not only replicated these findings, but it also added to the discussion exploring its relationship with rape proclivity.

The MDinSV was found to be positively correlated with the ASI-SF scale (Studies 04 and 05), AMMSA (Study 04), rape proclivity (Study 05), as well as the Gender-Role Conflict scale (Study 05). Thus, suggesting that the more individuals hold prejudicial attitudes towards women, endorse modern myths about sexual violence and feel the need to fulfil more conservative gender stereotypes, the more they rely on moral disengagement strategies in order to reframe reality and avoid cognitive dissonance when faced with issues around sexual violence. More importantly, these findings suggest a relationship between the use of moral disengagement strategies and individuals' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour under certain circumstances.

Contrary to Page, Pina and Giner-Sorolla's (2015) results for the MDiSH Scale, however, the MDinSV was positively correlated with benevolent sexism. In fact, the relationship MDinSV was found to be significantly higher (by a t-test of Student) when compared to its complementary dimension (hostile sexism) in one of the studies (Study 05). Although this relationship was indeed expected, no *a priori* hypothesis regarding its strength were drawn.

As discussed in previous chapters, benevolent sexism is simultaneously associated with male endorsement of chivalrous attitudes toward women (i.e., work as a protective factor) and

uncorrelated with male-to-female sexual violence (see Abrams, Viki, Masser, & Bohner, 2003; Bosson, Parrott, Swan, Kuchynka, & Schramm, 2015). Nonetheless, given that benevolent sexism is characterised by the idea that men and women occupy distinct social spaces (e.g., a sexual hierarchy in which men are dominant) and it is also related to the endorsement of more conservative ideologies (Glick & Fiske, 1996, 2001; Pek & Leong 2003); it could be argued that men's benevolent attitudes do play a role in this context (Strain, Hockett, & Saucier, 2015).

Consistent with the above, benevolent sexism was found to be positively correlated with rape proclivity ($p < .001$). This finding is also important when considering that more overt forms of prejudice have become, over the years, less acceptable; meaning that subtler forms of prejudice might be used as a way to rationalise their own behavioural inclinations to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour. In sum, Studies 04 and 05 provide initial evidence that the MDinSV scale constitutes a reliable and valid new measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence by which researchers can examine social cognitions that facilitate and perpetuate male sexual violence against women. Though encouraging, these are initial findings and the relationship between moral disengagement and relevant constructs are yet to be tested. Future research could explore, for example, the relationship between moral disengagement and honour, moral values and/or personality traits. In addition, it remains to be investigated if these findings can be replicated in different contexts.

Hence, and in light with the above, Chapter 07 will now describe the process of translating and validating the MDinSV scale to Portuguese. After that, Chapter 08 will present and discuss further research avenues.

CHAPTER SEVEN

The development and preliminary validation of the Portuguese MDinSV: Moral disengagement and men's likelihood to sexually aggress in Brazil

Introduction

Despite all efforts made in order to prevent its occurrence, sexual violence remains a public health problem in Brazil and the number of women subjected to this form of violence has not decreased over the years (Schraiber, D'Oliveria, & França-Junior, 2008; WHO, 2014). In fact, official data (Fórum Brasileiro de Segurança Pública, 2017) from 2016 revealed an increase of 3.5% in this form of offence; with 49,497 cases of rape being recorded in that period in this country.

Though these numbers should be considered enough proof to justify the need for research (and intervention), reliable information about this phenomenon in Brazil is still very limited. As discussed in preceding chapters, most studies addressing the issue of sexual violence perpetration come from the United States and/or few European countries (see Chapter 01 as well as D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014) and little is known about that in Latin America.

Schraiber, D'Oliveria and França-Junior (2008) also noted that most of the studies produced in Brazil focus on sexual violence against children and/or adolescents, followed by some addressing women's previous experiences of victimisation and/or risk factors related to that. Some examples are: Krug, Dahlberg, Mercy, Zwi and Lozano (2002), Schraiber, D'Oliveria and França-Junior (2008) and Zotareli, Faúndes, Osis, Duarte and de Sousa (2012).

Drawing from the above, it is fair to state that few researchers have dedicated themselves to the task of understanding risk factors for women's victimisation, and even lesser (i.e., Chan, Straus, Brownridge, Tiwari, & Leung, 2008 and D'Abreu & Krahe, 2014) have

attempted to explore the mechanisms underlying men's likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour. As remarked by D'Abreu and Krahe (2014), this topic has not been studied to a great deal in this country and a lot of work is yet to be done. Likewise, to the knowledge of the author, there is virtually no research attempting to develop and/or validate measures designed for this purpose, except for a measure of ambivalent sexism (i.e., Portuguese version of the Ambivalent Sexist Inventory; Formiga, Gouveia, & Santos, 2002) and one of rape myths (i.e., Portuguese version of the Updated Illinois Rape Myth Acceptance Scale – IRMA; Scarpati, Guerra, & Nogueira-Bonfim, 2013).

Thus, Study 06 was designed with the aim to translate and validate the Portuguese version of the MDinSV scale. In replicating the procedures of Study 05 (see Chapter 06), an online survey was conducted and the relationship between MDinSV with some theoretically meaningful constructs that represent both attitudes and ideological beliefs that facilitate sexual violence were explored. Precisely, adult men's views on topics such as prejudice against women and gender norms were investigated. In addition, men's likelihood to engage in sexual aggression was also assessed.

The process of translation of this measure will be now presented. In accordance with preceding studies, as well as the literature in this matter (see Chapters 01 and 02), a unidimensional model is expected to fit the data adequately. Following that, results of the confirmatory factor analyses are presented and the concurrent correlations of the Portuguese MDinSV are discussed.

Study 06

Method

Translation of the MDinSV to Portuguese

In observing established transcultural translation procedures recommended by the World Health Organisation (Process of Translation and Adaptation of Instruments Guidelines; WHO, 2013) the subsequent steps were followed: firstly, the MDinSV was translated from English to Portuguese by a bilingual individual (i.e., forward translation). Next, another bilingual individual translated the measure back to its original idiom (expert panel back-translation). To avoid inaccuracies and to ensure that the translated version of the measure corresponded to its original version (i.e., conceptual equivalence), this sequence was repeated one more time by different bilingual individuals (N = 5).

Following this, the scale was evaluated by a committee composed of those same five individuals involved in the procedure of translating the measure; who were also experts in the field. The aim of this phase was to identify and resolve any inadequate expressions and/or concepts emerged throughout this process. In this process, experts were instructed not to focus on linguistic/literal equivalence but instead, on cross-cultural and conceptual equivalence; as the main objective is to produce a measure able to adequately represent the cultural issues of the population it has been designed for.

This committee was then encouraged to discuss any inconsistencies between the forward translation and the original versions and to suggest alternative expression and/or words if necessary. Finally, final adjustments of both scale and instructions to participants were made and the measure was tested.

Participants

A total of 442 heterosexual men from Brazil took part in this study. Participants were predominately from the South-East areas of the country and their age ranged from 18 to 71 years old ($M_{age} = 31.5$; $SD = 8.98$). Respondents were mostly white ($N = 290$, 65.6%), and declared to be either single ($N = 168$, 38%) or married ($N = 133$, 30%). In relation to their education, 118 participants (26.7%) had completed a Masters or Doctorate degree and 111 (25%) declared to be undergraduate students.

Regarding participants' religiosity, it is interesting to note that though half of the sample ($N = 231$, 52.3%) declared that they do subscribe to a religion (Catholic Church; $N = 111$, 25.1%), the majority ($N = 159$; 36%) stated that religious affiliation and/or beliefs are "not at all important" to their lives.

Procedure and Measures

Participants were invited to take part in a research about "different aspects of relationships between men and women in our society" and to respond to an Internet survey; which was made available via Qualtrics website. Through social media platforms as well as colleagues in different Universities' departments across the country, the link for the research was shared and all the information regarding the study was made available.

Participants' eligibility was checked and those who fit the criteria were presented with the Information Sheet, followed by the Consent Form. After their agreement in taking part in the study, respondents were then required to answer some socio-demographic questions (e.g., nationality, religious affiliation, level of religiosity, and age). Following that, participants were presented with the subsequent measures:

Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence (MDinSV): the translated 38-item version of the measure developed and validated in Studies 04 and 05. When answering this measure, respondents are invited to rate the extent they agree (7-point Likert scale; ranging from 1 “Strongly disagree” to 7 “Strongly agree”) with a series of statements. Examples of items are “Drunk women are fair game” and ““Having your way” with a sexual partner is not a big deal”.

Gender Role Conflict Scale Short-Form (Wester, Vogel, O’Neil, & Danforth, 2012): the Gender Role SF is composed of 16 items and measures the extent (6-point Likert scale; ranging from 1 “Strongly disagree” to 6 “Strongly agree”) men endorse some of the most common expectations around masculinity. Because the Gender Role Conflict Scale SF is not available in Portuguese, the measure was translated and back-translated by independent translators into Portuguese/English in order to achieve semantic equivalence between both versions. Examples of items are “I strive to be more successful than others”.

Ambivalent Sexism Inventory Short Form (ASI-SF) (Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero, Glick, & Tartaglia, 2014): this is a 12-item self-reported measure in which individuals are invited to rate (6-point Likert-type scale (1 Disagree strongly to 6 Agree strongly) the extent they endorse prejudicial attitudes towards women. Examples of items are: “Women seek to gain power by getting control over men” (i.e., hostile sexism) and “Women should be cherished and protected by men” (benevolent sexism).

