

**A Discursive Analysis of YouTube Mediated Reactions to
Filmic Depictions of Campus Sexual Assault**

By

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Declaration

DECLARATION: I, S. L. Botha, declare that the thesis, “**A discursive analysis of YouTube mediated reactions to filmic depictions of campus sexual assault**” submitted for the qualification of MA (English) at the University of the Free State is my own independent work.

All the references that I have used have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I furthermore declare that this work has not previously been submitted by me at another university or faculty for the purpose of obtaining a qualification.



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SIGNATURE

28 January 2021

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DATE

Abstract

Abstract

This dissertation examines the manner in which the rape of women by men is constructed in online user-generated content. The study utilises the comments section of the YouTube video trailer for the documentary film *The Hunting Ground* (2015), as well as the comments sections of several YouTube video clips concerning the #RURelativeList. Through a comparative analysis of comments to South African and United States YouTube videos, feminist discursive psychology (FDP) is employed to investigate linguistic patterns and trends which potentially construct permissive attitudes towards campus sexual assault. The study found that respondents for both the South African and US contexts engage in mitigating discourse strategies when discussing campus sexual assault. However, while this dissertation concludes that both South African and US online communities potentially constitute rape-prone environments, these strategies manifest in unique and distinct ways. Furthermore, common rape myths are largely eschewed in favour of new forms of victim blaming and myth making. Respondents largely employ three repertoires in their discussion of campus sexual assault: The false rape repertoire, the feminazi repertoire and the modesty repertoire.

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List of Acronyms

DP	Discursive psychology
FDP	Feminist discursive psychology

Table of Contents

Declaration	ii
Abstract	iii
Acknowledgements	iv
List of Acronyms	v
Table of Contents	vi
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	8
2.1 Introduction and Overview of the Chapter.....	8
2.2 Feminist Critical Discursive Psychology.....	9
2.3 Research Concerning Rape and Sexual Assault.....	12
2.4 Rape in South Africa.....	19
2.5 Campus Sexual Assault: The Local Research.....	20
2.6 Rape Culture and Social Media.....	25
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	29
3.1 Introduction.....	29
3.2 Data Collection and Procedures.....	33
3.3 Limitations of Qualitative Research and Limitations of Analysing Social Media..	38
CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS	42
4.1 Introduction.....	42

4.2	The False Rape Repertoire	43
4.3	The Feminazi Repertoire	60
4.4	The Modesty Repertoire	66
CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS		75
5.1	Introduction	75
5.2	The False Rape Repertoire:	78
5.3	The Feminazi Repertoire:	81
5.4	The Modesty Repertoire (South African Videos)	83
5.5	Concluding Remarks	85
	5.5.1 Key findings	86
	5.5.2 Significance of the study	86
5.6	Limitations and Recommendations	87
REFERENCES.....		89
Appendix A: YouTube comments section for “The Hunting Ground – Official Trailer”		109
Appendix B: YouTube comments section for “Rhodes students form human barrier, protest topless against rape”		132
Appendix C: YouTube comments section for “Wits ‘naked’ protest: Students protest against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes”		133

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This study examines the manner in which the rape of women by men is constructed in online user-generated content. Rape has come to be understood within social and academic scholarship, both in South Africa and internationally, as an issue that exposes the existence of unequal and gendered power (Buiten & Naidoo, 2016: 537). In South Africa, sexual assault has long been considered a problem of epidemic proportions, and with staggering rape statistics, South Africa is frequently named the “rape capital of the world” (Dewey, 2013; Davis, 2015). Furthermore, sexual violence also occurs at an alarming rate on South African university campuses (Alabi, Oladimeji & Adeniyi, 2021; D’Avanzato, Bogen, Kuo, & Orchowski, 2021). However, sexual assault on university campuses has also recently become a topic of conversation in countries in the West, especially the United States of America (USA). This happened after the release of documentaries exposing the prevalence of rape on college campuses, and the light sentences afforded to convicted sex offenders such as Brock Turner, which has stimulated discussions around what has been termed as a ‘rape culture’ on university campuses.

Over the past few years, rape and campus sexual assault have become something of a talking point, entering the global cultural zeitgeist and garnering varying amounts of media attention. Many incidents and movements broke out largely simultaneously in a number of countries across the world. We almost seem to be seeing a shift in gendered politics due to easily accessible online mediums that allow for dialogue to proliferate. In the US, we saw the beginning of various movements aimed at combating sexual assault and harassment, including the #MeToo and #TimesUp movements. In late 2017, after an exposé in the *New York Times*, over 100

sexual abuse allegations against American film producer Harvey Weinstein began to surface, with some of these cases being decades old. In response to the Weinstein accusations, On 15 October 2017, film actress Alyssa Milano popularised the hashtag #MeToo by tweeting the following request to her twitter followers: “If you’ve been sexually harassed or assaulted write ‘me too’ as a reply to this tweet.” In 2020, Weinstein went on trial for sexual assault and was found guilty on two of the rape charges brought against him, receiving a 23-year prison sentence. The MeToo phrase had been used by activist Tarana Burke to encourage women to share their similar experiences in relation to sexual abuse, years prior to Milano appropriating the term. Thus, while feminist scholars and activists have long aimed at generating greater awareness around the everyday pervasiveness of sexual abuse, the #MeToo movement resulted in a largely unprecedented magnitude of media attention regarding sexual harassment and assault (Andreasen, 2021: 102).

