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#WeKnowWhatYouDid: An Ethnographic Exploration of Male Socialization and Rape Culture at a Black College for Men

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#WEKNOWWHATYOUDID: AN ETHNOGRAPHIC EXPLORATION OF MALE

SOCIALIZATION AND RAPE CULTURE AT A BLACK COLLEGE FOR MEN

by

EVA COOKE

Under the Direction of Jamae F. Morris, PHD

ABSTRACT

This study will explore the connections, if any, between male socialization and rape culture at a Black college for men by asking the research question, "How does male socialization at Morehouse College affect the students' understanding of rape culture?" Rape culture refers to a society or environment whose prevailing social attitudes have the effect of normalizing or trivializing sexual assault and abuse. As this study seeks to capture the culture of the campus, it will take on a critical ethnographic approach. While engaging in semi-structured interviews with self-identified Black, former students of Morehouse College, this study will also engage two other data collection methods: participant observation and a social media analysis in hopes of contributing to the literature on rape culture, gender relations, and masculinity in the field of African American studies.

INDEX WORDS: Rape culture, Black colleges, Homosociality, Black masculinity

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

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DEDICATION

I want to dedicate this body of work to Spelman College and the remarkable people who have experienced its magnificence, both past and present. May you forever stay undaunted by the fight.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is of the utmost importance that I acknowledge and thank the people in my life that have come on this wild ride with me. My mother, without whom I would not have pursued this degree in the first place. Thank you always for the unwavering support, guidance, and laughs. My father and brother, Jamal, who are always there for me whole-heartedly. My friends, from Spelman and beyond, who continue to inspire and impress me every day.

My gratitude extends to my thesis committee, Dr. Morris, Dr. Davis, and Dr. Bascomb. Thank you to Dr. Morris, who was the most patient, kind, and informative committee chair I could have asked for. Thank you to the African American Studies Department at Georgia State University from which I have learned so much. Additionally, I would like to thank the participants of this study, most of whom I consider friends.

Lastly, I would like to thank God, who has proven once again that she will never give me more than I can handle.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE

"Without community there is no liberation, only the most vulnerable and temporary armistice between an individual and her oppression"

-Audre Lorde

In trying to articulate my position as the author of this study, a phrase comes to mind: the personal is political. The topic of my study is specific and nuanced and deeply personal. Choosing to turn my thesis project into a study of Black male socialization and its relationship to rape culture at a historically Black college for men stems from my experiences as an undergraduate student at Spelman College. In taking this on, I realize that I will have to confront biases that have been developed as a result of those experiences.

The four years I spent at Spelman are the most formative ones of my life thus far, and I still consider choosing to attend the best decision I have ever made, even two years after graduation. The Spelman women and Morehouse men I met during that time are perhaps the most awe-inspiring, admirable and knowledgeable people I have in my life. Having experienced it, I can say that the bond between "SpelHouse" is one made with love, admiration, protection, and familyhood. With that being said, the undercurrent of contentiousness is not lost on me. The pervasive campus rape culture that plagues PWI campuses does not escape the AUC. The atmosphere becomes ripe with misogyny, both overt and internalized, and maliciousness when incidents of sexual violence occur. The victim is blamed. The accused? Not so much. This speaks to a larger societal problem that women everywhere face. Living in a patriarchal society means that I will be blamed for my own assault, charged with preventing it from happening, and told to expect it anywhere I go, whether I'm on a Black college campus or not. But HBCU culture is nuanced. Historically Black colleges and universities are where the Black youth go to

overcome stereotypes and statistics. They are pressured to become the best, and at Morehouse they have the "Morehouse Mystique" instilled in them. The brotherhood is engrained and revered. Oftentimes to the detriment of the women trying to thrive across the street. I ask the question: Why?

This study is not meant to prove a hypothesis that has been derived from personal biases. While personal aspects and relationships will be present in the study, I seek to produce a well-written and well-researched exploration of a cultural phenomenon. Rape culture and sexual violence is something that drives a wedge between the men of Morehouse and Spelmanites, and Black communities at large. Divided communities can never work toward collective liberation. In exploring male socialization at Morehouse and rape culture, I hope to contribute to a progressive discourse on rape, masculinity and gender politics amongst Black people.

1   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Working Toward a Progressive Black Gender Politic

On November 8, 2017, signs began to appear around the campus of Spelman College. Each sign was detailed with a different name or phrase, but all had one thing in common: the hashtag #WeKnowWhatYouDid. The names were of current students, and the signs even indicated different campus organizations the students were affiliated with. Some of the phrases included "Spelman protects rapists," "Morehouse protects rapists," and "No more secrets." The signs were only a part of a larger, and ongoing campaign at Spelman College and Morehouse College that demands the colleges stop silencing the victims of rape and sexual assault. While this demonstration may be one of the most radical on campus, the Atlanta University Center (AUC) is not a stranger to issues of sexual violence. In 2006, more than 150 Spelman students protested in the name of two students whose rapes were covered up and ignored by campus officials (Garner, 2013). In 2013, four basketball players from Morehouse were arrested on several counts of sodomy, rape, and kidnapping in connection to the sexual assault of an 18-year-old Spelman student (Garner, 2013). Only a couple of years ago, in 2016, an anonymous first-year student at Spelman created the Twitter page "RapedAtSpelman" where she detailed her rape by four Morehouse students, and reported that she too was silenced by college officials (https://twitter.com/RapedAtSpelman). Also, in 2016, a Morehouse student put on a silent protest in which he exhibited the dorm mattress he was sexually assaulted on. With tape on his mouth, he held a poster with these words: "Hello, my name is Timothy. 2 months ago, I was sexually assaulted on this very mattress. My perpetrator is still here. This is a silent, peaceful protest to represent the queer erasure at Morehouse College. Help me tell my story! Read my FB (Facebook) post & stand in solidarity with me against sexual violence." These incidents are some

the most publicized, but not unlike other campuses in America, students claim that sexual violence on campus is prevalent and is rarely ever taken seriously. While the national climate has recently begun to shift, with allegations against Hollywood's and Washington's elite surfacing almost every day, the staggering statistics about rape in America give insight into the overt outrage at Spelman and beyond.

According to the Rape, Abuse, and Incest National Network (RAINN) 1 out of every 6 women will be the victim of an attempted or completed rape in her lifetime ("Victims of Sexual Violence: Stats," 2017). Still, most rapes (63%) go unreported making it the most under-reported crime ("Victims of Sexual Violence: Stats," 2017). Approximately, 91% percent of the victims of rape are women ("Statistics About Sexual Violence,"2015, p.1). Statistics also support that campus rape and sexual assault is pervasive and alarming. Women ages 18 to 24 who are enrolled in college are three times more likely to experience rape than women in general. Even more disturbing than the aforementioned national trends, more than 90% of sexual assault victims on college campuses do not report the assault ("Statistics About Sexual Violence," p. 2). At one university, 63% of college men who've self-reported acts qualifying as rape or attempted rape admit to committing repeat rapes ("Statistics About Sexual Violence," 2015, p.3). With collegiate statistics so staggering, there is no surprise at the large amount of scholarship published on the causes, implications, and dangerous consequences of an environment that reinforces rape and sexual assault. (Giraldi & Mock-Turner, 2017; James, 2015; Posados, 2017; Buchwald, Flectcher, and Roth, 2005; Kimmel, 2008). And though these works look at campus rape, what is less examined is the perpetuation of rape culture on campuses, and *who* it allows to inflict sexual violence. College professor Jermey Posados (2017) found in "Teaching the Cause of Rape Culture," that it is significant to pinpoint what exactly has led to such staggering sexual

violence statistics. He stated, "Nevertheless, I came to realize that students could come away from the unit without coming to consciousness of the truth of sexual violence in the West is fundamentally a problem of masculinity – a manifestation of the phenomenon that gender studies conceptualizes as 'toxic masculinity'" (Posados, 2017, p. 178).While rape culture remains the vehicle through which sexual violence is normalized and socially legitimized, it is the socialization of men that must be placed under the microscope. Katz (2006) found that any violence against women is a men's issue. In the introduction to his book, he stated, "A major premise of this book is that the long-running American tragedy of sexual and domestic violence – including rape, battering, sexual harassment, and the sexual exploitation of women and girls – is arguably more revealing about *men* than it is about women" (p.1). The connection between the socialization of men and the normalcy of violence against women is an easy one to make. American society has been built from the ground up to sustain patriarchal standards, meaning that men generally get to shape this country's culture, social standards, policies, and institutions. With men at the helm, women have been at the mercy of men since this country's inception. For instance, a majority of the recent sexual assault allegations in Hollywood and Washington all have the same narrative: a man in a position of power takes advantage of a young woman whose aspirations are dependent upon acceptance or approval from that man. These men are oftentimes able to behave in this manner for years due to the social and legal protective cloak they have been afforded. However, the men who are socially privileged to do so are typically white. Black men, of course, have not been afforded the same financial, political and cultural privileges as white men. Where the subjugation of women is at the core of American society, so too is the subjugation of Black men. With American slavery being older than the country itself, racism has caused for Black men to also be at the mercy of white men since this country's inception. Race

and racism are at the very foundation of this country and it is significant to acknowledge that violence against women has racialized dimensions that often tip the scales in favor of who qualifies as "normal." Katz (2006) found:

> Because whiteness is the "norm" against which other races/ethnicities are measured, many white people do not even see themselves as having a racial identity, or belonging to a racial/ethnic group with its own set of characteristics. That is one of the subtlest ways that social privilege functions: by remaining invisible. Whenever there is a well-publicized domestic violence incident involving a man of color, it is fair to predict that many whites will casually observe that it is "something about *their* culture" that causes men of color to abuse "their" women (Katz, p. 132).

Looking into Black male sexual violence calls for a multi-layered analysis. While Black men are subjected to institutionalized racism and systemic marginalization, they still commit crimes against women. Black women are more likely to become a victim of sexual assault or rape than white, Latina, and Asian women ("Women of Color and Sexual Assault," 2018). And while they experience intimate partner violence at a rate of 35% higher than that of white women, Black women are less likely than white women to use social services, battered women's shelters or go to the hospital because of domestic sexual abuse ("Women of Color Network Stats & Facts," 2006). It becomes difficult within Black communities to discuss Black male violence, especially sexual violence, when Black men are already unfairly targeted for simply being Black. Black women are far less likely to report their abuser because of discrimination and Black men's vulnerability to police brutality. Therefore, how are we to hold Black men accountable for sexually violent crimes when Black men are far more likely than white men to receive harsh and unfair treatment from law enforcement and the criminal justice system? Furthermore, when

Black male violence becomes public discourse, it seems to be discussed in a light that labels Black men as monsters. So, how are we to discuss Black male violence without falling prey to the stereotypes that label black men as hypersexual brutes, or endangered, or in a crisis?