The Balanced Inventory of Desirable Responding Short-Form (BIDR-16) (Hart, Ritchie, Hepper, & Gebauer, 2015): the BIDR is composed of 16 items which, together, assesses individual’s tendency to present themselves in a socially desirable manner. For the purpose of this study, the BIDR was translated and back-translated by independent translators into Portuguese/English in order to achieve semantic equivalence between both versions. Examples of items are: “I always know why I like things” and “I never cover up my mistakes”

and half of the items are reversed-coded. Participants responded to items on an 8-point Likert-type scale (1 Totally disagree to 8 Totally agree).

Rape Proclivity Measure (Bohner et al., 1998): this measure is composed of five different acquaintance-rape scenarios where participants are instructed to (a) imagine themselves in the same situation of the male character, and then, to (b) indicate: “How sexually aroused would you have felt in this situation?” (1 Not sexually aroused to 6 Very much sexually aroused); “Would you have behaved like this in this situation?” (1 Not at all to 6 Very much) and “How much would you have enjoyed getting your way in this situation?” (1 Not at all to 6 Very much). These questions measure, respectively, participants’ expectations of sexual arousal, rape proclivity and sexual dominance. Similarly to previous studies (i.e., Study 05), the translated version of the three first scenarios was utilised.

Lastly, respondents who completed the survey were fully debriefed in writing.

Data Analysis

Following similar procedures applied to the English version of the MDinSV, an exploratory factor analysis was run, and then applied a confirmatory factor model. All analyses were conducted using SPSS 24 and AMOS (Arbuckle, 2014). The socio-demographic characteristics of the sample were analysed descriptively and presented as mean (\pm SD) or number (percentage (%)) based on the type of data.

To verify the reliability of scores from each measure, sum scores were created. In the case of MDinSV, the reliability was calculated based on its factor structure with the Omega’s coefficient, and sum scores were created for posterior assessment of convergent and discriminant validity.

Results

Firstly, eigenvalues were investigated. In line with the English version of MDinSV, inspection of the scree plot (see Figure 05 below) indicated a clear decline after the first factor, followed by trailed off with some small demarcations; thereby providing initial evidence of a strong first factor. The first five eigenvalues were: 21.08, 3.36, 2.62, 2.56 and 2.30.

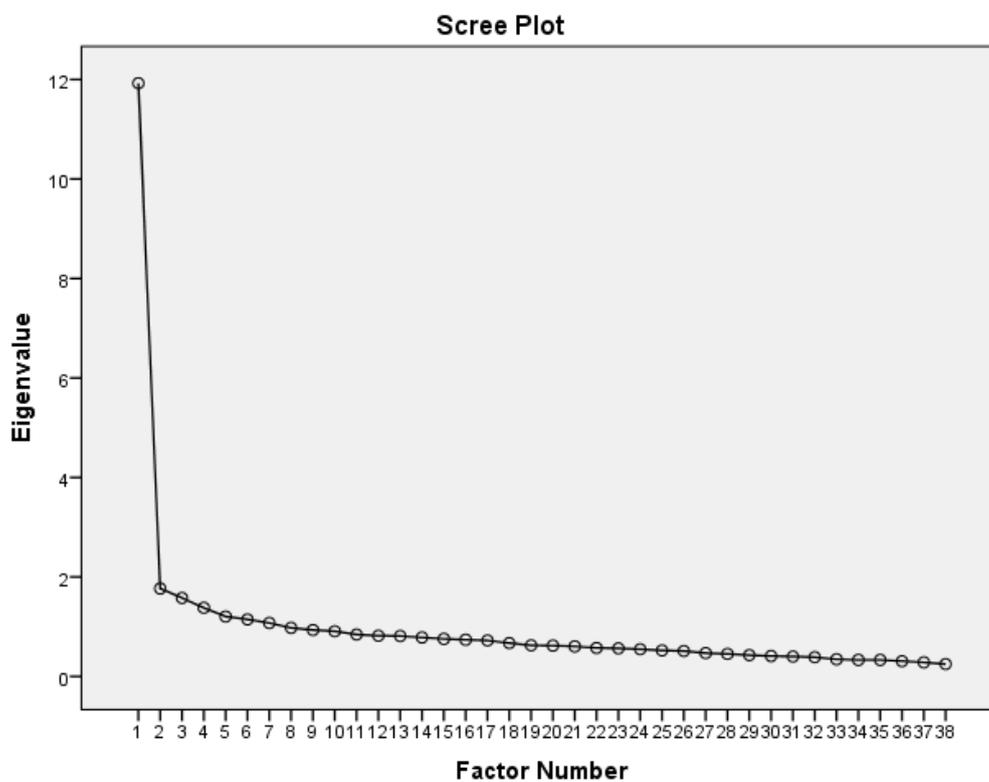


Figure 05 Scree plot of the pilot Portuguese MDinSV Scale

Confirmatory Factor Analysis

The unidimensional model was fitted based on the covariance matrix and using maximum likelihood estimation (ML) estimator. Results were analysed on the basis of both

incremental and absolute measures of fit such as: Chi-square test of model fit (χ^2), root mean square error of approximation (RMSEA), and the comparative fit index (CFI).

In line with the original version of the MDinSV, results revealed that the unidimensional solution, with all 38 items, fit the observed data adequately ($\chi^2 = 1841.788$, $df = 665$, $p < .001$; CFI = .80; RMSEA = .06). Likewise, supporting the adequacy of this solution, the investigation of the Standardised Root Mean Square Residual also indicated a good fit (SRMR = .05) for the model (Kline, 2011; Hu & Bentler, 1999; Iacobucci, 2010; Schermelleh-Engel, Moosbrugger, & Müller, 2003). Values lower than 0.08 are expected.

Measurement Invariance

As discussed by different authors (see Byrne, 2004; Steenkamp & Baumgartner, 1998), researchers often apply measures in different populations relying on the assumption that they are measuring one same psychological construct. However, it is important to consider that just because an instrument has adequate psychometric properties in one cultural group, it does not mean that it will be automatically the case for another. Therefore, in order to test the models for measurement invariance, multi-group invariance tests were also conducted. They were: configural invariance, metric invariance, scalar invariance and full invariance.

When full invariance is achieved, factor loadings, items' intercepts and unique variances are assumed equal across groups. In case one or more of these criteria is not met, then there is partial invariance, which means that only a subset of parameters is constrained and others are freely estimated (Milfont & Fischer, 2010).

The first one – *configural invariance* – is the first step to establish measurement invariance. When the basic structure of the model is invariant across groups, this condition is said to be satisfied. The second one – *metric invariance* – indicates if the relationship between

an item's scale and their respective underlying construct is the same across samples regarding a strength. In order to test that, all the factor loadings are constrained equal, so they remain the same across groups. Finally, *scalar invariance* tests if individuals would score similarly on the construct under investigation regardless of their group. To verify that, the researcher constrains the intercept of items to be the same across groups; thus, securing the origin of the scale (Milfont & Fischer, 2010). In case one wants to test full invariance, then unique variances are also held equal across groups, although this hypothesis is often too strict (Byrne, 2004).

In line with the above, both the English and Portuguese versions of the MDinSV were tested for configural, metric, scalar, and full invariance. Each model was compared to the previous model (i.e., nested models), starting with the baseline model (*Model 01*), which tested configural invariance. Only after that, the reliability of the Portuguese MDinSV was estimated and further analyses (i.e., to explore convergent and discriminant validity) were carried out. An overview of the specification of each model and their results is presented in Tables 15 and 16 below.

Table 15
Models' specification for each measurement invariance level

Models	Assumed equal or not across groups				Factor variance		Factor mean	
	Factor structure	Factor loadings	Items' intercepts	Unique variances	U.K.	Brazil	U.K.	Brazil
01	Yes	No	No	No	Fixed at 1	Fixed at 1	N/A	N/A
02	Yes	Yes	No	No	Fixed at 1	Free	N/A	N/A
03	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Fixed at 1	Free	Fixed at 0	Free
04	Yes	Yes	Yes*	No	Fixed at 1	Free	Fixed at 0	Free
05	Yes	Yes	Yes*	Yes	Fixed at 1	Free	Fixed at 0	Free

Note. *Intercepts of the items 01, 06, 21, 26, 34 and 36 were not held equal across groups. U.K. = United Kingdom. N/A = Not Applicable.

Table 16

Model fit statistics for five models testing measurement invariance with respect to the English and Portuguese versions of the MDinSV Scale

Models	Model fit indices					
	χ^2	<i>df</i>	CFI	RMSEA	ECVI	AIC
<i>Model 01</i> : Baseline	3967.358	1330	.826	.048	5.025	4271.358
<i>Model 02</i> : Metric Invariance	4225.116	1367	.811	.050	5.241	4455.116
<i>Model 03</i> : Scalar Invariance	4928.974	1404	.767	.054	6.161	5236.974
<i>Model 04</i> : Partial Scalar Invariance	4411.090	1398	.801	.050	5.566	4731.090
<i>Model 05</i> : Full Invariance	5212.628	1436	.755	.055	6.325	5376.628

Notes: CFI, Comparative Fit Index; *df*, Degrees of Freedom; RMSEA, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; χ^2 , Chi-Square Statistic; ECVI, Expected Cross-Validation Index; AIC, Akaike Information Criterion. The chosen model is highlighted in yellow.

In accordance to the aforementioned results and after consideration of both theoretical relevance as well as modification indices, six items (from a total of 38) were considered non-invariant and unconstrained in follow-up analysis of the scalar invariance. They are: items 01, 06, 21, 26, 34 and 36. Partial invariance was, then, deemed as an adequate solution. In this final model (*Model 04*), Brazilians presented a significant smaller latent mean of moral disengagement ($M_{MD} = -.328$, $z = -5.281$, $SE = .062$, $p < .001$) than Britons in the context of sexual violence. Hence, it appears that the difference in Brazilian and British men is not a product of instrument's cultural bias, but can be attributed to a true difference in their use of those strategies.