While the incidents cited above are predominantly applicable to the USA, numerous cases over the years have forced the issue of sexual assault in South Africa into the collective public consciousness. As previously mentioned, South Africa has long faced a rape crisis. In her influential book, *Rape: A South African nightmare*, Pumla Dineo Gqola (2015) examines South Africa’s long and troubled history with rape. Additionally, this truly came to the forefront culturally during the infamous rape trial of then future South African President Jacob Zuma in 2006. Then Deputy President Jacob Zuma was accused of rape by Fezekile Ntsukela Kuzwayo (known as Khwezi). The trial amassed an enormous amount of media exposure as contested versions of the events were nationally disseminated and coverage of the event erupted into something of a spectacle. Ultimately, the charges against Zuma were dismissed after the sexual act was deemed consensual by the court. According to Reddy and Potgieter

(2006: 513), the court proceedings reflected “a test case for the rights and responsibilities enshrined in the law and legal procedure, and also for media ethics and reporting”. This trial exemplified why it is important to understand the historical and contextual events that propagandise societal, and largely patriarchal, constructions of gender and sexuality. The discursive meanings generated around the trial would also repeat themselves in future incidents.

Another such incident in South Africa is the topic of this study. In April of 2016, the names of eleven men along with ‘et al’ were divulged in an anonymous Facebook post. The post was titled as a *Reference list* to allude to the strict academic requirements concerning plagiarism in students’ work. Nothing further was mentioned in the post. No allegations, details or descriptions were offered (Seddon, 2016). This post would likely have amounted to nothing, but due to the fact that it was an open secret that the names on the list were generally considered as known rapists enrolled as students at Rhodes University, the post quickly went viral. This *Reference list* soon spurred collective action and students gathered together in protest to demand the removal of the listed students who were still studying at Rhodes. This led to the #EndRapeCulture campaign that erupted across university campuses in South Africa. As a result, national attention accumulated around campus sexual assault.

While students joined together in protest, police were called to these protests on several occasions and the actions undertaken by the students drew condemnation from Rhodes University management as well as vitriolic social media responses. While many denounced the protests, others expressed outrage against there being stronger punishments for plagiarism than sexual assault at universities. Two female students acted against some of the alleged perpetrators at Rhodes by dragging them out of their rooms, spitting on them and hitting them with empty water bottles. On 12 December

2017, the two women were found guilty of kidnapping, assault, defamation and insubordination in the High Court and banned from completing their studies and any further studies for life at Rhodes University (Gouws, 2018: 2).

As my study is concerned with the emergence of feminist activism and the dialogues surrounding campus sexual assault cross-culturally, this brings us to the USA, which has similarly experienced a recent public surge in interest around campus sexual assault. Rape is the most underreported crime in the United States (NSVRC, 2015), and some studies estimate as many as one in five women on US university campuses is sexually assaulted each year (Krebs, Lindquist, Warner, Fisher & Martin, 2009). Across the country, male and female college and university students engage in and maintain rape culture. Yale University is a prime example, with one of their fraternities caught chanting, “no means yes, yes means anal” in 2010 (Gasso & Greenberg, 2010). Likewise, the 2016 sentencing of Brock Turner to six months in county jail after he was convicted of three felonies for sexually assaulting and raping a Stanford University student, who had sent a remarkable open letter to her assailant, spurred many to call for action to be taken, including the then Vice President (and now current President) of the United States, Joe Biden.

It is important to note that in most of the recent prominent sexual assault cases, social media played a significant role in galvanising public awareness. The conversations online have had a substantial effect on shaping the collective discourse surrounding sexual abuse, and this study looks at the salient discursive meanings in a small online sample. Therefore, in order to ascertain the discursive constructs surrounding campus sexual assault comparatively, this study utilises the comments section of the online video trailer for the documentary film *The Hunting Ground* (2015), as well as the comments sections of several YouTube video clips concerning the

#RURReferenceList. Media discourses have the potential to set the narrative agenda around sexual violence, shaping its directions and possible outcomes (Buiten & Naidoo, 2016: 538). Thus, the media retain a significant role in instigating and influencing discussions regarding rape. These rape narratives become a catalyst for renewed discussions and activism about rape, with television shows, blog posts and online videos dedicating significant time to discussing the issue from a range of perspectives (Buiten & Naidoo, 2016: 539). This study intends to illustrate how attention around the issue of rape is catalysed in response to YouTube videos concerning the topic of campus sexual assault.

The dataset in question is comprised of approximately fifty viewer responses to several online YouTube videos concerning the topic of campus sexual assault. A user-generated-content space – YouTube – is investigated to determine whether it is an arena in which users contribute to the affirmation of rape culture through the mitigation and delegitimization of campus sexual assault. In the context of online consumption, YouTube retains a pivotal role as a tool of “mass self-communication” and is thus an ideal space for exploring and analysing user-generated representations of sexual assault (Rolando, Taddeo & Beccaria, 2016: 495). Consequently, YouTube communication was selected for its contemporary cultural significance and its influence in shaping global attitudes, ideas, values and traditions, as well as for the expedient platform it offers its users for the dissemination of this content. Furthermore, as of 2020, YouTube is the most visited online site, even surpassing other interactive social networking sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

With regards to a methodological framework, this research involves the qualitative analysis of naturally occurring language as used by respondents in the online comments sections of YouTube videos. To investigate how constructions of

sexual assault are linguistically realised by online commenters, key concepts and methods from feminist discursive psychology (FDP) are used in my endeavour to examine how “discursive practices can have material effects” (Ehrlich, 2002: 5). By using FDP, a qualitative methodology which, in the words of Locke and Yarwood (2017: 4), frames discourse, language and action as socially situated, the study sets out to understand some of the complexities of the linguistic construction of campus sexual assault. This entails identifying and analysing discursive repertoires for their constitutive role, their contextual functions and identity work (Augoustinos, Walker & Ngaire, 2014). Thus, FDP will enable the study to demonstrate through the analysis of user-generated content how social and cultural factors might be productive of rape.