As Grundy (2012) mentioned at the start of her study entitled "An Air of Expectancy: Class, Crisis, and the Making of Manhood at a Historically Black College for Men," ethnographic studies on black men overwhelmingly focus on urban poverty, incarceration, unemployment, academic underachievement, and social marginalization. It is noted the significance of such studies lie within their ability to "illuminate many of the hidden mechanisms through with black men navigate their positions in the social world" (Grundy, p. 44). Consequently, much of this work paints a narrow picture of Black masculinity that falls in line with the aggressive and dangerous stereotypes that have been lingering in the American cultural narrative since the Nineteenth century. Grundy's work centered on the complexities of black masculinity of black middle-class men. She laments that much of the work on black men "overlook the simple, but salient truth that black men are a varied population" (Grundy, p. 44). Many scholars, along with Grundy, are making the push to magnify, redefine, and queer black masculinity (Collins, 2004; hooks, 2004; Alexander, 2006; Neal, 2015; Johnson, 2011). These progressive works, while expanding the parameters of Black masculinity, have also found a way to critique the ways in which Black men can still fall prey to mechanisms of hegemonic masculinity, without projecting antiquated stereotypes on them.

What is missing from this realm of scholarship is a study that looks at pervasive rape culture, Black masculinity, and homosociality (male/male friendships) on college campuses and an in-depth consideration of how the performance of Black masculinity, particularly in regard to male peer culture, affect rape culture on Black campuses.

1.2   A Note on Sexual Violence and Gender

As mentioned earlier in the introduction, the victims of sexual violence at Morehouse and Spelman are not exclusively the women students of Spelman College. While Timothy used his assault to bring attention to the violence that occurs within the queer community at Morehouse, it is something putative but not often given a voice. Sexual violence is not an issue that solely effects cis-gendered women. Male students between the ages of 18-24 are five times more likely to be subjected to sexual violence than non-students ("Victims of Sexual Violence: Stats," 2017). Transgender, genderqueer, and nonconforming (TGQN) students experience sexual assault at exponentially higher rates than non-TGQN students ("Victims of Sexual Violence: Stats," 2017). The campus victimization of LGBTQ (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Trans, Queer) students is pervasive and exhaustive in the same way that campus rape culture effects cis-gendered heterosexual women students. Sexual violence does not always adhere to the gendered scripts often associated with it. However, in order to funnel the scope of the project, this study will be operationalized on the basis of female victims and male perpetrators. It is the narrative that becomes overwhelmingly present when discussing sexual violence within the Morehouse and Spelman community.

1.3   Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to explore the connection between the socialization of Black men at Morehouse College, and the pervasive rape culture that has manifested on Spelman's and Morehouse's campuses. Within the scope of this study, the socialization of men refers to the homosociality, or male-peer culture, among the young men, and other relating concepts such as hypermasculinity. The study seeks to explore if the culture of Morehouse College – being the

only all-male, historically Black college in America – reinforces a racially nuanced rape culture

that has not been addressed in the discourse that looks at campus rape. This study will examine

the racial dimensions of masculinity, homosociality, and rape culture as it applies to Black

college students. In order to answer the research question – how the socialization of young Black

men at Morehouse College affects the students understanding of rape culture – a qualitative

approach to this study will be particularly useful for it assists with coming to an extensive and

complex understanding of an issue. Creswell (2017) found that qualitative research is necessary

to understand contexts or settings in which the participants of the study address a problem or

issue (Creswell, p.8). The rationale for utilizing a qualitative research design stems from its call

for interactive collaborative processes between researcher and participant in order to make sense

of participants' lived experiences (Creswell, p.7). Further, given that the scholarship on black

colleges is scarce, going directly into the field provides a deeper understanding of how black

masculinity, homosociality, and rape culture manifest and interact on black college campuses.

1.4   The Atlanta University Center

The Atlanta University Center (AUC) is a consortium of Historically Black Colleges and

Universities (HBCU) located in the historic West End district of Atlanta, GA. The AUC includes

Spelman College, Morehouse College, Clark Atlanta University, Morehouse School of Medicine,

The Interdenominational Theological Center (ITC), and Morris Brown College. Morehouse

College, which serves as the focal point of this study, is the only all-male HBCU in the country.

Spelman College is the neighboring women's college. While the Atlanta University Center is

home to several other schools, this study will mainly look at the interactions of the students of

Morehouse College and Spelman College. As both of those schools are single-sexed, the students

of the two institutions look to each other for a large amount of their social interactions. The two

schools are seen as brother/sister schools and often hold joint events like homecoming.

1.5   A Note on Gender Relations at HBCUs

Most historically Black colleges and universities – including both Morehouse and

Spelman – were founded by churches. Due to their religiosity, HBCUs have cultivated an

atmosphere rooted in conservatism and Black respectability. Since the nineteenth-century

inception of historically Black institutions of higher learning, students that attend them have been

socialized to combat the racist stereotypes that have been projected onto Black bodies. The ways

in which HBCU administrations seek to instill acceptable and respectable behaviors in their

students result in strict codes of conduct and dress, and more covertly, the policing of the

gendered experiences of young Black men and women. As noted by Njoku (2016), Black men's

gender is often privileged in certain capacities at HBCUs (p. 785). What is considered to be

socially respectable behavior for Black men is hardly ever considered the same for Black

women. Further noted by Njoku (2016), a research study (Flemings, 1984) conducted during the

1980's reports that Black men at HBCUs are "more successful than their female counterparts due

to a more supportive and cultivating experience" (p.785). That is not to say that Black male

gender does not get heavily policed at Black schools. Men are typically held to restrictive gender

roles that are aligned with hegemonic masculinity. A poignant example of this took place in

October of 2009 at Morehouse when the school newspaper published the Morehouse College

Appropriate Attire Policy. The policy banned clothing such as du-rags, baggy pants and clothing

that can be associated with feminine attire. The new policy drew coverage from several news

media outlets. The Vice President of Student Affairs at the time stated, "We are talking about

five students who are living a gay lifestyle that lead them dress a way we do not expect in

Morehouse Men" (Mungin, 2009, para. 5). He goes further to say, "The policy is saying that you have to show more respect in how you dress and there are things that are just not acceptable at Morehouse. We have a legacy we are trying to uphold" (Mungin, 2009, para. 10). The appropriate attire policy incident only emphasizes how rigid gender roles become once the founding priority of many HBCUs – respectability – is taken into consideration. The prioritization of respectability even becomes dangerous when instances of sexual assault or rape come into play. Oftentimes, female survivors are silenced by administrators on issues of rape or sexual assault. This coerced silence stems from what is considered "race loyalty" in combination with efforts to protect the institution's reputation. Black women – in accordance with historical narratives in Black communities – are expected to stand in solidarity with Black men against racist stereotypes. This weighty expectation has left survivors of sexual assault on HBCU campuses at a physical, mental, and emotional detriment (Savali, 2016, p. 606). A recent *BuzzFeed* article written in 2016 blatantly asserts how this affects the Spelman/Morehouse relationship (https://www.buzzfeed.com/anitabadejo/where-is-that-narrative?utm_term=.dnKqbNMj5o#.frPjQZ83L0). Where most sexual assaults of Spelman students occur on Morehouse's campus, Spelman's campus police department have no jurisdiction over the cases. Therefore, Spelman survivors are left to grapple not only with a campus adjudication process that does not prioritize them nor serve them justice, but also with the fact that they have turned in one of their Morehouse brothers (Badejo, 2016, para. 6). When occurrences of sexual violence become public discourse, like in the years of 1996, 2006, and 2013, men of Morehouse typically display indifference or downright hostility towards the victims (Badejo, 2016, para. 28). While Spelman and Morehouse are so connected that they are

consistently referred to as "SpelHouse," sexual violence serves as an intense and divisive point

of contention.

2   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Homosociality

Originally coined by Jean Lipman-Blumen in 1976, homosociality looks at the non-sexual attractions held by men for members of their own sex. While the original definition has an intimate, or erotic, connotation to it, the term has over time come to refer to purely same-sex friendships. Drawing from Bird (1996), Flood (2008), and Sedgwick (1985), Oware (2011) defined homosociality as "individuals of the same-sex exhibiting strong social bond toward one another" (p. 26). In general, scholarship on homosociality is scarce, but varied. Some scholars look at homosociality through a lens of white hegemonic masculinity (Bird, 1996; Britton, 1990; Flood, 2008). In "Welcome to the Men's Club: Homosociality and the Maintenance of Hegemonic Masculinity," Sharon Bird (1996) found that heterosexual men utilize homosociality to promote clear distinctions between women and men through segregation in social institutions. Furthermore, she argues that homosociality promotes clear distinctions between hegemonic masculinities and non-hegemonic masculinities. She stated that there are three crucial meanings to the understanding of homosociality as it relates to maintaining hegemonic masculinity: 1) emotional detachment, 2) competitiveness, and 3) sexual objectification of women. Through the maintenance of these meanings, hegemonic masculinities are upheld, nonhegemonic masculinities are suppressed, and women are established as different and inferior. Bird (1996) argued, "The objectification of women provides a base on which male superiority is maintained, whereas identities with women (and what it means to be a female) helps remove the symbolic distance that enables men to depersonalize the oppression of women" (p.123). It is also put forth by Bird that the internalization of hegemonic meanings provides a base of shared meanings for social interaction. Meaning that men often socialize and bond through occurrences like the

common objectification of women, sharing of stories sexual conquest and of course through activities that affirm hegemonic masculinity, such as sports and music.

Similarly, Dana Britton (1990), in "Homophobia and Homosociality: An Analysis of Boundary Maintenance," looked at the distinctions made between hegemonic masculinities and non-hegemonic masculinities in regard to homophobia and homosociality. Where Bird highlighted homosociality in relation to oppressive attitudes toward women and feminine masculinities in men, Britton directly credited homosociality with being the vehicle through which homophobia is upheld. Britton (1990) argued that not only does homophobia help maintain the boundary between social and sexual interaction in a sex-segregated society, but also that homosociality directly affects homophobia and serves as an intervening variable (p.424). The study expectedly revealed that her participants' fear of homosexuality reflected a concern for the maintenance of, what they consider to be 'proper' roles. Britton's work also differed from Bird's by way of the religious component Britton introduced. Her study relegated a lot of the homophobia displayed by her participants to conservative, religious ideologies. Where both Bird and Britton only limit their studies to adult men, the significance of Flood's work, in regard to this study, is that he focused on college aged men. By looking at young Australian men between the ages of 18 and 26, Michael Flood (2008) examined how homosociality directly affects sexual relations with women. Drawing from Campenhoudt (1997) and Laumann and Gagnon (1995), he established that peoples' sexual relations tend to be partly organized by their local contexts and social networks. These social networks offer both possibilities and limitations on formation of sexual ties, provide an audience for the formation of those ties, and what are considered to be legitimate sexual activities. He mentioned the scholarly discussion that centers on institutional bonds of men in militaries, bureaucracies, and workplaces, asserting that these bonds are often

achieved through the exclusion of women. Flood (2008) asserted, however, the homosocial ordering of men's heterosexual bonds has been paid less attention and discusses four ways in which homosociality affects mens' heterosexual relations. He found:

> First, male-male friendships take priority over male-female relations, and platonic friendships with women are dangerously feminizing and rare, if not impossible. Second, sexual activity is a key path to masculine status, and other men are the audience, always imagined and sometimes real, for one's sexual activities. Third, heterosexual sex itself can be the medium through which male bonding is enacted. Last, men's sexual storytelling is shaped by homosocial masculine cultures (p.342).