Though the acceptability of *Model 04* was established and model fit indices are satisfactory ($\chi^2 = 4411.090$; CFI = .801; RMSEA = .050; ECVI = 5.566; AIC = 4731.090), to confirm the need to freely estimate the factor variance of Brazil's sample, some additional analyses were run. More specifically, two additional more constrained models were considered and metric and scalar invariance were tested one more time. Firstly, it was tested if Brazil's factor variance of *Model 02* was significantly different from U.K.'s factor variance. This analysis was performed by setting both factor variances equal to 1, instead of freely estimating one of them (*Model 06*). Secondly, it was tested if Brazil's factor variance and mean of *Model 04* were significantly different from U.K.'s factor variance and mean. Thus, both countries

factor variances and means were set to 1 and 0, respectively (*Model 07*). Results are presented in Table 17.

Table 17
Model fit statistics of additional measurement invariant models with respect to the English and Portuguese versions of the MDinSV Scale

Models	Model fit indices					
	χ^2	<i>df</i>	CFI	RMSEA	ECVI	AIC
<i>Model 06</i> : Metric Invariance	4274.944	1368	.808	.050	5.298	4502.944
<i>Model 07</i> : Scalar Invariance	4491.951	1400	.795	.053	5.656	4807.951

Notes: CFI, Comparative Fit Index; *df*, Degrees of Freedom; RMSEA, Root Mean Square Error of Approximation; χ^2 , Chi-Square Statistic; ECVI, Expected Cross-Validation Index; AIC, Akaike Information Criterion.

Final results suggest that the less constrained models 02 and 03 fit the data significantly better ($p < .001$) than *Model 06* ($\Delta\chi^2 = 49.828$; $\Delta df = 1$) and *Model 07* ($\Delta\chi^2 = 80.861$; $\Delta df = 2$), respectively. Such results indicate that Brazil's factor variance is significantly greater than U.K.'s factor variance, and Brazil's factor mean is significantly smaller than U.K.'s factor mean.

Reliability

After confirmation of the cross-cultural adequacy of the Portuguese MDinSV scale, internal consistency was tested using Cronbach's coefficient (α) and the Omega's coefficient (ω), depending on the measure. In the current research, MDinSV ($\omega = .94$), the ASI SF scales ($\alpha_{\text{overall}} = .86$; $\alpha_{\text{hostile}} = .86$; $\alpha_{\text{benevolent}} = .78$) the Gender Conflict scale ($\alpha = .82$) and the Rape Proclivity Index ($\alpha = .76$) presented good reliability. Results also suggest that the BIDR-16 ($\alpha = .69$) after deletion of item 08 (initial Cronbach's coefficient for this scale was $\alpha = .65$).

Convergent and Discriminant Validity

Through correlational analyses, the hypothetical associations between moral disengagement in the context of sexual aggression and other variables were explored. Similarly to Studies 04 and 05, it was hypothesised that participants' use of moral disengagement strategies (MDinSV scale) would correlate with prejudice against women (ASI-SF Scale), their attitudes towards society's expectations regarding male gender role (Gender Role Conflict Scale) and, more importantly, individuals' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour (Rape Proclivity Measure) (convergent validity). In addition, it was hypothesised that MDinSV would not correlate with impression management (discriminant validity).

As predicted, the Portuguese MDinSV did correlate with participants' rape proclivity ($r = .52, p < .001$), concerns with norms around gender's performance ($r = .35, p < .001$) and prejudice against women ($r = .73, p < .001$). Moreover, correlations between MDinSV and each form of sexism were statistically significant different from each other [$t(439) = 7.35, p < .001$]; with the relationship with BS ($r = .67, p < .001$) being, once again, stronger than the one with HS ($r = .43, p < .001$). Further, as expected, the MDinSV was not correlated with individuals' tendency to present themselves in a socially desirable manner ($r = -.05, p = .32$).

Lastly, in replicating the findings from Study 05, a (weak but statistically significant) relationship between participants' concerns with masculinity norms and their likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour ($r = .23, p < .001$) and endorsement of different forms of prejudice against women ($r = .40, p < .001$) was found. See Table 18 for an overview of all relationships emerged.

Table 18
Correlational analysis among Study 06 variables

	MDinSV	ASI	BS	HS	RP	SD	SE	IM	GR	RE	WF	SPC	EBM
MDinSV	--	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
ASI	.73**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BS	.67**	.87**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
HS	.43**	.51**	.87**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
RP	.52**	.40**	.36**	.15**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SD	-.47	.03	.09*	.10*	-.19**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
SE	.06	.14**	.18**	.17**	-.00	.72**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
IM	-.10*	-.05	.01	.08	-.25**	.89**	.32**	-	-	-	-	-	-
GR	.35**	.29**	.29**	.28**	.23**	-.18**	-.05	-.21**	-	-	-	-	-
RE	.20**	.12*	.10*	.05	.19**	-.27**	-.19**	-.23**	.79**	-	-	-	-
WF	.41**	.40**	.41**	.31**	.28**	-.12**	.03	-.18**	.82**	.50**	-	-	-
SPC	.33**	.30**	.29**	.20**	.16**	-.12**	.00	-.17**	.79**	-.19**	.03	-	-
EBM	.17**	.12*	.13**	.10*	.11	-.05	.01	-.08	.79**	-.23**	-.19**	-.17**	-

Note: MDinSV = Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence; ASI-SF = Ambivalent Sexism; BS = Benevolent Sexism; HS = Hostile Sexism; RP = Rape Proclivity; SD = Socio-desirability; SE = Self-enhancement; IM = Impression Management; GR = Gender Role Conflict; RE = Restricted Emotionality; WF = Conflicts between Work and Family Relations; SPC = Success, Power and Competition; EBM = Restrictive Affectionate Behaviour between Men; *p < .05; **p < .001.

Similarities and Differences between Brazil and the U.K: An Overview

In aiming to further explore possible cross-cultural differences between Brazilians and Britons regarding those factors underlying men' likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour, some additional analyses were conducted. Specifically, using the data from Study 05 (British sample) and data from Study 06 (Brazilian sample), a series of independent-samples t-tests and comparisons between correlations was conducted.

Among all variables considered in both Studies 05 and 06, independent-samples t-tests only suggested a significant difference in participants' endorsement of prejudicial attitudes against women; with Britons scoring significantly higher than Brazilians in the ASI-SF scale [Bra: $M = 2.77$; $SD = 1.23$; U.K: $M = 3.03$; $SD = 1.20$; $t(847) = -3.12$, $p < .001$]. No differences regarding the extent these men endorse myths about sexual violence, masculinity gender norms, rape proclivity and social desirability were found.

Regarding the strength of the relationships emerged, comparisons between correlations only revealed two statistically significant differences between these samples; both related to the MDinSV scale. First, the relationship between moral disengagement and rape proclivity was significantly stronger for the British sample; in comparison to the Brazilian one [BR: $r = .52$, $p < .001$; U.K: $r = .61$, $p < .001$; $z = -1.93$ $p = .05$]. Second, the relationship between moral disengagement and ambivalent sexism was found to be stronger for Brazilians; in comparison to Britons [BR: $r = .73$, $p < .001$; U.K: $r = .63$, $p < .001$; $z = 2.72$ $p = .006$]. That is, whereas for Brazilians the use of moral disengagement strategies seems to do more with individuals support for prejudicial attitudes towards women, to Britons it appears to be related to their likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour.

Lastly, it is interesting to note that results suggest, once again, that Brazilians rely less on moral disengagement strategies (i.e., in comparison to Britons). To disentangle those effects, however, more research is necessary.

Discussion

The main purpose of the present study was to translate the Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale (MDinSV) into Portuguese and to preliminarily validate this measure in a Brazilian sample. The results from Study 06 corroborate the unidimensional structure of the MDinSV scale in Portuguese, which again presented excellent internal consistency result.

Fit indices were similar with those obtained for the original version of the MDinSV scale and results were in line with those predictions regarding convergent and discriminant validity. Results also indicated adequate levels of reliability and validity for the Portuguese MDinSV; with outcomes that are consistent with those reported in the previous chapter (Chapter 06). Precisely, the MDinSV was found to be theoretically closer (i.e., convergent validity) to measures of ambivalent sexism, rape proclivity and gender role conflict and distinct from measures of social desirability (i.e., discriminant validity). Therefore, results from measurement invariance analysis suggest that the Portuguese version of the MDinSV can be considered a conceptually equivalent adaptation of the English version; as results supported both the reliability and validity of this measure.

In line with previous findings (Studies 04 and 05), Study 06 also suggest that individuals who endorse different forms of prejudice against women might rely on different moral disengagement strategies in order to reframe detrimental acts in the sexual sphere. In addition, corroborating results from Study 05, benevolent sexism stood out as an important variable to the understanding this relationship between moral disengagement and sexism.

In a similar manner, findings indicated that those men who feel they need to adhere to social expectations regarding the way they perform their gender might also make greater use of those mechanisms in order to sustain their moral standards. Lastly, and more importantly, it seems that individuals who rely on these strategies to reframe reality are also more likely to engage in sexually aggressive behaviour; and that there is, indeed, cultural differences regarding this matter.