In order for underlying patterns in the discourse of the respondents to be methodically identified, several procedures will be applied, including the concepts of “mitigation” and “intensification” as postulated by Krige and Oostendorp (2015) and Dosekun’s (2013) four interpretative “rape repertoires”. Whereas previous scholars have analysed the linguistic construction of rape in interviews, magazine articles and advice columns (see Sampert, 2010; Childress, 2016), this study will employ their strategies to demonstrate how the subject of campus sexual assault is actualised through linguistic processes specifically in online user-generated content. As viewers’ comments “do not publicly identify commenters and provides a space uninhibited by political correctness”, this type of online interaction may afford a certain level of freedom to reveal what would potentially not be tolerated in polite conversation and which might garner public disapproval (Loke, 2012: 238). Thus, as online comments are known to often be malicious, an analysis of this language will reveal underlying attitudes and beliefs which seldom appear in other forms of discourse.

An analysis of various dialogues and deliberations revolving around campus rape will enable me to identify patterns in how participants conceptualise this serious social issue. While numerous separate studies exist examining the discursive construction of rape in South Africa and in the USA, this study performs a comparative analysis in order to argue that despite profound cultural differences inherent in US and South African societies, campus rape culture operates in both countries in disturbingly similar ways. The manner in which these similarities and parallels are expressed will be explicated in forthcoming chapters of my study. Through ubiquitous rape myths which have become firmly inculcated and subsequently normalised, a deeply entrenched rape culture operates in both South Africa and the USA. In order to investigate campus sexual assault mitigating online phenomena, my dissertation will firstly delineate pertinent research and theory on the topic in the literature review chapter. Next, my methodology chapter will explain the relevant contextual framework utilised for my study. Following this, an analysis of the dataset will present the relevant findings. Finally, a discussion will elucidate the significance of these findings and present my conclusions on the topic.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction and Overview of the Chapter

In order to successfully investigate how campus rape is linguistically realised by online commenters, several key concepts and theories must be taken into consideration. Numerous studies have been conducted that explore the general issue of sexual assault and rape on university campuses and the related cultural dynamics (see Garrett-Gooding & Senter, 1987; Crosset, Benedict & McDonald, 1995; Armstrong, Hamilton & Sweeney, 2006; Mohler-Kuo, Dowdall & Koss, 2014; Fedina, Holmes & Backes, 2018). While these studies are certainly significant and highly influential, what most of them (and many more) have in common is that they largely attend to the causes and prevalence of campus rape, as well as providing possible strategies and recommendations to address the issue. However, to successfully address the problem that is rape on university campuses, we must first understand why this problem continues to persist in the first place. Most research on the topic ignores the role of language and the power of discourses to shape both subjective and social realities (Dosekun, 2007: 1). The impact of social media with regards to campus sexual assault, despite its mass-propagating properties, is also neglected. Thus, as language can potentially function as a “discursive resource which individuals utilize to perform various discursive functions”, the analysis of discursive constructions of the campus rape problem may provide us with insight into how this problem is perceived and perpetuated (Charlebois, 2010: 699). The present chapter will proceed to discuss the major concepts and theories relating to FDP, rape and campus sexual assault, as well as YouTube and online social media.

2.2 Feminist Critical Discursive Psychology

This study employs FDP as a theoretical framework. FDP has much to offer this study with regards to analysing the discursive strategies that inform respondents' accounts. According to Speer (2001: 109), discursive psychology (DP) is a rapidly evolving field that lends itself to critical feminist research. Potter (2001: 104) conceives DP as an approach that addresses psychological matters in terms of how they figure in discourse. When it comes to DP, features of speech are perceived to carry out functional purposes (Edwards, 2005). Thus, according to Zulkffli and Rashid (2016: 193), psychological themes like memory, attitude and belief are "susceptible to be manipulated through talk in order to achieve the speakers' rhetorical intention". Consequently, the performative nature of language is prioritised.

One of the early contributions of DP was to offer a different perspective on the relationship between gender, language and power than previous work had taken (Locke & Yarwood, 2017). Studies using DP are often concerned with the ways people use gender in talk and how sexism is accounted for (see Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003; Magnusson, 2008; Lynch & Morison, 2016; Venäläinen, 2016). Identity work is "both enabled and restricted by broader social meanings that speakers actively take up, negotiate, and contest" (Taylor, 2006: 95). Due to its broad focus on the performative and rhetorical aspects of human speaking and thinking, DP, especially as it has been developed by feminist researchers, has been an important analytical resource. Critical discursive psychology, as Edley (2001: 190-191) explains:

... aims to capture the paradoxical relationship that exists between discourse and the speaking subject. It acknowledges that people are, at the same time, both the products and the producers of discourse (cf. Billig, 1991), the masters

and the slaves of language (cf. Barthes, 1982). It aims to examine not only how identities are produced on and for particular occasions, but also how history or culture both impinge upon and are transformed by those performances.