Flood discussed that these attributes were mostly seen at the Australian Defense Force Academy (ADFA), a coeducational military university that trains officer cadets for all three arms of the defense forces. While women have been recently accepted into leadership positions, the institution continues to promote a culture of sexism, homophobia, and competitive banter. It is during the interviewing process that Flood concluded that while homosociality is oftentimes responsible for innocuous practices of companionship, it also can lead to troubling practices of sexual coercion of women and the policing of men's sexual relations (Flood, p.340). Flood's observation that homosociality can enable and even encourage harmful behavior towards women in college-aged men is majorly significant to the current study. What Flood defined as "the institutional ordering of tight bonds among groups of men" (p. 339) is similar to the culture promoted on the campus of Morehouse College. As he mentioned, most practices of homosociality are ones of necessary companionship but can endanger the college-aged women at surrounding campuses.

The aforementioned scholars are considered to be the definitive voices on homosociality. And while they solely speak to white hegemonic masculinity, they are also important to consider when looking into Black masculinity. Especially when Black masculinity is often regarded as a version of hegemonic masculinity that has been tweaked to work within the boundaries of Blackness.

One scholar specifically focuses on Black men and homosociality. Mattew Oware (2015) linked homosociality to Black masculinity within the realm of Hip-Hop. Oware argued the homosociality with hip-hop lyrics present instances where males express a broader more complex range of emotions and feelings than typically discussed and analyzed in rap music. In analyzing specific song lyrics, the study concludes that, "same-sex affection peppers Black male rappers' lyrics" (Oware, p.31). He asserted, "Black males, as manifested through rap music, do possess positive and progressive homosocial relationships – a boldfaced example of brotherly love" (Oware, p.33). Oware, similarly to Flood, linked homosociality to companionship between Black men, but does not neglect that some practices of homosociality, especially within the realm of hip hop, can turn toxic and violent. He highlighted that misogynistic lyrics permeate the music and denigration of Black women in particular serves as a bonding mechanism for rappers. While this study does not focus on the influence of music to the perpetuation of rape culture, it must be acknowledged that rap serves as a representation of Black masculinity. Parallels can be drawn between the normalization of misogyny in rap and in the socialization of Black men. Therefore, the connection between music and rape culture does inherently play a role within this study.

2.2   Rape Culture

Rape Culture generally refers to the complex of ideas and images within a society that normalizes sexual violence. *Force: Upsetting Rape Culture* (2017)*,* a creative activist collaboration dedicated to subverting rape culture, defines it as a culture in which people are surrounded with images, language, laws and other everyday phenomena that validate and perpetuate, rape ("What is Rape Culture" n.d.). Rape culture includes jokes, TV, music, advertising, legal jargon, and words, that make violence against women and sexual coercion seem so normal that people begin to believe that rape is normal or inevitable. Rape Culture, as a term, originated in the mid-1970s with the release of the film entitled *Rape Culture* (1975) produced by feminists Margaret Lazarus and Renner Wunderlich. The documentary examines how film, advertisement, music, sex work, and other facets of society work together to develop a culture of rape that normalizes sexual violence. The film follows rape crisis center workers, Prisoners Working Against Rape (PAR), rapists, and survivors, and in it "rape culture" is defined for the first time. Authors Mary Daly and Emily Culpepper also appear in the film to "expand the intellectual concepts of 'rapism,' and help to expose the overwhelming support for rapist behavior in our culture."

In the same year, Susan Brownmiller published *Against Our Will: Men, Women, and Rape* (1975). In the bestselling book, Brownmiller explored power dynamics of rape within history, law and culture; set an agenda for legal change; and alerted the public to a feminist anti-rape movement (Freedman, 2017, p. 214). While rape culture as a concept originated in the 1970s within feminist activist circles, the term has become widely studied and generally accepted. More contemporarily, rape culture is being studied in conjunction with race, social

media, pop culture, and campus culture (Giraldi & Monk-Turner, 2017; Crenshaw, 1993; Cole & Sheftall, 2003; Strain, Martens & Saucier, 2016; Katz, 2006; Kimmel, 2008; Freedman, 2013).

Giraldi & Monk-Turner (2017) explored the relationship between rape culture and social media on college campuses. The study takes a look at social media posts to measure the perception of rape culture on a PWI campus. On move-in day in 2015, a fraternity at a large southeastern university flew several banners from its house that proclaimed: "Rowdy and Fun. Hope your baby girl is ready for a good time," "Freshman daughter drop-off," and "Go ahead and drop off mom too" (Giraldi & Monk-Turner, p. 117). In response to the "banner incident," which it came to be known as in the media and throughout the journal article, three news media outlets posted stories to social media applications. Giraldi & Monk-Turner analyzed the responses to the posts, and argued that utilizing a social media application like Facebook "provided for an exhaustive and in-depth understanding of how some feel about rape culture on a local college campus" (Giraldi & Monk-Turner, p. 123). The study discovered that while more women in general responded to the posts than men, most comments, regardless of gender, reflected an explicit acceptance toward the banner incident deeming it justifiable and excusable. Furthermore, it was soundly suggested that the banners did not portray rape or sexual violence. Indications for rape myth acceptance were frequent as well. The study concludes that "the overall attitude of acceptance toward the banners suggests that rape culture not only exists, but is prevalent, and seen as permissible to a large portion of society" (Giraldi & Monk-Turner, p. 123). The responses to the banner incident speak profoundly on the perception of rape on most college campuses. The idea that the banners did not suggest sexual violence stems from a misunderstanding of what constitutes rape and sexual violence. To many men, and women as well, rape represents a violent attack at the hands of a stranger. Therefore, posting banners that

insinuate that the older members of the fraternity intend to coerce the younger and naïve first-year students into sexual acts behind the façade of a "good time" does not seem to perpetuate rape. With many of the responses to the incident taking on a "boys will be boys" demeanor, it is suggested that women should expect this type of behavior from the older male students, thus normalizing the inappropriate behavior displayed by the fraternity members. It should not be assumed that this is an isolated event. As the aforementioned statistics suggest, nationwide campus rape culture is pervasive. The attitudes observed in Giraldi & Monk-Turner's study reflect those that that are often iterated in the AUC as well (Badejo, 2016, para. 23). While there are racial dimensions that must be analyzed, the normalization of "boys will be boys" are still prevalent at HBCUs as well.

Crenshaw and Freedman racialized sexual violence and rape culture. As the originator of the term intersectionality, Crenshaw (1993) emphasized the necessity to consider the intersections of race and gender of women of color in instances of sexual violence. While it is acknowledged that there are other factors that must also be considered such as class and sexuality, it is imperative that women of color do not become marginalized within the anti-sexual violence movements. For example, she cited that within rape crisis centers, funds are often allocated in according to standards of need that are largely white and middle class. Therefore, the uniform standards of need hinder rape crisis counselors from meeting the needs of poor women and women of color. Women of color occupy positions in society that both physically and culturally marginalize them. Therefore, information must be targeted to them directly in order to reach them, and more often than not women of color are not targeted leaving victims underserviced (Crenshaw, p. 1251). While Crenshaw racialized rape in terms of policy and activism, Freedman racialized rape through a historical lens. Freedman (2013), in "Contesting

the Rape of Black Women," examined the history of the rape of Black women of the South during the late 1890s. She looked at the pervasive rape culture of the post-emancipation South and how in it, Black women were still seen by white men as sexual property. She stated, "In addition to using rape charges to justify lynching, they treated all Black women as sexual outlets for what a Northern journalist critically referred to as "the licentious passions of Southern white men. Rather than define rape, these men presumed that Black women either welcomed them or had no moral purity to defend" (Freedman, 2013, pg. 74). In detailing specific cases through the 1860's, 70's, 80's, and 90's, Freedman demonstrated how African American women fought to be considered rape victims. She stated, "Despite African American attempts to shape and use the law, and despite evidence of sympathies toward young Black victims, southern whites largely refused to elevate Black women to the protected, respectable class of 'ladies' (p.83). Therefore, they were often considered to be the blame for their own assaults.

This present study will use the scholarship that speaks to campus culture, race, and rape. Studies show that it is widely believed that college-aged women should expect and allow for men to behave in ways that suggest rape. When this idea is framed with the historical narrative that Black women have been seen as too licentious to be raped, in Black communities and the larger legal structure, it makes exploring rape culture on a Black campus imperative. Constructs such as victim blaming, slut shaming, and the like appear more often when a Black woman is the victim. This racialized rape culture is iterated in Brown's (1992) analysis of the victimization and de-victimization of Mike Tyson in the 1991 rape of Desiree Washington. Brown built a social construction of the rape victim by compiling stories about visits to the barbershop (which serves as a cultural institution for Black men) in which Black men speak about "real victim" in the very public rape case. All of the retellings of the encounters Brown had with other Black men

ended with the same consensus: that the former heavyweight champion of the world had been

victimized and taken advantage of by eighteen-year-old Desiree Washington. According to the

men at the barbershop, either Desiree was upset that Tyson did not walk her out after their sexual

encounter (p. 1000), or she exaggerated her experience in order to profit off the ordeal (p. 1002).

Even in instances where they thought Tyson had actually perpetrated the crime, men still blamed

Desiree for getting herself into the situation to begin with (p. 1000) and called for leniency in the

criminal justice system on Tyson's behalf. After Tyson's conviction, the perception of Desiree's

case was that Tyson had first been victimized by an unstable woman, and secondly by a racist

criminal justice system. Brown's article reveals that Black men were able to identify Tyson as

the victim due to the fundamental belief in Black communities that justice is white and that a

Black man could never expect fair treatment in the criminal justice system (p. 1004). What begs

consideration though, is how the dismissal of Desire as the physical victim was cultivated and

fostered in the all-male cultural institution of the barbershop. This study is concerned with

identifying how male-peer culture cultivates those same perceptions of sexual violence against

Black women at the all-male cultural institution of Morehouse College.

Katz's (2006) book entitled *The Macho Paradox: Why Some Men Hurt Women and How*

All Men Can Help not only detailed the aspects of rape and "male-peer culture" and how they

work together in a sexually violent way, but also put forth solutions to male sexual violence and

the culture that excuses it. In "Violence Against Women is a Men's Issue," Katz (2006)

proclaimed that while women have been left to solve the problems of rape, domestic abuse,

marital sexual violence and so forth, men and the culture of male dominance must be held

accountable. He found:

In spite of significant social change in recent decades, men continue to grow up with, and are socialized into, a deeply misogynistic, male-dominated culture, where violence against women – from the subtle to the homicidal – is disturbingly common. Its *normal.* And precisely because the mistreatment of women is such a pervasive characteristic of our patriarchal culture, most men, to a greater or lesser extent, have played a role in its perpetuation. This gives us a strong incentive to avert our eyes (pg. 9).

2.3   Black Masculinity

Marlon B. Ross (1998), in a review published in *Feminist Studies, Inc.,* suggested that a writer cannot begin to examine representations of Black masculinity without first looking at its history. Black manhood has been constructed as a failure to meet civilized gender norms from the start. He asserted, "whereas hegemonic masculinity of middle-class white men had to be problematized before it could be seen as a historically constructed phenomenon, the Black man has been thought of as 'the Negro problem' from the beginning" (Ross,1998, p. 610). Historically, Black masculinity has been seen as brutish, hypersexual, violent, and dangerous (hooks, p. 35). With the implementation of institutionalized American slavery, came the stereotypes and dangerous narratives that framed Black men as beasts who needed to be tamed. Their disenfranchised state hindered the enslaved Africans from disputing how they were represented, and but also forced them to acquiesce to white hegemonic masculinity as it was presented to them. hooks commented on this further in the Preface to *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (2004). She found:

> Seen as animals, brutes, natural born rapists, and murderers, Black men had no real dramatic say when it comes to the way they are represented. They have made few interventions on the stereotype. As a consequence, they are victimized by stereotypes that

were first articulated in the nineteenth century but hold sway over the minds and imaginations of citizens of this nation in the present day" (hooks, p. 6).