To conclude, these results not only provide support for previous findings (see Chapter 05) but they also considerably expand and contribute to the literature regarding those variables related to male sexually aggressive behaviour in Brazil. Nonetheless, because there are, to the knowledge of the author, no other results to compare these outcomes, more research is needed.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Overview of findings and some final remarks

Introduction

Over the years, a lot of progress has been made regarding the understanding of sexual violence. Nonetheless, preventing this offence remains a rather challenging task, and important questions concerning the issue of male sexually aggressive behaviours remain unanswered. In Chapter 01 of this thesis, the question of whether the scope of research available is capable to fully explain this phenomenon in different cultures was raised. As noted by Burrowes (2011) and D'Abreu and Krahe (2014), most of the work that has been done comes from North-American and/or European countries, with only a few empirical studies being conducted in the Southern part of the globe. Greathouse, et al. (2015) further comment that most studies in the field have relied on one of two following approaches: the study of offenders who have been condemned for sexually aggressing someone, or the investigation of non-sex offenders men (i.e., Mostly, university students) regarding their prior experiences with childhood abuse, deviant sexual preferences, and problematic attitudes toward women (Strain, Hockett, & Saucier; 2015; Ward 2014); with very little attention to the sociocultural backdrop against which these offences take place (see Chapter 01).

To Thomas (2009), the problem is that results drawn from incarcerated offenders can hardly be generalisable, as only a small portion of sexual offences are reported and an even smaller results in conviction. Furthermore, incarcerated rapists tend to represent the subset of 'stranger' rapists, whereas 'acquaintance' rape, although more prevalent, is persistently underreported (Thomas, 2009). By the same token, results found in studies with undergraduate

students might not be applicable to other men, as they represent a very specific and narrowed subset of the population (i.e., young, well-educated).

Although results drawn from this body of research are certainly valid, and have helped to develop the knowledge around sexual violence perpetration, there is a need to further the discussion surrounding this topic. More specifically, there is a dearth of research in the domain of moral and cultural psychology that links different versions of strong moral beliefs and sexual violence (Vecina, Chacòn, & Perez-Viejo, 2016).

As noted by Bandura (1990, 1996, 2004), it is tempting to resort to pathology to explain detrimental and/or immoral forms of behaviour. Nonetheless, even individuals with high moral standards are able to behave immorally – without incurring in self-censure – if they are able to justify the act, to themselves and to others. Paciello et al. (2008) further comment that people are willing to behave in ways they claim normally to repudiate, simply because the responsibility can be diffused amongst others, or because there exists a legitimate authority which assumes responsibility for the effects of their actions. Therefore, it is surprising how, though of extreme relevance to the understanding of immoral behaviour, individuals' use of moral disengagement strategies has received little empirical and/or theoretical application in relation to the context of sexual violence perpetration (Page, Pina, & Giner-Sorolla, 2015).

Drawing from the above, the primary goal of this thesis was to explore the role of culture and morality in men's endorsement of myths about sexual violence, as well as their likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours. To examine the role of culture, Hofstede's et al. (2010) *cultural syndromes* approach was utilised and two culturally-distinct samples (Brazil as a collectivist culture and the United Kingdom as individualistic) were compared in relation to aspects such as: male gender roles, attitudes towards women, attitudes towards sexual violence, and endorsement of rape and sexually aggressive myths. To investigate morality, Brazilians' and Britons' use of moral disengagement strategies in the

relation to sexually aggressive behaviour and the value assigned to moral values were considered.

Summary of findings and theoretical implications

Study 01 (described in Chapters 03 and 04) was designed as a first step towards a better understanding of cultural differences that might be underlying men's likelihood to engage in sexually aggressive behaviours in both Brazil and the U.K. In this occasion, an online study was conducted and Brazilian and British men answered some questions about gender norms, masculinity, issues around consent, as well as sexual violence in their cultures. More specifically, participants were invited to discuss their views regarding how societies' expectations around gender might influence (or not) men's lives. In addition, participants were encouraged to explore some of the issues around sexual violence perpetration as well as prevention strategies in their countries.

Results discussed in Chapter 03 suggest that although not all men endorse a more conservative ideal of masculinity, most still feel the need to conform to traditional gender roles; especially Brazilians. Generally speaking, both samples consider the idea of a 'real man' to be outdated, unfair and, more importantly, damaging to men's mental health and intimate relationships.

In line with early models of masculinity (Connell, 1987; 1995) participants wrote about the *do's* and *don't's* – when it comes to proving their masculinity – and discussed at length about the consequences for their private and social lives. Participants commented, for example, about the pressure to engage in very specific social activities (e.g., heavy drinking) and to present themselves in stereotypical manner: heterosexual, 'non-feminine', physically and mentally strong. In addition, the use of violence as means to solve problems and secure social

status was also discussed. They further commented about the pressure to avoid engaging in social causes such as human rights, feminism and LGBT, for example.

Taken together, these results shed light on the pervasiveness of more traditional gender roles and how – despite all social changes that have occurred in the past decades – men still feel the need to conform to a certain way of living. More importantly, in adding to the literature (Medrado & Lira, 2003; Mosquera, Manstead & Fischer, 2002; Santos, 2012), Chapter 03 provides further evidence of how these pressures help to sustain a social dynamic that legitimises different forms of violent behaviour; including those in the sexual realm.

In proceeding with the research, Chapter 04 presented the results regarding Brazilians and Britons' attitudes towards sexual violence, consent, and prevention strategies (these results refer to the second part of Study 01). Overall findings suggested that although Brazilian and British men differ in the extent they recognise sexual violence as an issue, they do overlap significantly in their beliefs around this offence. More specifically, participants often relied on rape and sexually aggressive myths to make sense of this offence.

More importantly to this research, however, was to observe how these myths as well as facts related to this phenomenon seem to provide men with the justifications they need to morally disengage from their responsibility in its occurrence. In line with both Bandura's (1990, 1999) and the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 02, participants often employed strategies such as euphemistic labelling, attribution of blame, advantageous comparison, and diffusion of responsibility in order to make sense of this phenomenon. Hence, these findings build significantly on the theoretical framework of rape and sexually aggressive myths' acceptance, as they demonstrate the important role of moral disengagement in the way individuals understand, denote, and react to this offence (Bandura, 1990, Bandura et al., 1996; Castano, 2008; Castano & Giner-Sorolla, 2006; Leidner et al., 2010).

Chapter 04 also drew attention to some of the issues around consent and the reasons why some men might find it hard to recognise certain behaviours as sexually aggressive. Participants stressed the need for more education regarding this topic and discussed some of the different factors (e.g., alcohol consumption, a previous relationship between the offender and the victim) that can “blur the lines” between consensual and non-consensual sex.

To Hansen, O’Byrne and Rapley (2010, p.47) however, “improving communication is neither a necessary nor a sufficient goal for rape prevention programs”. According to them, researchers and practitioners have been overly relying “on the assumption that the prime cause of rape is men’s insufficient knowledge of consent and its communication” (p.47) when, in reality, the evidence base for ‘sexual miscommunication theory’ is quite weak.

Indeed, in researching this topic, these authors found that young men often claim they have not been able to understand non-verbal signs of refusal simply as means to justify the use of pressure in sexual encounters. To Hansen, O’Byrne and Rapley (2010, p.46) “despite young men’s demonstrable, comprehensive ability to hear sexual refusals (...) when the morally troublesome issue of accountability (or responsibility) for rape arises, a rather different picture emerges”. Henceforth their argument that this idea (i.e., ‘sexual miscommunication’) operates as a new form of rape myth (O’Byrne, Hansen, & Rapley, 2008), and claims of ‘insufficient knowledge’ should be taken with caution.

In expanding this discussion, and in line with the theoretical framework proposed in Chapter 02, it could be proposed, instead, that these discourses represent a form of moral disengagement. As discussed by Hansen, O’Byrne and Rapley (2010, p.46): “the rhetorical effect of claiming ignorance of the subtle ways in which sexual refusals are normatively performed is, of course, to delete the accountability of men for rape—and, more locally, to preserve a positive shared masculine identity”.

Results discussed in Chapter 04 further demonstrated some of the singular ways in which men from individualistic and collectivistic cultures interpret situations that have the potential to challenge their moral standards. To clarify, Brazilians focused more on the influence of the group, traditions, conservatism and religion (i.e., emphasis on community and divinity moral values; Shweder's et al. 1997), and in the way violent and non-violent men behave; whereas Britons were more concerned with the individual's decision to engage in sexual violence (i.e., emphasis on autonomy moral values; Shweder's et al. 1997), rather than any effects of society.

Collectively, these findings not only demonstrated the role of culture – through gender norms and moral values – and the way individuals interpret their surroundings (see Heywood, 2017 for a discussion on this matter), but they also provided initial evidence regarding the role of morality in men's attitudes towards sexual violence and likelihood to engage in such form of behaviour. To further the discussion and to empirically test these hypothetical relationships five more studies were then conducted.

Thus, Chapter 05 begins with an exploratory study in which Brazilian and British men were invited to answer measures of ambivalent sexism, moral values, as well as socio-demographic questions (Study 02). Subsequently in the same chapter, an experimental study in which sexism was manipulated as a social norm that men would follow (Study 03) is described. In this occasion, respondents were randomly assigned to one of the three possible conditions created (hostile sexism, benevolent sexism, and neutral/control) and, after that, they were assessed in: (a) their endorsement of sexual aggression myths, (b) the importance they ascribe to moral values, (c) their propensity to morally disengage, and finally, their (d) proclivity to rape. In addition, respondents were also invited to report the extent they (e) blame the victim and (f) approve the behaviour of the offender in a context of hostile and/or benevolent prejudice against women.

From Study 02, and in line with previous findings (Gaunt, 2012; Glick et al. 2002; Mikołajczak & Pietrzak, 2014, Tasdemir & Sakalli-Ugurlu, 2010) results indicated that both benevolent and hostile sexism were correlated with the importance assigned to religion as well as community and divinity moral codes; meaning that the value assigned to more traditional/conservative ways of living go hand in hand with prejudice against women. Results also revealed that the relationship between one's endorsement of different forms of prejudice against women and the importance assigned to those specific moral codes (i.e., community and divinity) is moderated by individuals' nationality.