As an offshoot of DP, FDP shares numerous similarities with DP. Just like DP, FDP is also concerned with the performative nature of discourse, and its penchant for identity work. However, FDP exists as a confluence of DP and feminism and will thus enable this study to account for agency in inherently feminist ways. Wetherell and Edley's research on masculinity (1998, 1999; Edley and Wetherell 1995, 1997, 1999; Wetherell, 1998) provides a significant contribution to debates at the heart of feminism and discursive psychology. Weatherall (2012: 463) highlights what she believes to be "the productive engagement between feminism and discursive psychology". Feminist engagement with DP has focused investigations into the production of gender and sexuality in texts and talk. Both DP and feminism have ideas in common about the constructed nature of social categories, such as gender. Thus, according to Weatherall (2012: 466), FDP assists in highlighting the complex, contradictory, changing and paradoxical ways in which gender inequalities persist. Moreover, FDP allows me to account for the mundane ways gender and sexuality are reproduced in talk.

My study sets out to understand some of the complexities of the linguistic construction of campus sexual assault. This entails identifying and analysing discursive repertoires for their constitutive role, their contextual functions and identity work (Augoustinos et al., 2014). Thus, feminist discursive psychology will enable this study to demonstrate through the analysis of user-generated content how social and cultural factors might be productive of rape. FDP is an adaptable conceptual framework which allows for the application of discursive psychological ideas to gender and other forms of inequality, and will help my study account for discursive constructions of gender

across two geographically and culturally distinct cases. Therefore, the amalgamation of DP and feminism allows gender in language to be approached as something that can be done, or performed.

Research involving FDP includes Magnusson and Marecek (2010), who detail an illustrative example of feminist discursive research on women's experiences of coercive heterosexual relations. Lynch and Morison (2016) employ feminist critical discursive psychology to inform their critical thematic analysis of South African newspapers in an effort to analyse resistant talk in South African mainstream media accounts of queer families. Magnusson (2008) also uses FDP in her analysis of anti-equality talk by heterosexual couples who participated in a Nordic study of daily life in families with children. Of note to the Magnusson (2008) study are the cultural resources that these couples enlisted to support their arguments. Furthermore, Reynolds and Wetherell (2003: 489) argue for the use of FDP in their research on the ways in which women defined as single “work with the typical constructions of their identity available in the public arena”. Morison, Macleod, Lynch, Mijas and Shivakumar (2015), make use of a feminist discursive psychological framework to analyse the computer-assisted communication of men and women concerning their childfree status. Key to this study was the identity work accomplished in the context of stigma surrounding people who are voluntarily childless (Morison et al., 2015).

When it comes to campus sexual assault, studies utilising FDP are surprisingly few. One of the most influential is the book *Accounting for rape: Psychology, feminism and discourse analysis in the study of sexual violence*, where Anderson and Doherty (2007) investigate everyday beliefs about rape. They synthesise DP and feminism in order to focus on the ‘accounts’ which are meant to excuse, justify or exonerate the “socially sanctionable behaviour” of those who perpetrate sexual misconduct

(Anderson & Doherty, 2007: 2). This approach to feminism, DP and sexual assault will be further elucidated in the methodology chapter of my study.

2.3 Research Concerning Rape and Sexual Assault

While all of the abovementioned studies are pertinent to the discursive conceptualisation of campus sexual assault, it would be impossible, however, to begin any study of this nature without mentioning Susan Brownmiller's 1975 ground-breaking book, *Against our will: Men, women, and rape*. The bestseller was one of the first books to define rape as a collective social and political problem rather than an individual crime of passion. In the 1950s and 1960s, most rape scholarship focussed on individual offenders, with sexual and mental disorders being blamed as the primary instigator for the 'deviant' behaviour of these 'sexual psychopaths' (see Brancale, Ellis & Doorbar, 1952; Charen, 1953; Gerbhard et al., 1965; Amir, 1967; Cohen, Seghorn & Calmas, 1969). The popular myths surrounding sexual assault in contemporary society are largely influenced by researchers during this period, who ascribed rape to singular instances of insanity, irresistible impulse and victim complicity (MacLeod, 2010: 16). Henceforth, such approaches often obfuscated diagnosis of sexual violence as structural, and the idea that the issue might be driven by economic, political, social and cultural dynamics and power relations was neglected.

Where previously the topic of rape had been shrouded in stigma and silence, *Against our will* served to outline a history of rape practices, spanning from antiquity to wartime rape. More importantly, Brownmiller (1975) identifies a number of deeply ingrained myths about rape: that it is motivated by uncontrollable male lust rather than violence, that female sexuality is inherently inviting of rape, and that women frequently 'cry rape'. *Against our will* offered a compelling counter-discourse about rape,

reframing it as an act of power that had the consequence of controlling female behaviour and moderating female bodily autonomy (Cohen, 2015). In other words, Brownmiller (1975) argued that rape was fundamental to the patriarchal domination of women. Furthermore, *Against our will* was considered radical as a result of Brownmiller's reframing of acquaintance rape and spousal rape. This examination of rape perpetrated by boyfriends and husbands challenged the conventional narrative of the rapist as a depraved stranger leaping out from behind the bushes late at night. As society continues to struggle with how to address the problem of sexual assault, Brownmiller's work remains relevant, as through her theory of rape as a means of social control and the socialisation inherent of normative gender roles, she laid the groundwork for contemporary theorisation surrounding 'rape culture'.