Once enslaved Africans became emancipated, they still held second-class status. While Black men had obtained freedom, they were not afforded the rights to acquire the financial, political, social, cultural, and educational capital that American white men had been gaining for the previous four hundred years. This, in addition to the unfair representations of Black men that came to be known as "fact," forced them to adapt a performance of masculinity that is culturally specific (Majors & Bilson, 1993; Neal 2015, Blount, 2014). White masculinity, though it encompasses attributes that Black men had not been allocated such as institutional authority and wealth, still served as the performance of masculinity that all men had to adhere to. Where Black men could not achieve authority and wealth, they began to cling to the other attributes of hegemonic masculinity like competitiveness, physical strength, and virility.

Majors and Bilson (1993) referred to one of these adaptations as "cool pose." Drawing from the Gwedolyn Brooks poem, "We Real Cool," "cool pose," they argue, tips society's imbalance in the Black men's favor. Majors & Bilson stated, "By cool pose we mean the presentation of self many Black males use to establish their male identity. Cool pose is a ritualized form of masculinity that entails behaviors, scripts, physical posturing, impression management, and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength, and control"(p. 4). To the same token, in the face of inequity Black men sometimes skip over "cool" and embrace anger and violence. Collins (2005) discussed how Black men oftentimes embody the combative disposition projected on to them. She stated, "In the context of new racism in which miseducation and unemployment have marginalized and impoverished increasing numbers of young Black men, aggression and claiming the prizes of urban warfare

gain in importance. Being tough and having street smarts is an important component of Black masculinity" (p.245). Though present-day situations may allow some Black men to escape the harmful effects disenfranchisement has had on Black masculinity, the manifestation of "cool," and the acceptance of violence and anger, still underline the ways in which Black men treat Black women. Black masculinity, as demonstrated through Black music, can oftentimes denigrate or dismiss Black women. While the subjects of this study will be mainly of middle-class economic status, the performance of Black masculinity is similar to those of urban and marginalized communities. Competitiveness, physical strength, and virility, along with the aforementioned markers of homosociality such as bonding through the objectification of women, all plague what is considered masculine behavior in college-aged Black men. These behaviors may contribute to the racially specific kind of rape culture the female students of Spelman college face.

Recently, scholars have been looking at ways to redefine, reconstruct, and queer Black masculinity (Neal, 2015; Alexander, 2006, Laing, 2017; Lemelle, 2004). In "There's a New Black Man in America Today," Neal (2015) stated, "While so many Black identities have flourished in the post-civil-rights era, allowing for rich and diverse visions of Blackness, Black masculinity has remained one aspect of Black identity still in need of a radical reconstruction (p. 120). Along with many of texts that seek to redefine Black masculinity, Neal's book, *New Black Man,* sought to find "comfort with a complex and progressive existence as a Black man in America" (p. 12). Saida Gundy published an ethnographic study entitled, "An Air of Expectancy: Class, Crisis, and the Making of Manhood as a Historically Black College for Men" in 2012. Grundy looked at the formations of masculinity at an HBCU and how the students uphold gender and class ideologies about Black male respectability, heteronormativity, and male

hegemony. She stated, "In contrast to scholarship on the 'crisis of the Black male,' which repeatedly addresses young Black men as a national problem, this project asks how Black men experience an institution that bills them as solutions to that problem" (Grundy, 2012, p. 45). In what Patricia Hill Collins referred to as the "New Racism," Black Masculinity has shifted in some ways to fit into a 21st century framework. However, other aspects, such as the degradation of Black women, have yet to undergo a drastic reworking. How college-aged Black men maneuver Black masculinity in regard to homosociality and rape culture will serve as the focus of this present study.

2.4   Gaps

Aside from Grundy's work on the masculinities of upwardly mobile Black men, there are few works within African American studies that looks at hegemonic homosociality and its effect on Black women. While Moya Bailey has coined the term misogynoir, which describes the unique racist misogyny Black women face, there is not a lot of work that looks at how that misogyny works within the rape culture of Black communities. By looking at a smaller college community, this research hopes to fill gaps on how rape culture is manufactured through the performances of Black men. Thus, speaking to a broader discourse on Black masculinity and its effects on Black women.

3   METHODOLOGY

3.1   Rationale for Critical Ethnography

Thomas (1993) defined critical ethnography as conventional ethnography with a political purpose. While conventional ethnography requires observation, critical ethnography begins with an ethical responsibility to address processes of unfairness within a particular lived domain (Madison, 2011). Similarly, scholars of African American Studies are called to produce work that contributes to the liberation of people of African descent, ultimately highlighting the strength of this particular method. Thomas found that critical ethnography, which includes a style of analysis that utilizes empirical methods and qualitative interpretations of data to call out inequities within a community, is embedded within conventional ethnography. Critical ethnography goes beyond asking what is by asking what could be (Thomas, p.4). In the spirit of asking what could be, critical ethnography can be used to fill the gaps in scholarship regarding Black masculinity and rape culture at Black colleges. Scholars (Thomas, 1993; Madision 2005; Denizen, 2001) have utilized critical ethnography as an emancipatory vehicle for institutionally oppressed peoples, such as those affected by Apartheid or Jim Crow laws. However, it can be argued that both rape culture and the performance of hegemonic masculinity, though not institutionally implemented, are oppressive social constructs. This critical ethnography sought to identify, question, and criticize the harmful effects, if any, these social constructs have on the young men of Morehouse College and young women of Spelman College.

3.2   Field Site

Morehouse College was founded in 1867 as the Augusta Institute. The institute was moved to its present location in Atlanta, GA, in 1879, and was renamed Morehouse College in 1913. Morehouse is a Historically Black College or University (HBCU) and is the only all-male

college for Black men in the country. The institution is a small liberal arts college consisting of 61 acres and about 2,193 students make up its student body. Morehouse is the #1 men's college for producing Rhodes Scholars, the #1 baccalaureate-origin institution for Black male doctorate recipients, one of only four HBCUs ranked in the top tier Best Liberal Arts Colleges, and one of the top producers of Fulbright scholars in Georgia ("Facts at a Glance," 2017). Morehouse boasts many notable alumni including Maynard Jackson, Jeh Johnson, Samuel L. Jackson, Spike Lee, Julian Bond, and the most well-known being Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. With Black men making up the majority of the American prison population, Morehouse prides itself with producing the most prestigious Black male leaders for 150 years.

3.3   Sampling & Recruitment at Morehouse College

While some of the participants were recruited through the researchers own relationships with recent Morehouse alumni, the sampling process also engaged snowball sampling. Only former Morehouse students were recruited for semi-structured interviews. All participants have been given pseudonyms for privacy purposes.

The Participants			
Name	**Hometown**	**Age**	**First Year @ Morehouse**
David	Chicago	25	2011
Jason	Atlanta	27	2008
Brendan	Cincinnati	25	2011
Kevin	Chicago	23	2013
Kyle	Decatur	26	2010
Alex	Atlanta	24	2012

Lawrence	Stone Mountain	26	2010
Austin	Atlanta	24	2012
Darius	Atlanta	25	2011
Jack	Columbus	26	2011

3.4   Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviewing allows a researcher to be "fully in control of what [they] want from an interview but leaves [space] to follow new leads" (Bernard, p. 158). This particular method is useful because it seeks to understand a particular social phenomenon from the perspective of those that have to experience it every day. While the study has specific research questions to explore, the importance of the participants' experiences cannot be understated. Semi-structured interviewing also allowed for themes to emerge and be explored while the interviews were being conducted. A total of 10 Black men who have recently attended Morehouse College were recruited for semi-structured interviews. Interviews lasted for about 60 minutes and were based on a prepared interview guide. Interviews took place at the researcher's or participants' home and was recorded and transcribed to ensure accuracy. Participants were compensated with a $10 gift card to Starbucks for their time.

3.5   Data Analysis

After the interviews were transcribed and checked for accuracy, the data were analyzed using a two-cycle coding process. The interviews were initially coded using structural coding. As explained by Saldana (2009), "Structural coding applies a content-based or conceptual phrase representing a topic of inquiry to a segment of data that relates to a specific research question used to frame the interview" (pg. 66). In this manner, structural coding was appropriate as it

allowed for the data to be coded according to the concepts addressed in the central and secondary

research questions. This ensured that the data was being coded according to the subject matter

the study intended to focus on. The two questions this study sought to examine are as follows:

How does the socialization of young Black men at Morehouse College affect the students

understanding of rape culture? Does homosociality play a role in the promotion of rape culture at

Spelman College and Morehouse College? Therefore, the data was initially coded under

categories such as, homosociality, acknowledgement of rape culture, and Morehouse culture.

The categories were also drawn from individual questions from the semi-structured interview

guide, such as background information, and awareness. For example, the question – After being

a Morehouse student, do you have a deeper understanding of consent, rape culture, and sexual

assault? – typically yielded responses that centered around new-found awareness on the issue of

sexual assault and its parameters, and was subsequently coded under awareness. Using NVivo

12, the data was coded under 8 large initial codes: Background information, Morehouse brand,

Morehouse culture, Homosociality, Toxic/Hyper-Masculinity and Competitiveness, Perceptions

of Sexual Assault, Acknowledgment of Rape Culture, and Awareness.

In Vivo coding was also utilized during the first cycle coding process. In Vivo coding is

typically utilized when studying indigenous cultures as it is dedicated to capturing folk or

indigenous terms as a means of interpreting the culture in an authentic way. Similarly, this study

is concerned with authentically capturing campus culture. According to Saldana (2009), In Vivo

coding can be used in concert with other coding methods, even though it is often regarded as a

solo coding method. This study is concerned with understanding the participants' experiences

and perceptions so utilizing In Vivo coding was appropriate as it prioritizes the participant's

voices. Saldana (2009) observes, "In Vivo codes can provide a crucial check on whether you

have grasped what is significant to the participant" (pg.75). In Vivo coding was especially useful in capturing typical campus culture at Morehouse. For instance, one participant – in response to being asked to describe the daily typical atmosphere – stated, "…it's a small campus so it seems like you know everyone who passes by, a lot of dapping people up, it's a lot of 'tryna get like yous,' and a lot of 'have you been to the caf already." In this manner, the participant uses "tryna get like yous" as an indicator of campus culture at Morehouse, which could speak to the male socialization aspect of the central research question. This was made a code and filed under Morehouse Culture as a sub code. This process resulted in 25 sub codes in totality.

Pattern coding was used as the second cycle coding method. Though the structural coding process was instrumental in categorizing the data, pattern coding was used to further analyze the themes within the data. Saldana (2009) states, "Pattern Codes are explanatory or inferential codes, ones that identify an emergent theme, configuration or explanation. They pull together a lot of material into a more meaningful and parsimonious unit of analysis" (pg. 152). From this second cycle, emergent themes and conceptual patterns were derived from the data.