In advancing the discussion, Study 03 investigated the effect of participants' exposure to different forms of prejudice against women on their responses to those aforementioned variables. Results indicated that the degree in which individuals blame the victim depends both on their nationality and type of prejudice perpetrated (i.e., an interaction effect). Specifically, Brazilian men attributed more blame to the victim through all three conditions when compared to Britons. Though no further interaction effects were found, some main effects of conditions did emerge. Specifically, being presented with overt or blatant forms of prejudice against women affected participants' endorsement of some moral values (community and divinity), their agreement with sexually aggressive myth, as well as their approval of the aggressor's behaviour; irrespectively of their nationality.

About this particular study, it is also worth mentioning that although no direct effect of sexism on participants' likelihood to rape was found, results for community and divinity moral codes provide additional evidence regarding the role of morality for the way individuals interpret situations that have the potential to threaten their moral standards (e.g., sexual violence committed by a perceived in-group member). In addition, this effect could help explain the unexpected results regarding the importance assigned to community and autonomy moral values for each of the samples.

Precisely, this finding was not expected and raised some questions about the reasons why, after being exposed to blatant hostile and benevolent expressions of sexism, men assigned less importance to those values within the binding foundation (community and divinity moral values). It could be argued that this effect represents (a) a true rejection of the violence committed, to an extent that this leads them to reevaluate the importance assigned to group membership, (b) an effect of social-desirability or even, (c) just one more strategy applied to resolve the discomfort generated by cognitive dissonance (i.e., a form of moral disengagement).

It seems plausible to argue that, by shifting the importance assigned to those values, men become able to cognitively distance themselves from those who have committed the immoral behaviour in question. Though not directly justifying (and approving) the violence perpetrated, when adopting the strategy of dividing the world between “them” (i.e., sexist men) and “us” (i.e., non-sexist men), individuals might be able to sustain their moral standards by disengaging from any feeling of social responsibility in this phenomenon. That is, similarly to moral disengagement strategies that justify the perpetration of aggressive behaviour, in shifting the values endorsed, men would be able to avoid any feelings of responsibility for their group member’s actions whilst securing a positive view of themselves (Eidelman & Biernat, 2003).

This explanation also supports Jetten, Branscombe, and Spears (2002) argument that individuals focus on their personal self when their collective self is jeopardised in order to buffer any possible threat to their moral standards. As discussed by Eidelman and Biernat (2003), in situation where an in-group member behaves immorally, not only the image of the group is threatened but also the image of the individual himself. Therefore, in protecting the self from any association with the deviance, individuals might may, as Cameira and Ribeiro (2014) suggest, temporarily “disidentify” (p.233) from their group.

At this point, it is fair to argue that Studies 02 and 03 provided additional evidence of the role of morality not only in relation to group dynamics but also in relation to those discourses and practices that might support sexual aggression. Nonetheless, to advance the discussion, it was considered that a specific measure of moral disengagement, designed to capture the specific elements involved in the sexual aggression, would be more adequate. Hence, in Chapter 06, the process of development (Study 04) and validation (Study 05) of the Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale (MDinSV) is described. Following that, Chapter 07 (Study 06) presents the process of translation (to Portuguese) and validation of this measure with a Brazilian sample.

The MDinSV is a new self-report measure of moral disengagement in the context of sexual violence composed of 38 items that reflect an array of social-sexual behaviours. Study 04 provided a preliminary psychometric assessment of the MDinSV using a sample of male and females native English-speakers. Studies 05 and 06 were conducted to assess the psychometric properties of the new measure using a male sample only (Britons and Brazilians). Overall results from all three studies provided enough evidence to suggest that a unidimensional model would adequately fit the MDinSV; with evidence of convergent and discriminant validity, as well as internal structure validity being obtained. Moreover, both the English and Portuguese versions of the MDinSV displayed excellent psychometric properties and good internal consistency. Furthermore, partial measurement invariance was obtained; suggesting, therefore, that results from this scale in both countries were comparable. Significant mean differences in Brazilians and Britons use of moral disengagement strategies were found.

MDinSV scores were strongly and positively related to modern myths about sexual aggression (AMMSA) and ambivalent sexism (ASI). In addition, they were positively correlated with negative emotions and thoughts experienced by men (e.g., devaluations,

constraints, and/or violations), concerning their masculine gender role (Gender Role Conflict Scale).

In support of the outcomes described in Chapter 05 (i.e., for the general measure of moral disengagement), the MDinSV scores were also positively correlated with rape proclivity in both British and Brazilian samples. Lastly, it is also worth mentioning that samples differed significantly in their use of these strategies; with Brazilians relying less on moral disengagement mechanisms when compared to Britons. Though not predicted, this finding is consistent with previous results (Study 03 results) and again highlights how individuals from different cultures might understand and respond to threats to their moral standards.

Collectively, these findings support the theoretical framework proposed in this thesis and sheds light on the interplay between different variables' levels; reinforcing the role of cultural and moral aspects in the study of sexual aggression. Specifically, results suggest that the more individuals hold prejudicial attitudes towards women (either hostile or benevolent), agree with myths about sexual aggression and/or rape, and feel pressured to fulfil traditional male gender stereotypes, the more they rely on those strategies to sustain their moral standards when dealing with issues around sexual violence. To conclude, this thesis extends existing theoretical frameworks on rape and sexual aggression by providing the very first evidence of a relationship between the use of moral disengagement strategies and individuals' rape proclivity in two different cultures.

As any other research-related work, this thesis also has limitations; which will be discussed next. In following, future research avenues will be proposed.

Limitations and Future Research Avenues

Firstly, it is important to recognise that most participants who took part in each of the six studies described in this thesis were predominantly from South-East areas of Brazil and the United Kingdom. This is relevant as, though much more diverse than a usual student sample, these participants may still not fully represent the socio-cultural diversity within these countries. Likewise, relying on a volunteer sample might increase the chances that only those men with a specific interest in the topic did take part in the study.

Secondly, apart from Study 02 (in which participants were invited to answer a pen-and-paper questionnaire), all data was gathered online. While necessary to allow data collection in different countries, some could argue that this methodology leads to less reliable or in-depth data (Lefever, Dal, & Matthiasdottir, 2007). Regarding Study 01, for example, it could be claimed that face to face interviews or even a focus group may have provided a better opportunity to discuss these topics and to challenge participants' views on masculinity and social norms. Hence, future research should strive to investigate these topics with the additional use of these methods.

Recalling from some of the topics emerged in participants' responses, researchers could attempt to further explore: (a) the effects of peer group interaction and men's mental health and (b) what dimensions of masculinity positively impact men's health, relationships and well-being, for example (Lomas, Cartwright, Edginton, & Ridge, 2016). That is, those variables that work as protective factors in male's lives.

Another interesting aspect to be explored revolves around the pressure to conform to traditional gender roles that are originated from romantic partners. Future research could, in this sense, investigate the role of women concerning the perpetuation of traditional gender roles. As pointed out by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) women's practices can influence

how masculinity is constructed and the specific dynamics of the relationship between these groups must be always accounted for.

In line with the above, upcoming research could also explore some of the challenges adult men experience around the limits of consent and how prevention strategies have been tackling this issue around the globe. More importantly, researchers and practitioners might also want to further explore the role of moral disengagement in both awareness training and educational programs addressing sexually aggressive behaviours.

Regarding the following studies, one first and vital limitation to be acknowledged refers to the fact that, due to methodological design, no causal relationships can be drawn. Moreover, all studies conducted depended on self-report measures to investigate the research question. Therefore, problems around honesty/image management/self-depiction, understanding, and response bias, should be also considered (see Hoskin, 2012 for review). Those issues deserve attention, and future research could elaborate upon the findings presented here by using alternative methodology. As noted by Page (2015), a self-report measure of moral disengagement, for example, can only verify participants' self-reported *willingness* to set aside their internal moral principles (that is, to morally disengage). In recognising this limitation, future research should aim to approach this question through different routes. One possibility would be, for instance, to employ implicit methods such as the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, Nosek, & Banaji, 2003) alongside with the MDinSV and other self-report measures such as the CAD Scale, as the importance assigned to moral values in fostering sexually aggressive behaviours is yet to be tested. Lastly, individuals' exposure to social norms and/or moral entitlement could be further examined, in order to explore whether moral disengagement is exacerbated by situational factors.

Another limitation that must be accounted for refers to the fact that most of the measures applied have not been tested for measurement invariance (in their Portuguese versions).

Therefore, in order to secure cross-cultural adequacy, future research should explore measurement invariance of the following measures: AMMSA, RP, Gender Role Conflict and BIDR-16 scales. In closing, future research should also attempt to replicate these findings in different contexts and populations.

Conclusion

In 1986 Bandura (1986) proposed a relationship between mechanisms of moral disengagement and myths that serve to blame the victim and absolve offenders of sexual crimes. Though plausible, from a theoretical point of view, this association has been left behind for what, now, is more than three decades. In recognising this theoretical – and empirical – gap this thesis was designed with the purpose to explore the role of morality in men’s endorsement of sexually aggressive myths and rape proclivity. Parallel to that, considering that no behaviour takes place in a ‘*social vacuum*’ this piece of work was also designed with the objective of shedding light on how one’s sociocultural background might contribute to the occurrence of this phenomenon. As discussed in length throughout this thesis, expanding the knowledge on sexual violence perpetration to other parts of the globe is vital; and it is about time that researchers commit to explore the different ways in which cultures understand – and resolve – issues around sexually aggressive behaviours.