Another seminal piece of rape literature is Susan Estrich's 1987 pioneering book on the subject, *Real rape*. In this influential work, Estrich (1987) reflects upon the social control and regulation exercised by the discourses of the legal system in relation to perpetrators and victims of sexual violence. While Estrich (1987) does not contemplate how sexual offences are discursively constructed in online user-generated content specifically, she does explore why many cases that meet the legal definition of rape are not considered as such. Notably, *Real rape* introduced and popularised the concepts of 'stranger rape' (which is also labelled 'real rape'), and 'simple rape'. Estrich (1987: 4) explains that in the case of 'real rape' – when an unknown, armed, black assailant attacks a white woman – the victim's allegations are much more likely to be regarded as authentic. However, when instances of what Estrich (1986) calls 'simple rape' occur, that is when a woman is forced to engage in sex with a date, an acquaintance, or even her own husband, and no weapon is involved and there is no explicit evidence of physical injury, society is much less likely to perceive this rape as

criminal. Thus, the discourse surrounding sexual assault socially determines the categories of the 'legitimate' perpetrator versus the 'legitimate' victim.

The discourses surrounding what constitutes legitimate rape have an arduous and contentious history. Rape victims have long struggled to solidify the legitimacy of their accusations against the violence perpetrated against them, and the contemporary debates around campus rape display a disturbing similarity, where the dichotomy of the legitimate victim versus the legitimate perpetrator is frequently conceived through discourse. As a victim of rape herself, Estrich admits in the introduction of her book that in many respects she is "a lucky rape victim" as everyone agrees that she was "really raped" (Estrich, 1987: 3). Estrich (1987: 3) further posits that: "No one suggests that I was 'asking for it'. No one wonders, at least out loud, if it was really my fault. No one seems to identify with the rapist". As a result of the fact that she was violently attacked by an armed black man with whom she was not acquainted in the parking lot of her own house, no one questions her status as a victim.

Innumerable studies contend with how sexual assault is rationalised and minimised. Male participants in a study by Ben-David and Schneider (2005) tended to minimise the severity of rape as a crime. 'Real rape' was conceptualised as sexual penetration of a young, vulnerable virgin by an armed man. In this scenario, the woman escapes from the perpetrator after the crime and reports it to the police (Ben-David & Schneider, 2005: 395). Even today, the expectation exists that victims should report sexual violence immediately. There, the concomitant assumption is often maintained that any delay casts doubt on the veracity of the accusation. This overlooks not only hindrances to contacting law enforcement, but also power relations between the perpetrator and victim, as well as harassment and intimidating behaviour from police. Additionally, a previous relationship/association between a victim and perpetrator

would lead to assessment of the rape as a less serious incident. Research findings in a study by Viki, Abrams and Masser (2004) confirm the perception that acquaintance rape is a lesser violation and warrants decreased punishment compared to stranger rape.

Culturally embedded myths and misconceptions around real rape serve to facilitate the creation and maintenance of a rape culture. For the purposes of this study, I will elucidate certain pertinent definitions of 'rape culture' in academic literature. According to White and Smith (2004: 174), rape culture refers to "multiple pervasive issues that allow rape and sexual assault to be excused, legitimized and viewed as inevitable". Furthermore, according to Buchwald, Fletcher and Roth (2005: xi), rape culture is "a complex set of beliefs that encourages male sexual aggression and supports violence against women. [...] A rape culture condones physical and emotional terrorism against women and presents it as the norm". Rape culture makes this dehumanisation normal and allows sexual violence to become mundane, seen as almost inevitable. Therefore, rape culture provides the foundation for sexual violence by normalising it, thus allowing sexual assault or rape to be excused under the notion that 'boys will be boys' or 'he's just a man', operating under the hegemonic assumption that heterosexual men cannot control their sexuality. According to Hildebrand and Najdowski (2015: 1059):

This "rape culture" is reflected in our society by the pervasive endorsement of rape myths and sexual objectification of women, both of which are legitimized by everyday media. One potential consequence of living in a rape culture is that individuals may themselves come to endorse rape myths and sexually objectify women, and, in turn, perceive certain forms of sexual violence against women as defensible.

One of the ways in which rape culture has been sustained throughout history is through the creation, acceptance and perpetuation of rape myths. Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds and Gidycz (2011: 761) explain the concept of rape myths as “a set of largely false cultural beliefs that were thought to underlie sexual aggression perpetrated against women”. Elements such as perpetrator absolution as well as the rationalisation and minimisation of sexual assault amalgamate into popular assumptions regarding rape. Furthermore, victim blaming is highly prevalent with regards to rape myths, as the beliefs surrounding how female victims of sexual violence should act are powerful and deeply entrenched in our contemporary social framework. Studies have shown that rape-myth endorsement is significantly associated with victim blaming (Nafuka & Shino, 2014).