3.6   Sampling & Recruitment at Spelman College

Spelman College was originally founded in 1881 as the Atlanta Baptist Female Seminary in the basement of Friendship Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. The institution moved to its current location in the West End district of Atlanta in 1883 and was renamed Spelman College in 1924. It is one of two historically Black colleges specifically for women. Spelman has not only been recognized as the number one historically Black college for the past 12 years, but also ranked among the top 20 women's colleges in 2016; as well as ranking in the top 100 best liberal arts college ("At a Glance", 2017). The private college consists of 31 acres with 2,097 students enrolled. Spelman boasts several notable alumnae including Stacey Abrams, Rosalind G.

Brewer, Pearl Cleage, Alice Walker, Christine King Farris, Bernice King, Beverly Guy-Sheftall, and Audrey F. Manely.

Participant observation took place on Spelman's campus. As this study is concerned with the culture on both campuses, this approach was necessary. Furthermore, the researcher reached out to faculty members in Women's studies, Sociology, English, and History departments, in order to sit in on classes in which conversations on perceptions of rape culture occur.

3.7   Participatory Observation

Bernard (2011) asserted "participant observation gets you in the door so you can collect life histories, attend rituals, and talk to people about sensitive topics" (Bernard, p. 258). The use of participant observation was critical to this study for it allowed the researcher to observe the research context first hand. This approach is necessary as it spoke to the daily actions, expressions, and microaggressions experienced on both college campuses that could have been absent from the semi-structured interviews. Participant observation informed the incorporation and critical consideration of existing empirical research on rape culture, homosociality, and masculinity as they relate to Black communities. DeWalt & DeWalt (2011) put forth that participant observation "provides context for sampling, open-ended interviewing, construction of interview guides and questionnaires, and other more structured and more quantitative methods of data collection" (DeWalt & DeWalt, p.3). Therefore, participant observation was used in concert with several other data collection methods and led the researcher toward which campus events to attend and how to analyze the data collected. Participant observation took place at known common areas on the campuses including Lower Manley, Kilgore Plaza, and special weekly events such as Market Friday, as well as during SpelHouse Homecoming weekend. Additionally, the researcher reached out to faculty within the English, Women's Studies, and Psychology

departments at Spelman College in hopes of sitting in on classes where discussions of social interactions between the students takes place. Specific questions that guided which actions the researcher sought to look for included: In what ways do Morehouse and Spelman students interact with each other on a day-to-day basis? How do Morehouse students talk to each other? In what ways do Morehouse students show perceived admiration and respect towards Spelman students? In what ways to Morehouse students show perceived disrespect towards Spelman students?

In conducting participant observation, the researcher took on the role of complete observer. In this instance, the researcher did not participate in the activities that were being observed, nor were those participating informed of the researcher's purpose. By doing this, the researcher's presence was unobtrusive and allowed for everyday happenings to be recorded.

The notes that were taken during participant observation were extracted and uploaded in to NVivo 12. The data were coded similarly to the data from the semi-structured interviews. Most participant observation notes were coded alongside pieces of interview transcripts that coincided with each other. For example, when asked if he thought the relationship between Spelman and Morehouse was generally a positive one, one participant stated, "Yeah. I mean, everything from the events, to the programs that people partner on, the events that were put on, to how we're introduced to each other, like the brother/sister exchange." A note taken during one of the weekly "Market Friday" events stated, "mostly positive interactions between male and female students; stopping to say hello." In this instance, a participant identified typical campus behavior that was observed during participant observation. Both were coded under the same sub code – Spelman and Morehouse relationships.

The findings and significance of participant observation are addressed and discussed in chapter five, as they mostly bolster the findings of the semi structured interviews and social media analysis.

3.8   Social Media

Engaging with social media applications for this study was especially appropriate when the participants and target population were taken into consideration. Though much of the data collection took place offline and in the field, it was important to note that a plethora of social interaction between the students of Spelman and Morehouse takes place online as well. In *Ethnography for the Internet,* Hine (2015) asserted, "it is important for ethnographers to take part in the diverse forms of communication and interaction that those they study use, and not write off any of these forms of communication as inherently less informative or as un-ethnographic" (pg.32). It is on social media applications, primarily Twitter, where many students feel comfortable speaking on their experiences in regard to sensitive topics like rape culture and confronting toxic forms of masculinity. Therefore, the inclusion of data from social media was imperative when conducting this particular study. Social media can be defined as web-based services that allow individuals, communities, and organizations to collaborate, connect, interact, and build community by enabling them to create, co-create, modify, share, and engage with user-generated content that is easily accessible (McCay-Peet & Quan-Hasse, 2017, pg. 17). The term social media is conceptually related to the terms online social networks (OSNs) and social networking sites (SNSs) that became relevant during the early 2000s when sites such as *MySpace* and *Facebook* began to emerge. Social media has become the broader umbrella term for both as OSN and SNSs are considered types of social media. A common breakdown of social media categories is as follows: 1) social networking, 2) bookmarking, 3) social news, 4) media sharing,

5) microblogging, and 6) blogs and forums (Grahl, 2013). The use of social media has proliferated in recent years. Social media sites can answer several questions and help inform understandings of social phenomena. Social media's reach into a specific demographic and the behaviors, attitudes, and perceptions that are readily observable and extractable make social media conducive to research (McCay-Peet & Quan-Hasse, pg. 20) This study utilized Twitter as its main social media reference. Twitter falls under the social media categorization of microblogging. Originally meant as a site for status updates, Twitter posts had a character limit of 140 characters, and has recently increased the limit to 280 characters. While Facebook is the most widely used social media platform, Twitter has had a transformative effect on how information and news diffuse throughout society (McCay-Peet & Quan-Hasse, pg. 17). Twitter was created in March of 2006 and officially launched in July of that same year by Jack Dosrsey, Noah Glass, Biz Stone, and Evan Williams. By 2012, the rapidly growing site boasted more than 100 million users, and in 2016 that number had risen to 319 million active users. With its ability to stream videos, share pictures, link news articles and so forth, Twitter serves as news distribution site for millions of people worldwide, particularly millennials.

3.9   Data Analysis

The aim of using social media in this study was to further identify the range of opinions expressed in regard to sexual assault and rape culture amongst Spelman and Morehouse students. This study engaged with extant data, meaning that the posts collected for the study were created independent of any intervention, influence or prompts from the researcher. NCapture, an extension of NVivo, makes it possible to capture tweets and download them into a dataset. However, NCapture is unable to capture tweets more than a month old. Because the tweets that were attached to the hashtag #WeKnowWhatYouDid were 11 months old at the time this study

was conducted, the tweets had to be manually collected and uploaded into NVivo12. #WeKnowWhatYouDid was searched by utilizing Twitter's application program interface (API). Now that Twitter has implemented an advanced search feature, specific words, hashtags, languages, locations, and dates were able to be explored. A search of tweets shared between the dates of November 1, 2018 and November 30, 2017 with the appropriate hashtag yielded a result of 116 tweets in totality. Tweets shared before November 8th were disregarded as the #WeKnowWhatYouDid campaign on the campuses of Spelman and Morehouse did not take place until the 8th, leaving 110 tweets left to be captured. The latest tweet yielded by the search was shared on November 16th. Coincidentally, only 3 tweets generated by the search between the dates of November 8th and November 16th were unrelated, spam, or promotional tweets. "Quote tweets," tweets that allow for a tweeter to quote and add commentary to an original tweet were not disregarded, as they often expound upon, refute, or explain opinions in the original tweet. After the tweets were collected and uploaded into NVivo, they were categorized. The 16 tweets from news media outlets, official, and verified accounts were grouped together. There were 92 tweets left to be analyzed.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Given the nature of the study, there are several ethical issues that required consideration. All possible efforts were made to ensure the well-being of the participants. While the participants who engaged in this study were not considered to be a part of a vulnerable population, the sensitive nature of the study called for extra steps to be taken. In addition to the informed consent, the researcher was upfront with the participants about the full nature of the study and made sure they understood the concepts being considered: homosociality and rape culture. The participants were not exposed to any more risk than they would be in a normal day,

however precautions were taken so that the participant's private discussions would not be able to be linked to them and cause harm in the future. In addition to being stored in a password protected computer, the transcripts were categorized by codes with no identifying information. The promise of anonymity was key in assuring that the male participants were truthful in their answers toward the female researcher. Though some participants may know each other, as the combined population of both institutions being considered is in the 4000s, only the researcher knew exactly who was engaged in the study. The tweets collected during the social media aspect of the data collection process are anonymous and the usernames are unidentifiable. Representation was also considered. There are ethical challenges involved in the representation of multiple socially constructed versions of reality and whose voices are present in the findings (Mertens, 2014, p.511). This study addressed these challenges by incorporating the voices of both Morehouse College students and Spelman College students. This study can also speak to triangulation as it employed several methods of data collection. There were also ethical considerations to be taken with regard to participant observation as a data collection method. As the researcher took on the role of complete observant, the population that was being observed was not informed of the researcher's purpose. In hopes of alleviating this ethical issue, written permission from Spelman College was granted to the researcher to engage in the data collection method on campus and no identifiable information was collected from the students observed. It was understood that the researcher ran the risk of engaging with survivors of sexual assault or rape, as well as those who may have perpetrated any sexual violence. The topic was explored utilizing sensitive and appropriate language with the utmost respect, privacy and discretion.

4   FINDINGS

This chapter discusses the findings of all three separate data collection methods as they relate to the research questions of this study.

4.1   Semi-Structured Interviews

The data collected from the semi-structured interviews was immensely telling about the perception of rape culture on campus at Morehouse College. This study was not only concerned with capturing campus culture as it relates to sexual violence, but also wanted to explore the concepts that may contribute to rape culture at Morehouse. Additionally, the study sought to examine how the racial nuances that stem from attending an HBCU for men may affect the student's perceptions. Therefore, the questions asked during the semi-structured interviews were linked to the exploratory concepts discussed in Chapter 2 of this study. This section centers on the four themes that emerged after the second round of coding. Those themes are Significance of Brand, Hypermasculinity, Awareness & the SpelHouse Relationship, and Homosociality & Apathy. These four themes were consistent throughout the data and are directly linked to students' understanding of rape culture at Morehouse College and some even act as a contributor to rape culture.

4.1.1   Significance of Brand

All participants stated that Morehouse boasts and caters to a specific brand. Most attributed the Morehouse brand to the school's commitment to Black male leadership and producing "future game changers." Many felt that is what distinguished Morehouse from other HBCUs.

> The thing that distinguishes Morehouse from other HBCUs, I think, is that it has a specific brand, identity, when it comes to Black male leadership. When you talk about

some of the graduates of the college and their impact in various fields. And just the school's importance in Atlanta specifically (Morehouse C'2014).

Yes. It's different because Morehouse has a reputation that I'd say many other HBCUs don't have. It's a prestigious one (Morehouse C'2012).

Image. The way they try to prepare Black men for the real world (Morehouse C'2016)

Aside from the central idea that Morehouse's brand was a positive influence and a pro when participants were deciding to attend the school, there were also occurrences in the data that indicated negative or adverse effects of the school's reputation.