Drawing from that, this thesis adds to the literature in sexual violence perpetration in several, and equally important, ways: Firstly, this thesis addresses some of the well-known issues regarding samples’ characteristics and methodology by relying on community samples and a mixed-method approach. Therefore, this collection of findings enriches the discussion around prevention strategies, by giving adult males the opportunity to discuss this topic and to reflect upon their own – and others – behaviours in perpetuating a culture of violence.

Parallel to that, it is important to mention that, this research empirically tests – for the first time – the role of morality in discourses and practices (directly and/or indirectly) related to the perpetration of sexually aggressive behaviours. Moreover, this thesis provides researchers with a new empirical measure, specifically designed to address the set of social justifications around sexual violence and provide further evidence of the unidimensionality of this construct (Bandura et al., 1996).

In addition to the above, to the knowledge of the researcher, no previous work has attempted to investigate males' endorsement of prejudicial attitudes towards women, rape and sexually aggressive myths, gender norms, and likelihood to rape in Brazil. Hence, by exploring the relationship between those constructs for the first time in this country, the results discussed here help to advance the research on sexual violence in the south part of the globe.

To conclude, the MDinSV offers a unique and more in depth conceptualisation of the social-cognitive mechanisms that neutralise and justify sexually violent behaviour. More importantly, it helps researchers to better appreciate the different mechanisms that might be underlying the commitment of sexual offences via consideration of socio-cultural factors. In this sense, it is fair to state that, despite its limitations, this research contributes to and expands the understanding of sexually aggressive behaviours not only in Brazil but also in cultures with longstanding tradition in sexual violence research; such as the United Kingdom.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: MDinSV 59 Original items and their respective category

- 01 Being forceful during sex just means someone is a “real man”. (Moral Justification)
- 02 “Pushing the boundaries” in sex can be pleasant. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 03 It is better to take a drunken girl home for some fun than leave her behind for someone else to take advantage. (Advantageous Comparison)
- 04 Once desire takes over, men are not that good at controlling their sexual instincts. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 05 If a woman doesn’t physically resist sex – even if she did say no initially – she is probably enjoying the situation. (Distortion of Consequences)
- 06 Men in relationships do not rape; why buy the cow if you can have the milk for free? (Dehumanization)
- 07 When women wear next to nothing on a night out, it shouldn’t be surprising that men will try to have sex with them. (Moral Justification)
- 08 Being a bit “pushy” during sex should not be considered a problem. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 09 If a woman is forced to have sex by her partner it is less traumatizing than being forced to have sex by a stranger. (Advantageous Comparison)
- 10 The way that relationships are portrayed in the media leads some men to think it is ‘ok’ to be forceful when it comes to sex. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 11 A man showing a woman his desire by touching her is the ultimate compliment. (Distortion of Consequences)
- 12 Women should know by now that if they act provocatively towards men, they will eventually get into trouble. (Attribution of Blame)
- 13 It is a man’s duty to take control in all aspects of relationships, including sex. (Moral Justification)
- 14 “Roughing up” your partner during sex is just a bit of fun. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 15 Forcing a virgin to have sex is way more serious than doing the same to a woman with an active sexual life. (Advantageous Comparison)

- 16 Frequent use of hard core pornography makes some men unable to distinguish between consensual and non-consensual sex. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 17 If an attractive man forces a less attractive woman to have sex, it wouldn't be that unpleasant for her. (Distortion of Consequences)
- 18 Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it. (Attribution of Blame)
- 19 If a man pays for a date, it's not fair for the woman to hold out on him. (Moral Justification)
- 20 On a night out, it's acceptable to "feel up" an attractive woman. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 21 Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence we should focus on victims of war. (Advantageous Comparison)
- 22 If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to find a girlfriend, then he shouldn't be blamed if he is pushy with a girl he wants to have sex with. (Diffusion of Responsibility)
- 23 A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of forced sex, as she would often have sex with people she doesn't like for money. (Distortion of Consequences)
- 24 A woman who flirts with a man but then just stops before sex, shouldn't be surprised if he tries to have sex with her anyway. (Attribution of Blame)
- 25 It is ok to push your partner to try something sexual that they don't yet know they will enjoy. (Moral Justification)
- 26 "Boys will be boys" when it comes to sex. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 27 Sexual violence is not that much of a problem in this country, compared to other parts of the world. (Advantageous Comparison)
- 28 If someone is already having sex with a woman and asks you to join, then you can't be blamed if something gets out of control. (Diffusion of Responsibility)
- 29 If you and your group of friends are sexually target by someone on a night out, it would not be as traumatizing than if you were alone. (Distortion of Consequences)
- 30 If a woman is raped while drunk, she is also responsible for what happened to her. (Attribution of Blame)
- 31 If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is fair to pressure for sex. (Moral Justification)
- 32 "Having your way" with a sexual partner is not a big deal. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 33 Forcing a woman to have sex with you is far less serious than killing someone. (Advantageous Comparison)
- 34 On a night out, if a group of men is being sexually aggressive towards a woman, it is unfair to blame any one person for it. (Diffusion of Responsibility)

- 35 A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction of her partner, by any means necessary. (Dehumanization)
- 36 Women should be held responsible for the way they communicate their refusal to have sex. (Attribution of Blame)
- 37 Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you want to show that you are interested. (Moral Justification)
- 38 It is acceptable to "push the boundaries" during sex. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 39 Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get too caught in the moment to stop. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 40 A man should not feel guilty for doing something towards a woman that he knows his friends would approve of. (Diffusion of Responsibility)
- 41 You shouldn't feel sorry for a woman who sleeps around. (Dehumanization)
- 42 If two people have met through a dating app, it should be expected that they will have sex. (Moral Justification)
- 43 Sexual violence is an issue of "blurred lines" in sexual encounters. (Euphemistic Labelling)
- 44 If a guy is raised under adverse conditions, he cannot be blamed for behaving aggressively during sex. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 45 One should not be blamed for behaving in a sexually aggressive manner towards women if every man around him behaves in a similar way. (Diffusion of Responsibility)
- 46 The best partner is one who always does what you want in bed. (Dehumanization)
- 47 If a woman doesn't physically try to stop a man from having sex with her, then she is partial to blame. (Attribution of Blame)
- 48 To maximize your pleasure, it is ok to take off the condom during sex without asking your sexual partner. (Moral Justification)
- 49 It shouldn't be considered rape if the man is drunk and didn't realise his actions. (Displacement of Responsibility)
- 50 Lad/Macho culture is an example of how one cannot be blamed for being sexually aggressive towards women. (Diffusion of Responsibility)
- 51 An ugly woman should be thankful that any man would want to have sex with her, even if she doesn't want it. (Dehumanization)
- 52 If someone is paying to have sex they have a right to decide what should happen. (Moral Justification)
- 53 It shouldn't be considered rape if they are both drunk and didn't realise his actions. (Displacement of Responsibility)

54 It is not that traumatizing if the person was drunk and they can't remember they had sex. (Distortion of Consequences)

55 One shouldn't feel sorry for women behaving like animals on a night out; drinking heavily and not respecting themselves. (Dehumanization)

56 If the man is the one paying for all the household expenses, he should be one deciding when, and how to have sex. (Moral Justification)

57 The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising that men lose control over their sexual urges. (Displacement of Responsibility)

58 Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual violence as well as its consequences. (Distortion of Consequences)

59 Drunk women are fair game. (Dehumanization)

**APPENDIX II: Moral Disengagement in Sexual Violence Scale - MDinSV
(English and Portuguese versions)**

Dear Participant,

You will now be presented with a set of statements, and we would like you to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each of them. There are no right or wrong answers; we are only interested in your personal opinion. Please, read each statement carefully and then choose the answer that you feel best represents your opinion.

Caro participante,

A seguir, você será apresentado a uma série de frases e gostaríamos que você indicasse o quanto concorda ou discorda de cada uma delas. Não existem respostas certas ou erradas; estamos apenas interessados na sua opinião pessoal. Por favor, leia cada frase cuidadosamente e escolha a resposta que você sente que representa melhor a sua opinião.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Disagree Somewhat	4 Neutral	5 Agree Somewhat	6 Agree	7 Strongly Agree
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1. If a woman doesn't physically resist sex – even if she did say no initially – she is probably enjoying the situation. (Se uma mulher não resiste fisicamente ao sexo – mesmo que ela tenha dito “não” inicialmente – ela provavelmente esta gostando da situação)
2. Men in relationships do not rape: "why buy the cow if you can have the milk for free"? (Homens comprometidos não estupram: por que comprar a vaca se você pode tirar leite de graça?)
3. When women wear next to nothing on a night out, it shouldn't be surprising that men will try to have sex with them. (Quando as mulheres vestem “quase nada” para sair à noite, não deveriam se surpreender com o fato de homens tentarem fazer sexo com elas.)
4. Being a bit "pushy" during sex should not be considered a problem. (Ser meio “insistente” durante o sexo não deveria ser considerado problema.)