Other pertinent research includes Sanday's (1981) cross-cultural study of sexual ideologies in which Sanday studied 95 indigenous societies, concluding that 47% were 'rape free', while 18% were 'rape prone'. The concept of rape-free versus rape-prone environments was further utilised by Sanday (1996) to investigate rape-free and rape-prone campus environments. Her 1981 study defines a rape-prone society as one in which “the incidence of rape is reported by observers to be high, or rape is excused as a ceremonial expression of masculinity, or rape is an act by which men are allowed to punish or threaten women” (Sanday, 1981: 7). Conversely, while a rape-free environment does not necessarily constitute a society in which sexual misconduct is entirely absent, it sees rape as rarely expressed and socially disapproved, scrutinised and subject to severe punishment (Sanday, 1996). Sanday's (1996) research suggests that sexual-assault dynamics on university campuses are not unlike the cultural configuration of rape expressed cross-culturally in indigenous societies. Furthermore, when considering the productive potential of language, the

discursive mitigation, justification and minimisation of campus sexual assault have the potential to coagulate and coalesce into forming the foundation of a rape-prone society. This is significant as a university campus itself constitutes a society of sorts, with its own normalised and entrenched behaviour and practices.

Cross-cultural research is pertinent as it fastidiously attends to the dimension of human behaviour as an expression of cultural forces, and through discourse, these cultural forces are tangibly realised, maintained, sustained and imbued with power and authority, becoming self-sustaining and self-efficient. However, very little substantial research exists locally (that is, in South Africa) regarding the expression of sexual assault cross-culturally. One exception is Diedericks' (2003) study which aimed to determine the extent to which students at the University of the Free State adhere to rape myths, while additionally examining the influence of gender and race in rape-myth acceptance. Diedericks (2003: 9) found that male participants exhibited consistently greater acceptance of rape myths than female participants. Another pertinent cross-cultural comparison includes that of Heaven, Connors and Pretorius (1998), who investigated attribution of rape blame among Australian and South African university students. By employing the vignette methodology, the researchers found that victim blaming was not a function of victim characteristics, but of the cultural group of the respondents. White South African respondents were more likely than their Australian counterparts to blame the victim. Thus, Heaven et al. (1998) deduced that, comparatively, white South African respondents are more likely to endorse the view that rape victims are to blame for their plight. Supporting work such as that of Furnham (1985) found that white South Africans strongly adhere to just world beliefs. Kleinke and Meyer (1990) observed that men who abide by belief in a just world evaluated a potential rape victim more negatively than those men with low belief in a just world. An

additional cross-cultural study performed by Ashmont (2014) compares rape in South Africa and the USA. While Ashmont's (2014: 56) focus is centred on prison rape, not campus rape, the study is mentioned here for its significance in addressing the finding that despite far-reaching differences and existing as radically different countries in many ways, South Africa and the USA are "surprisingly and disturbingly alike" in how they both constitute a rape culture, or rape-prone society.

A substantial corpus of research has been conducted on the position of the victim in rape crimes, and victim blaming is a chief segment of rape literature. Krige and Oostendorp (2015) present compelling findings regarding the subtle and opaque victim blaming which is still evident in readers' letters to and responses from the advice column *Dear Dolly* published in Drum Magazine. Additionally, Krige and Oostendorp (2015) examine how new rape myths are created to mitigate the responsibility of men who perpetrate sexual violence against women. According to Moody-Ramirez (2015: 4), studies regarding the framing of rape and violence toward women have traditionally fallen into one of three categories: victim blaming, gender frames and race. These three categories will be further explicated in coming segments of this chapter. Additionally, Dosekun (2013) identifies "four interpretative repertoires" which women use in their talk of rape. This research will utilise the concept of the gender repertoire, which explains rape in terms of normal gendered dynamics and practices (Dosekun, 2013). The gender repertoire is pertinent to this study, and the methodology chapter will further attend to its significance.

Additionally, this research is concerned with the discursive practices that shape campus sexual assault, specifically. While this subject has garnered significant attention over the last few years, one of the first studies published focussing on the issue appeared in 1957, effectively showcasing that this is a problem that has been

around for a very long time. In *Male sex aggression on a university campus*, Kirkpatrick and Kanin (1957) found that on the campus studied there was a consistent pattern of exploitation, sexual 'offence' and failure with regards to institutional controls. Arguably, the most famous study examining campus sexual assault on US campuses was conducted in 1987 by Koss, Gidycz and Wisniewski. As the first, and at present only, national study of sexual assault on US college and university campuses, *The scope of rape: Incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression and victimization in a national sample of higher education students* attempted to reflect the true scope of campus rape in the USA. In a survey of thousands of students, Koss et al. (1987) found that as many as one in four students had experienced a form of sexual assault, even though many refrained from describing the experience as "rape". A more recent US study by Mellins et al. (2017) found that since entering college, 22% of students reported experiencing at least one incident of sexual assault.

2.4 Rape in South Africa

In South Africa, research regarding campus sexual assault is much harder to come by, and South Africa is plagued by unreliable and unsubstantiated rape statistics. Unlike the USA, South Africa is notorious for its high levels of rape. Several statistics surrounding South Africa's rape problem (such as the United Nations estimate that a rape occurs in South Africa every 26 seconds) have become so entrenched in the media and everyday conversation despite the fact that their accuracy is questionable. Unfortunately, there is a great deal about rape in South Africa that we do not know. For example, currently, no recent, nationally representative study on the percentage of people who have been raped in South Africa exists. While studies performed on the percentage of women that have been raped are available, they are largely dated,

present statistical disparities or are regional studies. *South Africa's Demographic and Health Survey* from 1998 found that 7% of women aged 15 – 49 had been forced or persuaded to have sex against their will. However, this data are at least 20 years old and only provide statistics for the 15 – 49 demographic category (Wilkinson, 2016). While certain statistics are indeed shocking, such as that of the Gauteng Gender Based Violence Indicators Project (2010), which found that 37.4% of men admitted to raping a woman, South Africa's rape research is seriously lacking. At present, no comprehensive, national study on campus sexual assault in South Africa exists.