Because Morehouse has this reputation of being one of the elite HBCU schools and for producing future game changers and things like that. It's also developed a reputation for its homosexual community, and that reputation is starting to become its set precedent, and its #1 reputation. Like I mentioned, it's a prestigious one, but it also backfires as well. It's a double-edged sword (Morehouse C'2015).

Concern about the community of openly gay students on campus was a common thread throughout the data and is continuously addressed throughout the findings section.

One participant even linked the significance of the school's brand to how the school handles sexual violence on campus.

They have to uphold an image. And everything somebody has to uphold an image, somebody loses, and it's the victim. It's very unfortunate and I think both Morehouse and Spelman, I don't know about CAU, but they have a long way to go (Morehouse C'2016).

This theme was present throughout the semi-structured interview data. Most participants indicate that the school's administration had an indifferent approach to incidents of sexual violence and sexual violence awareness during their New Student Orientation (NSO) process and throughout their tenures on campus.

I can't remember a Morehouse official speaking on it, honestly. If they did it wasn't the basis of their whole speech, it was just like a real quick 'Hey, don't rape people guys' (Morehouse C' 2015).

Only time we heard from the administration would be if, as far as safety, if there was a storm coming, you would get a text. Or if somebody got robbed, they would put the incident reports. But nothing in regard to sexual assault (Morehouse C'2012).

But I don't think there was necessarily an emphasis… I think Morehouse does a great job, you know, promoting a lot of things, and developing a lot of things initially when you come in as a freshman. Awareness of these types of incidents and how to properly interact with female students at Spelman was not a point of emphasis (Morehouse C'2015).

Here, the participants reveal how the school's reputation was important to them as students, and how its brand was significant to the school itself. While the participants indicated

that Morehouse understands how to instill certain qualities into its students, it's clear that sexual violence awareness was low on the list of the administration's priorities during the participants' tenures at the school. Furthermore, this emergent theme is indicative of why victims of sexual violence are treated in the way that they are by students and administration.

4.1.2 *Hypermasculinity*

All participants, but one, felt that Morehouse has a hypermasculinity issue. However, the attributing reasons varied among them. Some participants felt that attending a school for men encouraged hyper-competitive dating.

> Yeah, they are affected by hypermasculinity, and stuff like that, because it feels like a competition when it comes to dating and stuff like that. It's almost like we don't get as many opportunities as students at other schools because you're not around women as often. So, the times that you are, you definitely will step your game up which can lead to hypermasculine behavior (Morehouse C'2012).

> I'm pretty sure this happens at other schools as well. But, at Morehouse, I remember it could be like 3 o'clock in the morning and guys would just be sitting right in front of Spelman lane. Like over there where Jazzman's used to be, and they would just sit there. Guys would just sit there all night, just to be seen talking to girls. And it's just like, you kind of have to be extra thirsty at Morehouse. It's kind of like the thing. Just because of the way things are set up (Morehouse C'2015).

> That's what it would be. It was like, how badly do you want let your mans know, "Oh yeah, I used to talk to her" or, "Oh yeah, I smashed this or that" or whatever. Or just,

pump faking about how they would treat women. MOB type, money over bitches. You

know, bros over hoes, those kinds of conversations. Cause they think it makes us look

cool. Who cares? Especially when half of it is true. But I think that's not just at

Morehouse, that's just men in general, in our age (Morehouse C'2015).

A couple of participants spoke to the idea of entitlement and overconfidence as a
contributor to hypermasculine behavior.

I think once you step on campus and the way Morehouse is…it's just basically, you feel

elite. So, once you go through that journey of staying on campus and knowing what

Morehouse is about…and then there's a whole bunch of activities you can get into, and

then once people start knowing you, depending on what kind of person you are, then

that's when you feel like, "Okay, I'm the man on campus." And so, once you get that

way, I feel like you can get a little bit entitled about yourself. So yeah I think it does have

a little effect on hypermasculinity (Morehouse C'2016).

Because of the air of Morehouse College in general, where they think they're the cleanest

piss on earth, like they're top pickings. Which, you know, sometimes it's true. Very

intelligent people there, attractive people there. Not completely inbred. And they feel

like, 'Hey, I'm right across the street, I'm the best shot you got' (Morehouse C'2015).

Some participants spoke to the idea of fraternal bonds and fraternity behavior as
contributors to hypermasculine behavior on campus, though only one made a connection
between frat behavior and rape culture.

Not everybody had sauce. So, people would try to overcompensate for it, and it would come off very weird, creepy sometimes. The way people talked about it just to get kudos from friends. It wasn't even about getting the women sometimes. It was a way to flex like a guy who doesn't care about how much play he gets. It was a way of fraternizing (Morehouse C'2017).

I guess basically, going back to the fraternity thing again. Once you get into one of those fraternities, you're popular now. You're well known. Everybody knows you, everybody loves you. And so, I think that's what kind of where that ripple effect comes down from (Morehouse C'2016).

Hyper-competition? Oh, uh, it's a lot. It's a lot. Probates are # 1. I don't know if a lot of people feel this way. But I think HBCU's, in my perspective, HBCU's aren't really known for sports. And so, when you don't have sports…basically HBCU's are known a lot for their sororities and fraternities. So, once you experience a probate, and your friends are in it, and then they're going through that experience. It's basically like the Super Bowl. And when they're unveiled, you know, it's like, 'Oh yeah, I made it.' And yeah, they're around their cliques and everything. I'm not saying everybody is like that, but because of that, that's where I think hyper-masculinity comes from. That's where I kind of feel like the entitlement comes in (Morehouse C'2016).

In this manner, the participant reveals the how significant fraternity culture is to the entire campus. Once a new fraternity line is unveiled, it becomes campus wide news that provides the

new members of the fraternity with an emboldened sense confidence and that effects those around them.

One participant links fraternal behavior to how the school's administration deals with incidents of sexual violence.

See, Morehouse has a lot of fraternities. And I'm not talking about their actual fraternities. I'm talking about, like the 'glee club fraternity.' The 'guys who graduated 4 years ago but is still around fraternity.' And a lot of those people have a lot of pull when it comes to the Deans and all that stuff. So those are the people who you really need to worry about when it comes to information spreading and getting back administration and officials and stuff. It's a lot of those guys (Morehouse C'2012).

Some participants attributed some of the students' hypermasculine, or hyper-competitive, behavior to a hyperawareness of the school's community of openly gay students. Some students acted in ways that distinctly disassociated themselves from gay students.

And, let's see what else I can remember about the predicament of Morehouse, and why they were extra…hypermasculine. Well because of the reputation. You got a lot of people that's like, 'Man I go to Morehouse and I'm not gay. So. You know?' (Morehouse C'2015).

Yeah. I think it was to combat the femininity on campus. The guys that are homosexual, they're not going to hide it. You know, you might not agree with it, but I think people would automatically vibrate the other way to disassociate themselves with them. So,

you'll get a lot of guys just doing the most basically. Just to make sure that their rep isn't

tainted or associated with that. We definitely saw a lot of that (Morehouse C'2015).

I think that, as a whole, is an issue at Morehouse. Just because of the gay culture there. I

think guys are more susceptible to brag, more susceptible to fight. More susceptible to

being loud, being seen. Anything you can link to hypermasculinity, I've seen it at

Morehouse. And I think it's because guys feel like they have to do extra just to prove

they're not gay. Just because they go to Morehouse (Morehouse C'2015).

This emergent theme is interesting because the participants largely agreed on hypermasculinity

as a campus-wide issue but attributed its presence to several different facets of campus life. This

can be indicative of just how pressing the issue may be. If hyper-competitive dating,

overconfidence/elitism, frat behavior, and the desire to disassociate one's self from the

population of gay students all encourage hypermasculine behavior amongst the students at

Morehouse, then it becomes easier to the issue as a pervasive one. It also becomes interesting to

think about how the issue of hypermasculinity works with regard to the students at Spelman and

the relationships between the students of the two institutions.

4.1.3   Awareness and the SpelHouse Relationship

All of the participants indicated that the relationship between Morehouse and Spelman

was a positive and beneficial one. They all expressed that the daily atmosphere between the two

schools was comfortable and enjoyable. A few commented on the notion that even though the

schools are separate institutions, they interact so often that some students feel like they would if

they attended a coed institution.

It's a beautiful thing. You got black people, who are confident. They're the smartest of the smartest and the best of the best, from all of their high schools all over the nation, and they're all in one place. You got great minds and everybody's fashion forward and everybody's…what's the word I'm looking for… I guess just confident in their place at Morehouse and Spelman. Everyone feels like they've earned their spot there. Everyone's the best from where they come from. So, it's great. It's a beautiful thing (Morehouse C'2014).

Because I feel like the atmosphere at Morehouse is almost a coed one. Because of the proximity to Clark and Spelman and how mixed the experiences are in terms of the event spaces are shared, the sports events are shared, the classrooms are shared. I never really got like a, or felt like I had an all-guys schools experience, it just felt like a coed school (Morehouse C'2014).

Yes, the two balance each other out. Yeah, they play off each other when it comes to prestige. Spelman is one of the top elite schools out there as well, as far as HBCU's. They say iron sharpens iron, and that's how Spelman and Morehouse are (Morehouse C'2015).

And I think it's more so a 'we all look out for each other type of thing,' and I think that stands way more than the issues between to two schools (Morehouse C'2015).

Though all the participants spoke to the positive relationship between Spelman and Morehouse, they all also speak to the contentions between the two. Most often, they identified times that

Spelman students spoke out against the rape culture and sexual violence that occurs on Morehouse's campus. Additionally, most participants also gave credit to Spelman students for expanding their views and awareness on rape culture.

> No. It just was never a point of emphasis, it never really came up. Other than, I guess the outrage from the Spelman community, and seeing a lot of people talk on twitter, and seeing like…I think there may have been a panel discussion at some point in time about that. I think that hearing the Spelman students talk, I got some understanding of the range of sexual assault that can take place (Morehouse C'2014).

> It was a big deal. Because Spelman has always had discussions and dialogue on the subject (Morehouse C'2012).

> Unfortunately, the incidents were plenty. I remember the demonstrations, the rumors, and just outcries from Spelman about unaddressed sexual assault (Morehouse C'2015).

> You know, they wrote on King's Chapel that Morehouse doesn't take sexual assault seriously. They're posting signs on Spelman's campus that Spelman and Morehouse do not take sexual assault very seriously. And so, you know, I thought, 'Man that's kind of radical.' But once you read stories about things that have happened at Morehouse in the past, from senior year…and 2006 when 150 Spelman students protested that sexual assault isn't being taken seriously, you understand where they're coming from. I didn't get it at first, but the more you read about it, the more it's like, 'Damn, these campuses don't care' (Morehouse C'2016).

Looking into the relationship between Morehouse and Spelman as an emergent theme is significant because this study is concerned with how the students' perceptions of rape culture and sexual violence affect the students at Spelman. While the participants spoke of a positive relationship between the two schools in general, it is interesting to note that the majority of them spoke to how it was Spelman students who would spark the conversations around sexual violence. It is indicative of the strong sense of indifference toward the subject that was common throughout the semi-structured interview data.

4.1.4   *Homosociality & Apathy*

When asked, all participants, save one, expressed that if someone they knew on campus committed sexual assault, that person would get away with it. This was one of the biggest, most telling finds from the study. As addressed in the previous section, the participants acknowledged their awareness of the rape culture at Morehouse. However, apathy toward rape culture was a common thread in the interview data, especially in relation to friendships, or "choosing a side." There was a matter-of-factness approach to sexual violence.