5. If a woman is forced to have sex by her partner it is less traumatizing than being forced to have sex by a stranger. (Para uma mulher, ser forçada a fazer sexo com seu parceiro é certamente menos traumatizante do que ser forçada a ter relações sexuais com um estranho.)
6. A man showing a woman his desire by touching her is the ultimate form of compliment. (Tocar no corpo de uma mulher é apenas uma forma de mostrar o seu desejo; o maior elogio que um homem pode fazer.)
7. Women should know by now that if they act provocatively towards men, they will eventually get in trouble. (As mulheres já deveriam saber que se agem de modo provocativo com os homens, elas acabarão entrando em alguma enrascada.)
8. “Roughing up” your partner during sex is just a bit of fun. (Ser violento com sua parceira durante o sexo é só um jeito de tornar as coisas mais divertidas.)
9. Forcing a virgin to have sex is way more serious than doing the same to a woman with an active sexual life. (Forçar uma virgem a fazer sexo é muito mais sério do que fazer isso com uma mulher já é tem sexual ativa.)
10. Women that are groped have usually done something to attract it. (Em geral, mulheres que são apalpadadas fizeram algo para atrair isso.)
11. On a night out, it's acceptable to “feel up” an attractive woman. (É aceitável “apalpar” uma mulher atraente em ambientes/situações como boates ou festas.)
12. Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence we should focus on victims of war, for example. (Ao invés de se preocupar com supostas vítimas de violência sexual, a sociedade deveria se focar nas vítimas de violência urbana ou do tráfico, por exemplo.)
13. If a man feels strong pressure from his social group to find a girlfriend, then he shouldn't be blamed if he is pushy with a girl he wants to have sex with. (Se um homem é muito pressionado por seu grupo social para transar, então ele não deve ser culpado se forçar a barra com uma mulher para fazer sexo.)
14. A prostitute cannot claim that she is traumatized because of forced sex, as she would often have sex with people she doesn't like for money anyway. (Uma prostituta não pode dizer que ficou traumatizada se for forçada a fazer sexo, já que na maioria das vezes ela faz sexo com pessoas das quais não gosta apenas por dinheiro.)
15. A woman who flirts with a man but then stops just before sex, shouldn't be surprised if he tries to have sex with her anyway. (Uma mulher que “dá mole” para um homem e

depois pára antes do sexo não deveria se surpreender se ele tentasse transar com ela mesmo assim.)

16. It's ok to push your partner to try something sexual that they don't yet know they will enjoy. (É aceitável insistir com sua parceira para que tente uma experiência sexual que ainda não sabe se irá gostar.)
17. "Boys will be boys" when it comes to sex. ("Homens serão homens" quando se trata de sexo.)
18. If someone is already having sex with a woman and asks you to join, then you can't be blamed if something gets out of control. (Se alguém já está transando com uma mulher e te convida para fazer parte da relação, então você não pode ser culpado caso as coisas fiquem fora de controle.)
19. If a woman is raped while drunk, she is also responsible for what happened to her. (Se uma mulher é estuprada enquanto está bêbada, ela também é responsável pelo que aconteceu com ela.)
20. If you have been dating for a while, and nothing has happened, it is fair to pressure for sex. (Se você tem saído com alguém há algum tempo e nada aconteceu ainda, é justo pressionar para fazer sexo/transar.)
21. "Having your way" with a sexual partner is not a big deal. (Não há nada de errado em fazer com que as coisas aconteçam "do seu jeito" com um parceiro sexual.)
22. A woman's main concern should be the sexual satisfaction of her partner, by any means necessary. (A maior preocupação de uma mulher deve ser satisfazer sexualmente seu parceiro, fazendo tudo o que for necessário.)
23. Women should be held responsible for the way they communicate their refusal to have sex. (Mulheres deveriam ser responsabilizadas pelo modo como comunicam suas recusas a fazer sexo.)
24. Touching someone suggestively on a night out is justified if you want to show that you are interested. (Tocar uma mulher de maneira sugestiva, numa balada, é aceitável se você quer mostrar que está interessado.)
25. Men don't intend to force sex on women, but sometimes they get too caught in the moment to stop. (Homens não querem forçar as mulheres a fazer sexo, mas às vezes eles ficam tão excitados que não conseguem parar.)
26. A man should not feel guilty for making a something towards a woman that he knows his friends would approve of. (Um homem não pode se culpar por fazer algo em relação a uma mulher que sabe que seus amigos aprovariam.)

27. If two people have met through a dating app, it should be expected that they will have sex. (Se duas pessoas se encontram por meio de um aplicativo de namoro, é esperado que eles façam sexo.)
28. Sexual violence is an issue of “blurred lines” in sexual encounters. (Violência sexual é mais uma questão de “limites pouco claros” em encontros sexuais.)
29. If a guy is raised under adverse conditions, he cannot be blamed for behaving aggressively during sex. (Se um cara é criado sob condições adversas/difíceis, ele não pode ser culpado por ser agressivo durante o sexo.)
30. One should not be blamed for behaving in a sexually aggressive manner towards women if every man around him behaves in a similar way. (Não se pode culpar um homem por agir de modo sexualmente agressivo com as mulheres se os homens a sua volta agem do mesmo modo.)
31. The best partner is one who always does what you want in bed. (A melhor parceira é aquela que sempre faz o que você quer na cama.)
32. If a woman doesn’t physically try to stop a man from having sex with her, then she is partially to blame for what happened. (Se uma mulher não tenta impedir fisicamente um homem de fazer sexo com ela, então ela é parcialmente culpada caso algo lhe aconteça.)
33. If someone is paying to have sex they have a right to decide what should happen. (Se um homem está pagando por sexo então ele tem o direito de decidir o que vai acontecer.)
34. It shouldn’t be considered rape if they are both drunk during forceful sex, and they didn’t realise their actions. (Não deveria ser considerado estupro se o homem está bêbado e não sabe o que está fazendo.)
35. It is not that traumatizing if the person was drunk and they can’t remember they had sex. (Não é tão traumatizante para uma mulher se ela fez sexo com alguém, mas estava alcoolizada e não consegue lembrar o que houve.)
36. The way women dress nowadays makes it hardly surprising that men lose control over their sexual urges. (Não é surpreendente que os homens percam o controle sobre seus “impulsos sexuais”, considerando a forma como as mulheres se vestem hoje em dia.)
37. Many women tend to exaggerate the frequency of male sexual violence as well as its consequences. (Muitas mulheres tendem a exagerar tanto com relação à frequência quando às consequências de casos de violência sexual.)

38. Drunk women are fair game. (Mulheres bêbadas são “jogo justo”; não há problema em se “aproveitar um pouco” delas.)

Note: Items corresponding to the eight mechanisms of Moral Disengagement. Moral justification: 03, 16, 20, 24, 27, 33; Euphemistic labelling: 04, 08, 11, 17, 21, 28; Distortion of consequences: 01, 06, 14, 35, 37; Diffusion of responsibility: 13, 18, 26, 30; Displacement of responsibility: 25, 29, 34, 36; Attribution of blame: 07, 10, 15, 19, 23, 32; Dehumanization: 02, 22, 31, 38 and Advantageous comparison: 05, 09, 12.

APPENDIX III: The gender role conflict scale short form – GRCS-SF
(Wester, Vogel, O’Neil & Danforth, 2012)

Dear participant,

You will now be presented with a series of statements referring to how some men feel about themselves regarding different aspects of their lives. We would like you to choose the response that best represents your view about yourself and your own life.

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly

1. Talking (about my feelings) during sexual relations is difficult for me.
2. I have difficulty expressing my emotional needs to my partner.
3. I have difficulty expressing my tender feelings.
4. I do not like to show my emotions to other people.
5. Winning is a measure of my value and personal worth.
6. I strive to be more successful than others.
7. Being smarter or physically stronger than other men is important to me.
8. I like to feel superior to other people.
9. Affection with other men makes me tense.
10. Men who touch other men make me uncomfortable.
11. Hugging other men is difficult for me.
12. Being very personal with other men makes me feel uncomfortable.
13. Finding time to relax is difficult for me.
14. My needs to work or study keep me from my family or leisure more than I would like.
15. My work or school often disrupts other parts of my life (home, health, leisure, etc).
16. Overwork and stress, caused by a need to achieve on the job or in school, affects/hurts my life.

APPENDIX IV: The ambivalent sexism inventory short form – ASI-SF
(Glick & Fiske, 1996; Rollero, Glick & Tartaglia, 2014)

Dear Participant,

You will be presented with some statements concerning women, men, and their relationships in contemporary society. Once again, we would like you to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement, using the following scale:

1	2	3	4	5	6
Strongly Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Slightly	Agree Slightly	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly

1. Many women have a quality of purity that few men possess.
2. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
3. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
4. Every man ought to have a woman whom he adores.
5. Men are incomplete without women.
6. Women exaggerate problems they have at work.
7. Once a woman gets a man to commit to her, she usually tries to put him on a tight leash.
8. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
9. Many women get a kick out of teasing men by seeming sexually available and then refusing male advances.
10. Women, compared to men, tend to have a superior moral sensibility.
11. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
12. Feminists are making unreasonable demands of men.

APPENDIX V: Rape proclivity measure
(Bohner et al. 1998)

Dear Participant,

Please read it carefully and imagine that you are in the same situation before answering three questions that followed each situation.

Situation 1

You have gone out a few times with a woman you met recently. One weekend you go to a film together and then back to your place. You have a few beers, listen to music, and do a bit of petting. At a certain point your friend realizes she has had too much to drink to be able to drive home. You say she can stay over with you, no problem. You are keen to grab this opportunity and sleep with her. She objects, saying you are rushing her and anyway she is too drunk. You don't let that put you off, you lie down on her and just do it.

How sexually aroused would you be in this situation?

1 = *not at all aroused* 2 3 4 5 = *highly aroused*

Would you have behaved like this?

1 = *certainly* 2 3 4 5 = *certainly yes*

How much would you have enjoyed "getting your way" in this situation?

1 = *not at all* 2 3 4 5 = *very much*

4 a lot

5 very much

Situation 2

A while back, you met an attractive woman in a disco and you would like to take things a bit further with her. Friends of yours have a holiday home so you invite her to share a weekend there. You have a great time together. On the last evening you are ready to sleep with her, but she says no. You try to persuade her, insisting it's all part of a nice weekend. You invited her,

after all, and she did accept. At that she repeats that she doesn't want to have sex but then puts up hardly any resistance when you simply undress her and have sex with her.

How sexually aroused would you be in this situation?

1 = *not at all aroused* 2 3 4 5 = *highly aroused*

Would you have behaved like this?