2.5 Campus Sexual Assault: The Local Research

This section outlines the body of research surrounding campus sexual assault on South African universities, and its pertinence to the present study. Several studies in South Africa have charted a disturbing prevalence of sexual assault on South African university campuses. South African feminist researchers such as Du Toit (2005), Moffet (2006), Gqola (2007) and Dosekun (2013) explored the fear women experience as a result of being surrounded by an endemic culture of gender violence. What almost all of these researchers highlight is the fact that this fear and anxiety severely impact women's everyday lives, significantly constraining their behaviour, autonomy and daily activities. While certain incidences of rape and violence receive significant media attention (such as those that are the topic of the YouTube comments under study), and are the catalysts for social outrage and initiate dialogue around the problem, these crimes overwhelmingly go unseen and unheard, contributing to a culture of silence and complicity.

One of the earliest studies investigating sexual misconduct on a South African campus was initiated by Gouws and Kritzinger (1995). Gouws and Kritzinger

conducted a survey at the University of Stellenbosch to examine the various aspects of sexual harassment occurring on this campus. Of specific note to my present study, Gouws and Kritzinger (1995) attended to the perceptions of sexual harassment on campus. The salient findings of the study indicated a degree of ambiguity on the part of students as to the various manifestations of sexual misconduct (Gouws & Kritzinger, 1995: 20).

A more recent study by Gouws (2018) looks at the #EndRapeCulture campaign, which is also topical to this study. Gouws (2018: 8) interprets the #EndRapeCulture student protests as “a way of showing resentment toward the brutalisation of South African women and their voicelessness in the face of violence, in particular, against South African women students on university campuses”. Furthermore, Gouws (2018: 11) notes the significance of the #EndRapeCulture campaign in calling attention to the continued sexual violence on South African campuses. Thus, activist movements such as #EndRapeCulture are “enabled by the continuum through which masculinities and femininities are thought and sanctioned in contemporary South Africa” (Gqola, 2007: 111).

With regards to other pertinent research, through the discourse analyses of unstructured interviews with female University of KwaZulu-Natal residence students, Cordon (2009: iv) studied how gender-based violence is “facilitated through a system of discourses which reproduce patriarchal power relations”. This research was furthered by Gordon and Collins (2013), who utilised discourse analysis to explore what the ‘talk’ of female residence students revealed about their perception, understanding and experiences of gender-based violence at higher education institutions. What is significant about Gordon and Collins’ (2013) work is that they found that discourses of fear shape even everyday aspects of women’s lives. The fear of

rape constricts the daily activities and social interactions of female residence students. Thus, as participants locate themselves within discourses of vulnerability, fear of gender-based violence structures female residence students' lives.

Gordon and Collins (2013) estimate that a “systemic fear” has taken hold in South African society, inducing a dangerous underreporting in sexual misconduct and fuelling a social and cultural amnesia and denialism around the problem. This combination of fear and mitigating strategies shapes understandings used in terms of campus sexual assault and, as such, is indicative of a culture in which unequal power relations are maintained. My study will also explore how this social fear becomes “the permanent and muffled undertone of life” (Corradi, Weiss, Fagan & Garreton, 1992: 2). Mitigating strategies used in terms of campus sexual assault are indicative of a culture in which unequal power relations are maintained.

Furthermore, Clowes, Shefer, Fouton, Vergnani and Jacobs (2009) report that in South African higher education institutions, violent and coercive sex is commonplace within intimate heterosexual relationships. Clowes et al. (2009: 30) echo the sentiment that an omnipresent campus rape culture has an extensive impact:

For young women students in particular the daily lived experience of these multiple inequalities and the particular context of campus life may constitute a form of violence through the constraints on choice and opportunity: these inequalities operate together to generate systemic and structural limitations to female students' options on campus.

Kiguwa, Nduna, Mthombeni, Chauke, Selebano and Dlamini (2015) take cognisance of the discursive constructs of campus sexual assault in South Africa. Of particular importance to my study are the constructions of masculinity and femininity in relation

to the gender binary used in discussions around sexual assault. Kiguwa et al. (2015) point to the “‘common-sense’ and normalised cultures of gender and identity that are inherent in everyday interactions between gendered beings”. The learned practices that influence everyday gendered interactions not only reinforce normative gender expressions but also may be used in the interpretation and justification of sexually transgressive behaviour.

Singh, Mabaso, Mudaly and Singh-Pillay (2016) attend to the perspectives of students regarding the need for a separate sexual assault policy at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (UKZN). Similar to Gordon and Collins’ (2013) research, a common theme in students’ responses indicated that sexual assault is a common feature of everyday campus life. In the study, it was discovered that students found current UKZN policies inadequate, and that higher education students view a sexual assault policy as “a fundamental institutional obligation that has the potential to educate the university community about how to identify, prevent, report on and deal with sexual assault” (Singh et al., 2016: 113). Interestingly, in this particular study, a large disparity existed between the number of female students (89%) who affirmed the need for a comprehensive, dedicated sexual assault policy, versus the number of male students (51%) who concurred. This was despite the fact that 91% of respondents reported feeling fearful on campus.