Everybody's not down with it. Not all guys are participating in like, trains and stuff like that. But there are a percentage of guys that know about it and go on with their daily lives like nothing happened. And I've never come across it, but it's just a part of it (Morehouse C'2015).

That's part of the whole culture too. They know if they tell their friend, or their friend finds out, or even if their friend is there, they're not gonna tell, if anything they'll wait until the backlash and tell bro he gotta be careful and watch out. And it's not a big deal (Morehouse C' 2017).

Yeah. I recall a specific incident, of course I won't say the person's name, actually a friend of mine who was accused of something. I felt like because I [was] close to the person, and knew them pretty well, and knew their situation pretty well, I feel like I believe that person's side of the story. And also, the people who were in the vicinity of the situation and got to hear everyone's side, so it made it easier to believe this person. But I never knew the women's side either, so I don't really know. In the AUC period, whenever things happen, usually people affiliate themselves with the school that they went to, or the people that they know. And I think that goes both ways (Morehouse C'2014).

A lot of the times, with a female victim, we would hear about it and it would be like "mums the word." Like a hush fell over the room. Because if it doesn't involve us, we don't want to be associated with it (Morehouse C'2015).

I also think that, I think it's a very tricky subject in the sense that whenever you're talking about something that is between like male or female, or between black or white, or whenever it's just a clear defined division between the person that's committing an act and the victim of an act, people tend to choose sides based on who they can identify with and think that there's cases where guys have been wrongly accused and have suffered for it and there have been times where women have accused somebody who actually did something and they've suffered for it because the person got away with it (Morehouse C'2016).

Sure, it's possible to leave without understanding any of that. A lot of my understanding

came from before I went to school. If somebody were to make it that far without knowing

that it's not okay to put a molly in her drink and she don't even know it. Then yeah, they

probably still out there doing that (Morehouse C'2012).

This section incorporated the most quotes from the semi-structured interview data than the other

three emergent themes in order to portray how much of the data spoke to the idea of indifference

toward sexual violence against Spelman students. Only one participant indicated that rape culture

and the issue of sexual violence on campus bothered him. This was because a friend of his had

been sexually assaulted during her time at Spelman. All other participants maintained their "it is

what it is" tone toward talking about instances of sexual violence.

4.2 Social Media

An analysis of the 92 #WeKnowWhatYouDid tweets yielded exceedingly different

findings than the semi-structured interviews. This can be attributed to the differences in whose

perceptions were being studied. Where the interviews captured the voices of Morehouse

students, the tweets that were analyzed were overwhelmingly voices of Spelman students.

Apathy was replaced with passion. The major emergent theme of the hashtag was one of support,

but this can be broken down further into six different categories of tweets: informational tweets,

appreciation of action tweets, tweets that responded to claims of defamation or slander, tweets

that offered support for survivors, tweets of support from male tweeters, and reaction tweets.

4.2.1 Informational Tweets (15.4%)

Fourteen of the tweets associated with the hashtag were considered as informational

tweets. Tweets that were relaying news of what was happening on campus through the duration

of the #WeKnowWhatYouDid campaign. These tweets were neutral in emotionality but did not come from news media accounts or accounts associated with either of the institutions. One user tweeted: "King's Chapel November 9th 8:30 am #WeKnowWhatYouDid," along with two pictures of the campus chapel defaced with the words, "Practice what you preach Morehouse. End rape culture."

4.2.2   Appreciation of Action Tweets (18.7%)

Seventeen tweets were contextualized as expressing relief, joy, and excitement that someone had taken action against the silencing of victims at Spelman and Morehouse. They used capitalized letters, exclamation marks, emojis and gifs (moving images) to express a heightened appreciativeness of the radical campaign. A majority of these tweets expressed "it's been a long time coming" sentiments, and many tweeters were exited for the next steps or wanted to get involved. A couple of tweeters make their feelings known:

> If you need more help printing flyers I can help. Hell, I'll make them rain down on the
> Oval! #WeKnowWhatYouDid
> DROP THE NAMES. DON'T PROTECT THESE PREDATORS.
> #WeKnowWhatYouDid

4.2.3   Response to Defamation/Slander Claims Tweets (12%)

Eleven tweets were counterarguments to claims that posting the accused abusers' names around campus could be considered to be defamation or slander. While many Morehouse students expressed these sentiments at the time of the campaign, it seems very few utilized the hashtag. Thus, the outcries of defamation and slander were absent from the Twitter analysis. However, the response to such claims could be contextualized. These tweets expressed that those

claiming defamation were excusing the acts of the accused and were asserting that reputation of these students was more significant than the health and safety of the victims. One user tweeted:

IT'S ONLY DEFAMATION IF ITS NOT TRUE. That is all. #WeKnowWhatYouDid

Another shared:

so it's clear that some of you would rather protect rapists, reputations, and school property instead of protecting the actual survivors who are experiencing trauma. it's disgusting. #WeKnowWhatYouDid

4.2.4   Support for Survivors Tweets (26.4%)

There were 24 tweets that purely intended to offer support to the victims of sexual assault. These tweets accounted for the majority of tweets associated with the hashtag. Many tweeters realized that the #WeKnowWhatYouDid campaign may trigger those who have survived sexual violence and are still dealing with trauma. Many of these tweets encouraged survivors to engage in acts of self-care and assured survivors that they were not alone. One user shared:

What's happening in the AUC is both necessary and triggering. Take time to yourself today, survivors. You deserve that. The rest of you, use this for accountability purposes. #WeKnowWhatYouDid

 Another user tweeted:

#WeKnowWhatYouDid this is a lot. Please take time for yourself to sit. My door is wide open, please cry, please go to counseling, please stand your ground. Those people are definitely not the only predators, please denounce sexual violence, friend or not.

Another shared:

My heart goes out to any survivors in the AUC right now – we support you

#WeKnowWhatYouDid

4.2.5   Male Support Tweets (13.2%)

Twelve tweets were contextualized as Morehouse students offering their support for
survivors and the campaign. While the response to defamation tweets indicated that the reaction
from Morehouse was generally a negative one, these tweets offered positive thoughts and
affirmations from male tweeters and Morehouse students. Some of them expressed the same
sentiments as the appreciation of action tweets. One tweeter shared:

Rapists getting exposed and rape apologists exposing themselves. Its lit.

#WeKnowWhatYouDid

Another tweeted:

I stand with the victims and survivors of sexual assault at Morehouse and Spelman

College. Love to you all. #WeKnowWhatYouDid

Another tweeter shared:

Woke up to a storm this morning! Outside and on Twitter, but #WeKnowWhatYouDid is

powerful and takes a lot of courage. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere.

#EndRapeCulture

4.2.6   Reaction Tweets (14.3%)

The remaining 12 tweets were contextualized as reaction tweets. Most often, these tweets
were neutral in opinion and were simply indicative of a tweeter's initial reaction to the radical
demonstration. Many of the reaction tweets were accompanied by a gif or a meme. One user
tweeted:

Soooo many questions. #WeKnowWhatYouDid

5   DISCUSSION

5.1   Discussion

This study has a lot of moving parts. It sought to capture the culture of the only Black college for men in the country; it sought to explore campus rape culture; and it sought in engage in an exploration of male socialization and homosociality. In order to adequately accomplish all three, this study employed three separate data collection methods and reviewed scholarly literature on homosociality, rape culture, Black masculinity, and previously published literature on the AUC itself. This chapter will synthesize all the components of this study and discuss how the findings shed some light on the study's research questions:

1. Does the socialization of young Black men at Morehouse College affect the students understanding of rape culture?

2. Does homosociality play a role in the promotion of rape culture at Morehouse College and Spelman College?

In addition to exploring the ways in which the findings answer the central research questions, it is significant to point out the ways in which the findings affirm the concepts explored in Chapter two, and how they work together in Morehouse culture and rape culture. In terms of homosociality, the participants spoke to several of the facets addressed in the literature review. The clear concerns the participants expressed about the community of gay students on campus reflect Bird's (1996) assumption about making sharp distinctions between hegemonic and non-hegemonic masculinities. Being hyperaware of the gay students on campus pushed some students to disassociate themselves in ways the participants felt were hyper-competitive or hyper-masculine. Going further, as Flood (2008) posits, oftentimes homosocial bonds between the Morehouse students had an effect on sexual relations with women. As one participant stated, "It

wasn't even about getting the women sometimes. It was a way to flex like a guy who doesn't care about how much play he gets. It was a way of fraternizing." The data reflected another one of Flood's (2008) assumptions in the way that one of the participants, who's friend had been accused of sexual assault, chose to believe his friend though the participant admittedly knew nothing of the victim's side of the story. While it makes sense to believe a friend over a stranger, it is peculiar to blindly believe one side of the story. Especially when, statistically speaking, it would be more likely for the victim to be telling the truth as opposed to falsely accusing the participant's friend. Only somewhere between 2% and 8% of accused rapists are proven to have been falsely accused. However, as insinuated by Flood (2008), male-male friendships must take precedence over male-female relations.

Interestingly though, as #WeKnowWhatYouDid would indicate, at Morehouse, the students do not even have to identify as friends in order to negate or dismiss accusations made by a victim. The response to defamation tweets suggested that Morehouse tweeters were coming to the defense of the accused abusers not as friends, but just as fellow Morehouse students. This is where the significance of the institution's brand and reputation come into play. As one tweeter shared, "This is how y'all sound on my timeline: reputation > abuse. At the end of the day, names being dropped got so many people to care when it shouldn't require all of that. #WeKnowWhatYouDid." It becomes evident that Morehouse students will rally behind another Morehouse student's reputation, rather than the actual victim. The cries of defamation also become indicative of a common narrative in Black communities about trying to sabotage a "good Black man" with accusations of assault. As addressed in Chapter two with the discussion of Kevin Brown's (1992) article, "The Social Construction of a Rape Victim: Stories of African American

Males About the Rape of Desiree Washington," the men he spoke with identified Mike Tyson as the victim of defamation, rather than identifying Desiree as the victim of assault.

As far as identifiable variables of rape culture, there were plenty. In all three methods of data collection, the normalization of rape culture was prevalent. As defined in Chapter two, rape culture means being surrounded by everyday cultural phenomena that validates sexual violence and lead people to believe that rape is normal and inevitable. One pressing example of the normalization of rape would be the reaction tweets yielded by the #WeKnowWhatYouDid search. Where most tweets were considerate of potential survivors on the timeline, the reaction tweets seemed to take amusement from the unfolding drama by using memes and gifs to accompany their tweets. Furthermore, it is important to note how the participants themselves played in rape culture at Morehouse. When asked, all of the participants indicated that Morehouse students do not feel a sense of entitlement to Spelman students. One participant even noted, "I don't think it's ever entitlement. I never even heard that kind of talk." However, participant observation notes taken during the week of SpelHouse Homecoming 2018 are inundated with occurrences of unwanted touching, grabbing, and catcalling of both Spelman students and alumnae at the hands of Morehouse Men and alumni. And while those occurrences may not necessarily negate what the participant said, they are indicative of an attitude of indifference Morehouse students have toward the rape culture on campus.