1 = *certainly* 2 3 4 5 = *certainly yes*

How much would you have enjoyed "getting your way" in this situation?

1 = *not at all* 2 3 4 5 = *very much*

Situation 3

Imagine you are a firm's personnel manager. You get on especially well with a new female member of staff. At the end of a busy week, you invite her out to dinner and take her home afterward. As you want to spend some more time in her company, you suggest she might ask you in for a coffee. Next to her on the sofa, you start fondling her and kissing her. She tries to move out of reach but you tell her that her career prospects stand to be enhanced by her being on good terms with her boss. In due course, she seems to have accepted this, and she doesn't resist when you have sex with her.

How sexually aroused would you be in this situation?

1 = *not at all aroused* 2 3 4 5 = *highly aroused*

Would you have behaved like this?

1 = *certainly* 2 3 4 5 = *certainly yes*

How much would you have enjoyed "getting your way" in this situation?

1 = *not at all* 2 3 4 5 = *very much*

**APPENDIX VI: The balanced inventory of desirable responding - BIDR-16 Scale
(Hart, Ritchie, Hepper & Gebauer, 2015)**

Dear participant,

You will be now presented with another series of statements. We would like to choose the number on the scale that best represents your view about yourself. For example, for the statement “I am fully in control of my life”. If you feel this statement completely represents you as a person, you should choose option 7. On the other hand, if you feel this statement does not represent you as a person, you would choose option 1.

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewhat Disagree	4 Neither Agree nor Disagree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Agree	7 Strongly Agree
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1. I have not always been honest with myself.
2. I sometimes tell lies if I have to.
3. I always know why I like things.
4. I never cover up my mistakes.
5. It's hard for me to shut off a disturbing thought.
6. There have been occasions when I have taken advantage of someone.
7. I never regret my decisions.
8. I sometimes lose out on things because I can't make up my mind soon enough.
9. I sometimes try to get even rather than forgive and forget.
10. I am a completely rational person.
11. I have said something bad about a friend behind his or her back.
12. I am very confident of my judgments.
13. When I hear people talking privately, I avoid listening.
14. I have sometimes doubted my ability as a lover.
15. I have never taken things that don't belong to me.
16. I don't gossip about other people's business.

APPENDIX VII: The acceptance of modern myths about sexual aggression scale

– AMMSA

(Gerger, Kley, Bohner, & Siebler, 2007)

Dear participant,

You will be now presented with a set of statements, and asked to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each. Please read each statement carefully, and then chose the number that you feel best represents your opinion. The points on the scale have the following meaning:

1 Completely Disagree	2 Disagree	3 Somewhat Disagree	4 Neutral	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Agree	7 Completely Agree
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1. When it comes to sexual contacts, women expect men to take the lead.
2. Once a man and a woman have started "making out", a woman's misgivings against sex will automatically disappear.
3. A lot of women strongly complain about sexual infringements for no real reason, just to appear emancipated.
4. To get custody for their children, women often falsely accuse their ex-husband of a tendency towards sexual violence.
5. Interpreting harmless gestures as "sexual harassment" is a popular weapon in the battle of the sexes.
6. It is a biological necessity for men to release sexual pressure from time to time.
7. After a rape, women nowadays receive ample support.
8. Nowadays, a large proportion of rapes is partly caused by the depiction of sexuality in the media as this raises the sex drive of potential perpetrators.
9. If a woman invites a man to her home for a cup of coffee after a night out this means that she wants to have sex.
10. As long as they don't go too far, suggestive remarks and allusions simply tell a woman that she is attractive.
11. Any woman who is careless enough to walk through "dark alleys" at night is partly to be blamed if she is raped.

12. When a woman starts a relationship with a man, she must be aware that the man will assert his right to have sex.
13. Most women prefer to be praised for their looks rather than their intelligence.
14. Because the fascination caused by sex is disproportionately large, our society's sensitivity to crimes in this area is disproportionate as well.
15. Women like to play coy. This does not mean that they do not want sex.
16. Many women tend to exaggerate the problem of male violence.
17. When a man urges his female partner to have sex, this cannot be called rape.
18. When a single woman invites a single man to her flat she signals that she is not averse to having sex.
19. When politicians deal with the topic of rape, they do so mainly because this topic is likely to attract the attention of the media.
20. When defining "marital rape", there is no clear-cut distinction between normal conjugal intercourse and rape.
21. A man's sexuality functions like a steam boiler – when the pressure gets too high, he has to "let off steam".
22. Women often accuse their husbands of marital rape just to retaliate for a failed relationship.
23. The discussion about sexual harassment on the job has mainly resulted in many a harmless behaviour being misinterpreted as harassment.
24. In dating situations the general expectation is that the woman "hits the brakes" and the man "pushes ahead".
25. Although the victims of armed robbery have to fear for their lives, they receive far less psychological support than do rape victims.
26. Alcohol is often the culprit when a man rapes a woman.
27. Many women tend to misinterpret a well-meant gesture as a "sexual assault".
28. Nowadays, the victims of sexual violence receive sufficient help in the form of women's shelters, therapy offers, and support groups.
29. Instead of worrying about alleged victims of sexual violence society should rather attend to more urgent problems, such as environmental destruction.
30. Nowadays, men who really sexually assault women are punished justly.

**APPENDIX VIII: The community, autonomy and divinity scale - CADS
(Guerra & Giner-Sorolla, 2010)**

Dear Participants,

With what frequency do the phrases below justify someone's action as RIGHT? Using the 7-point scale, please rate the frequency to which every justification for acts presented below are RIGHT according to your judgment.

1 Never	2 Almost Never	3 Rarely	4 Sometimes	5 Often	6 Almost Always	7 Always
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An action/behaviour is RIGHT if:

01. _____...it is a religious tradition.
02. _____...by doing it, the person gains respect from the family.
03. _____...it follows nature's law.
04. _____...it is a customary practice of the community.
05. _____...it allows a person to defend herself/himself.
06. _____...it express someone's autonomy.
07. _____...it is socially accepted.
08. _____...it is God's will.
09. _____...by doing it, the person gains respect from society.
10. _____...it is socially approved.
11. _____...it respects the natural order.
12. _____...it respects family traditions.
13. _____...it is in accordance with the scriptures.
14. _____...it expresses personal choice and liberty.
15. _____...it respects someone's privacy.
16. _____...it is in accordance with religious authority.
17. _____...it follows the rules of one's social group.

18. ____...people will gain God's approval from it.
19. ____...it is in accordance with true faith.
20. ____...it is accepted by the family.
21. ____... people respect the social order.
22. ____...it protects someone's interests and needs.

In this next session, the sentences cover that YOU would consider a morally WRONG action or behaviour. An action/behaviour is WRONG if:

23. ____...it opposes religious authority.
24. ____...it pollutes the spirit.
25. ____...it is against the scriptures.
26. ____...it is degrading the soul.
27. ____...it is unnatural.
28. ____...it brings disorder to society.
29. ____...it is socially condemned.
30. ____...it is against true faith.
31. ____...the family considers it unacceptable.
32. ____...it restricts the individual's rights.
33. ____...it goes against the rules of one's social group.
34. ____...society considers it unacceptable.
35. ____...it opposes the rules of society.
36. ____...it is against God's will.
37. ____...it restricts the freedom of choice of a person.
38. ____...it opposes the beliefs of the family.
39. ____...it is against the natural order.
40. ____...it restricts someone's privacy.
41. ____...it restricts personal choice and liberty.
42. ____...it is considered a sin.
43. ____...it restricts the possibility of a person to defend herself/himself.
44. ____...it is against nature's law.

APPENDIX IV: The propensity to morally disengage scale
(Moore, Detert, Trevino, Baker & Mayer, 2012)

Dear participant,

Now you will be presented with a set of statements and asked to indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each. Again, there are no right or wrong answers – we are only interested in your personal opinion. Please read each statement carefully and then choose the number (from 1 to 7) that you feel best represents your opinion:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Completely Disagree	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neutral	Somewhat Agree	Agree	Completely Agree

1. It is okay to spread rumours to defend those you care about.
2. It is alright to lie to keep your friends out of trouble.
3. Playing dirty is sometimes necessary in order to achieve noble ends.
4. Taking something without the owner’s permission is okay as long as you’re just borrowing it.
5. It’s okay to gloss over certain facts to make your point.
6. When you’re negotiating for something you want, not telling the whole story is just part of the game.
7. Considering the ways people grossly misrepresent themselves, it’s hardly a sin to inflate your own credentials a bit.
8. Compared to other illegal things people do, taking something small from a store without paying for it isn’t worth worrying about.
9. Damaging property is no big deal when you consider that others are assaulting people.
10. People shouldn’t be held accountable for doing questionable things when they were just doing what an authority figure told them to do.
11. People cannot be blamed for misbehaving if their friends pressured them to do it.
12. You can’t blame people for breaking the rules if that’s what they were taught to do by their leaders.

13. People can't be blamed for doing things that are technically wrong when all their friends are doing it too.
14. It's okay to tell a lie if the group agrees that it's the best way to handle the situation.
15. In contexts where everyone cheats, there's no reason not to.
16. Taking personal credit for ideas that were not your own is no big deal.
17. Walking away from a store with some extra change doesn't cause any harm.
18. It is OK to tell small lies when negotiating because no one gets hurt.
19. Some people have to be treated roughly because they lack feelings that can be hurt.
20. It's okay to treat badly somebody who behaves like scum.
21. Violent criminals don't deserve to be treated like normal human beings.
22. People who get mistreated have usually done something to bring it on themselves.
23. If a business makes a billing mistake in your favour, it's okay not to tell them about it because it was their fault.
24. If people have their privacy violated, it's probably because they have not taken adequate precautions to protect it.