As mentioned in Chapter four, one of the biggest finds of the semi-structured interviews is that all of the participants, except for one, thought that if someone they knew committed sexual assault on campus, that person would get away with it. This sentiment is indicative of an acknowledgement of rape culture and an apathetic approach to it. Similarly to how Giraldi & Monk-Turner (2017), in Chapter two, found that the insinuation of sexual violence on behalf of a

fraternity on a college campus was met with indifference and even acceptance, much of the acknowledgments of sexual violence, on behalf of the participants, was met with apathy. While most of the participants assured that they had never, and would never, partake in sexual violence, they spoke of it as if it were commonplace. One participant notes, "…the conversation is not that of education, prevention, or confrontation. As far as, if we know somebody who talks about it in a certain way that seems quite frankly kind of rapey. But it's like 'Ugh, I hope they get their stuff together. But that's not my business.' More so than, 'Let's do something about it.'" The reluctance to hold other Morehouse students accountable for their actions and ignorance, explains the exasperated tones seen in some of the appreciation of action tweets. One user shared, "#WeKnowWhatYouDId…there comes a time when people get tired…tired of being silenced…tired of being ignored…tired of assault." In this manner, the ways in which homosociality/socialization, Black masculinity, and rape culture work together on Morehouse's campus become evident. As indicated in the Findings section, Morehouse students are socialized to understand sexual violence as unimportant from the moment they step onto campus. Thus, many of them view sexual violence from an apathetic point of view. Additionally, with the looming presence of the school's reputation, which some think has already taken a hit due to the school's community of openly gay students, Morehouse students become eager to protect a reputation of a student when he is accused of sexual violence. Thus, dismissing the victims' often true claims of assault. This, in turn, perpetuates the normalization of rape culture on campus; which, as #WeKnowWhatYouDid, the participants, and history would indicate, Spelman students have protested against for quite some time.

5.2   Conclusion

From the data, it can be concluded that the socialization of young Black men at Morehouse College does affect the students' understanding of rape culture by encouraging apathy and indifference. While hypermasculinity, homosociality, and all of the interrelated concepts explored throughout the study have a hand in perpetuating rape culture, it is the understanding of sexual violence as inevitable and unimportant that hurts the relationship between Morehouse students and Spelman students the most.

This understanding is not particular to the Spelman and Morehouse community. While this study is dedicated to exploring the specific culture of Morehouse as an all-male HBCU, the discoveries made do not simply apply to those that choose to attend the institution. As mentioned in the Introduction, and throughout the text, sexual violence on and off campus is pervasive. According to RAINN (Rape, Abuse, & Incest National Network), a person is sexually assaulted every 98 seconds ("About Sexual Assault," 2018). Yet, only about 6 out of every 1000 rapists will end up in prison ("About Sexual Assault," 2018). Sexual violence is a problem everywhere.

However, this study's purpose is to take a large problem and study it in a smaller community in efforts to identify what dominates the Black male perception when it comes to sexual violence. Sexual Violence is a problem in Black communities too. Understanding the male perception of sexual violence is significant since, as discussed by Katz (2006) in the Introduction, it is largely at the hands of men. By funneling the scope of this study to center on Black college students at Spelman and Morehouse, the study was able to explore Black masculinity as it is performed at Morehouse and how that affects the rape culture of both campuses.

This study also aims to serve as a starting point for future research in the field of African American Studies. Further investigation into male socialization, homosociality, Black masculinity and their relationship to rape culture in Black communities can shed light onto why the Black male perception of sexual violence is largely indifferent. In the realm of African American Studies, this study aims to be considered in a scholarly conversation that works toward a more progressive gender politic not only on Black campuses, but in Black communities as a whole.

5.3 Limitations & Recommendations for Future Research

The researcher encountered several limitations while conducting the study. Firstly, while the study can speak to triangulation through the use of several different data collection methods, it is evident that the voices of current Morehouse and Spelman students are missing. In order to formally or informally interview current students at either institution, the research would have had to undergo IRB processes at both institutions. As IRB processes can oftentimes take months to complete, the researcher had to forego speaking to current students in the interest of finishing the study in time. If future researchers have the time, it is recommended to take the precautions necessary to speak to current students to fully grasp the cultural climate of the campuses in real time. Another limitation was encountered during tweet collection. As the tweets were collected 11 months after the incident, the tweets had to be captured manually leaving room for human error. Furthermore, collecting tweets as data means that it will be lacking in demographic information. Therefore, age race, and other self-reported characteristics could not identify who exactly was being represented in the twitter analysis. Furthermore, there was no way of knowing if Twitter's API yielded all of the tweets associated with the hashtag during that time period.

Another limitation that should be taken into consideration emerged during participant observation. While the researcher took on the role of complete observant, it should be noted that the researcher was formerly a part of the community being studied. Even though the researcher observed in a removed capacity, her positionality played a role in what was considered to be relevant information that needed to be collected. Additionally, as the researcher was female, there was no way of knowing if the male participants of the semi-structured interviews felt comfortable enough to divulge information that was pertinent to the topic. A recommendation for future research would be to recruit a male interviewer, preferably one that attended the same school as the participants. As far as the demographic information for the participants of the semi-structured interviews, the researcher only collected name, age, hometown, what year they began classes at Morehouse, and what year they finished. Sexual orientation was not collected which limits how the study could explore the role sexuality played in the responses from the participants. Knowing now that the school's GBT community plays a role in some of the themes explored, a recommendation for future research would be to include sexual orientation in the demographic information, as well as include interview questions about the heteronormative culture of the campus and how that affects who is able to be a part of the Morehouse brotherhood. It may also be interesting to expand the sampling selection for the semi-structured interviews. In addition to current Morehouse students, recruiting older alumni may yield findings indicative of the ways in which rape culture has changed at Morehouse. Also, recruiting current Spelman women will bolster the research and round out the findings.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Informed Consent

Georgia State University
Informed Consent
Title: An Ethnographic Exploration of Male Socialization and Rape Culture at a Black College for Men
Principal Investigator: Dr. Jamae Morris
Student Principal Investigator: Eva Cooke

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to explore the connections between male socialization at Morehouse College and rape culture. The central research question asks: how does the socialization of young Black men at Morehouse College affect the student's understanding of rape culture? This study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of male homosocial behaviors and its connection to rape culture. You are invited to take part in this research study because you are between the ages of 18-26 who identifies as a Black man and attend/attended Morehouse. A total of 14 people will be recruited for this portion of the study. Participation will require up to an hour and a half of your time for a single interview.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will discuss with the Student PI, Eva Cooke, when and where the interview will take place. The interviews may take place on campus, at the researcher's home, the participant's home, a coffee shop, etc. The interview will take between 60 minutes to an hour and a half. The participant will only be expected to interview only once. The interview will be recorded. Once completed, the you will receive compensation and a copy of the informed consent form.

Future Research

Researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent for you.

Risks

This study is considered to be minimal risk. Therefore, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life. However, the sensitive nature of this study may cause you slight discomfort. You have the option to withdraw from the interview or stop the line of questioning at any point during the interview

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you personally. it is possible that you may gain knowledge of personal insights in regard to the subject of the study. Overall, we hope to gain information about male socialization and rape culture that will lead to more progressive discussion about gender relations in Black communities.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is not to take part in this study.

Compensation

You will be compensated for your time. You will receive a $10 Starbucks gift card for participating in this study. No other compensation will be offered

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions or stop participating at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time, this will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Jamae Morris and Eva Cooke
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The information you provide will be stored on a password- and firewall- protected computer. The key that will be used to identify research participants will be stored separately from the data to protect privacy on a flash drive. Audio recordings from interviews will be stored in a password protected device. Audio recordings will be destroyed 10 months after data collection. Your name and other facts that might point to you will not appear when we present this study or publish its results. The findings will be summarized and reported in group form. You will not be identified personally.

Contact Information

Contact Eva Cooke at (404) 695-9865 or ecooke3@student.gsu.edu

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

Contact the GSU Office of Human Research Protections at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu

- if you have questions about your rights as a research participant
- if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please sign below.

_____

Printed Name of Participant

_____   _____

Signature of Participant   Date

_____   _____
Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent   Date

Appendix B: Participant Observation Protocol

Guidelines for Participant Observation

As this study is geared toward capturing a culture of the Spelman and Morehouse campuses with regard to male socialization and rape culture, participant observation is necessary. The student PI will engage in participation throughout the data collection process which includes semi-structured interviews with 10-14 people.

Locations: Morehouse College and Spelman College. There are places on both campuses where students interact socially between classes and after school hours. These sites include:
- Lower Manley Student Center (Spelman College)
- Upper Manley Student Center (Spelman College)
- Front Gate (Spelman College)

Events: There are several events that take place throughout the semester where students socialize and interact absent of academic involvement. Some of these events include:
- Market Friday: Weekly event on Spelman's campus (Lower Manley) that includes music, food, and local vendors. Oftentimes there are step shows and pageant unveilings during this event.
- Hump Wednesday: Weekly event on Morehouse's campus that includes music and performers. Oftentimes there are step shows and pageant unveilings during this event.
- Pageants: Each dorm, fraternity, sorority and campus organization engage in pageants to choose representatives. Pageants are huge events for both campuses and often call for attendees to dress up.

Questions to answer: The researcher will be looking to answer certain questions by the actions of the students at these locations and events. These questions include:
- In what ways do Morehouse Students and Spelman students interact with each other on a day-to-day basis?
- How do Morehouse students talk to each other?
- In what ways do Morehouse students show perceived admiration and respect toward Spelman students?
- In what ways do Morehouse students show perceived disrespect toward Spelman students?

The researcher aims to engage in participant observation 5-10 times. Market Friday and Hump Wednesday take place between the hours of 3pm to 6pm. Pageants usually take place between the hours of 8pm to 11pm. Those are the hours the researcher plans to engage

in participant observation. The researcher will take extensive field notes. Interactions will not be audio recorded and the researcher will not be personally speaking to current students.

Appendix C: Semi-Structured Interview Guide

Questionnaire

* I just want to remind you not to use any names or share information that can identify other people

1. Background: How old are you? Where are you from?
2. What year did you start at Morehouse and why did you choose to go there?
3. What do you think distinguishes Morehouse from other HBCU's?
4. Describe the atmosphere of typical day on campus and typical interactions with other men of Morehouse.
5. From your perspective, does attending a college with all men encourage hyper-competitive and/or hyper-masculine behaviors? Give me an example.
6. Describe an experience where you encountered, or were even involved in, such behaviors?
7. How do you think the culture on campus affected your interactions with women while in college?
8. With Spelman right next door, how does attending an all-male school affect male/female relationships? Like interactions at parties, or other social aspects of AUC life.
9. Do you think men at Morehouse feel entitled to the women at Spelman? Why do you believe this?
10. Do you recall any incidents of alleged sexual assault during your time on campus? How did you feel about it?
11. How do guys typically talk about these incidents? Do they believe the women?
12. How does the administration at Morehouse engage with sexual assault awareness? How do they handle sexual assault cases?
13. After being a Morehouse student, do you have a deeper understanding of consent, rape and sexual assault. Tell me about it.
14. If someone you knew on campus committed a sexual assault, do you think he would get away with it? Why, or why not?
15. The purpose of this is to gain a clear understanding of the male perception of male/female relationships on campus, is there anything you'd like to talk about? Is there something I am missing or need to understand?