Further research which attends to the discursive dimensions of sexual assault on campuses includes Dosekun’s (2007) work on the meanings of sexual assault for South African women at the University of Cape Town. Similar to other research discussed, Dosekun’s (2007) study found that these women assume a natural vulnerability to rape, and this fearful imagining impacts their everyday lives, thus adversely influencing attempts at self-determination. Research by Singh, Mudaley and

Singh-Pillay (2015: 97) further attests that for female university students, the fear of sexual assault is widespread. Consequently, women become shaped and constrained by their fear of sexual assault. As a result, “myths and misconceptions that perpetuate oppressive regimes that result in docile positions and/or violent expressions” have far-reaching material consequences (Singh et al., 2015: 103).

Given this widely documented prevalence of systemic fear co-existing with a normalised sense of vulnerability, of particular importance to this study is an article published in the journal *Agenda* by de Klerk, Klazinga and McNeill in 2007. In the article, De Klerk et al. (2007) address the rape and sexual assault pervading Rhodes University, the institution at the centre of the #RURferenceList protests, which also provided some of the data utilised for this study. Almost ten years before the outrage induced by the posting of the *Reference list* naming men accused of sexual misconduct on campus, De Klerk et al. (2007) asserted that the dominant “habitus” of machismo has resulted in a systemic failure to address social problems, perpetuating sexism and enabling gender-based violence. Thus, they stress in the article the need for further education and improved safety measures, urging administrations to challenge the “sexist macho male ethos on campus in order to stop the objectification and dehumanisation of women” (De Klerk et al., 2007: 123).

Additionally, while not a South African study per se, Nafuka and Shino (2014) examined the extent of endorsement for rape myths among university students in Namibia. Interestingly, the study also sought to establish whether there was any gender difference in this endorsement. The results put forward revealed that students display a predisposition towards endorsing certain rape myths at least to an extent. It was found that male participants adhered to rape myths and engaged in victim blaming to a larger extent than female participants. This supports the findings of numerous

other studies that have accounted for men exhibiting higher levels of blame with regards to sexual assault victims (see Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Grubb & Turner, 2012; Hayes, Lorenz & Bell, 2013; Stoll, Lilley & Pinter, 2017).

With regards to the abovementioned question of gender disparities in the acceptance of rape myths, in previous local studies in southern African settings focussing on rape-victim responsibility, it was found that distinctions between characterological blame and behavioural blame could be frequently invoked (Levett & Kuhn, 1991). Levett and Kuhn (1991: 36) – in a study investigating attitudes towards rape and rapists expressed by white, English-speaking South African students – uncovered that women were more likely to accord characterological blame. On the other hand, men were more likely to accord behavioural blame. This connects to Finchilescu and Duggard's (2018) study that looks at rape-myth prevalence and effects on a South African university. The study reports that white men who had experienced instances of gender-based violence were more accepting of rape myths than those who had not undergone such experiences. Suffering gender-based violence is a threat to white hegemonic masculine identity. Thus, the researchers suggest that due to the need for these male victims to reassert their hegemonic masculine identity, endorsing rape myths is an attempt to re-establish this identity. As previous international research has discovered, there is a connection between hegemonic masculine identity and rape-myth endorsement (Hayes, Abbott & Cook, 2016). However, more will be said about this in forthcoming chapters of the study.

2.6 Rape Culture and Social Media

While a reasonable amount of research exists examining the role of newspaper media in perpetuating rape myths (see O'Hara, 2012), less is known about how rape culture

manifests in social media, particularly in response to mainstream sexual assault cases. By conducting a critical analysis of discourses circulating on YouTube, this study aims to contribute to the existing archive on campus sexual assault, specifically by extending scholarly debates on how gender identities are constructed, performed and located in relation to sexual violence through user-generated-content sites such as YouTube. The impact of social media on rape culture in scholarly literature is varied. Social media may have the causal effect of both resisting and amplifying rape culture. In view of the dubious potential of Web 2.0 arenas, contemporary feminist witnessing discourses, such as those often found on YouTube, serve a subversive discursive function by countering dominant hegemonic masculine constructions of feminine subjectivity and victimhood. As narratives have the power to “name, enhance, embrace and shift strategically between social positions”, these repositories of experience serve to make gendered pain intelligible (Mohanty, 1991: 127). Through providing testimony, participants are able to reclaim and reappropriate othering discourses (Cook & Hasmath, 2014: 976). Therefore, the effect of biographical narrative witnessing, in the words of Gordon and Collins (2013: 93), provides a “formal articulation of women’s experiences that are significant, but frequently marginalised and normalised, showing the pervasive effects of fear of gender-based violence on identity and social life”. Thus, personal accounts provide valuable insight into how women negotiate hegemonic rape discourses. Nonetheless, while some research suggests that social media has the potential to be utilised as a counter-discursive space (see McLean & Maalsen, 2013; Crossley, 2015; Gerbaudo, 2018), online comments are often malicious and also have the capacity to re-victimise (Aslan, 2018). Loke (2012: 238) puts forward that as readers’ comments do not require respondents to disclose their real identities and offer a platform largely unencumbered by political correctness, these forms of online

interaction provide a certain level of freedom to commenters to divulge ideas and beliefs which would not always be publicly socially acceptable.

As this study concerns itself with the discursive construction of campus sexual assault by online commenters, it is important to note that the emergence of online comments has allowed the amplification of private sentiments on a public space (Loke, 2012). Therefore, online dialogues allow us to see how campus sexual assault is perceived within anonymous and relatively unconstrained spaces. Furthermore, Moody-Ramirez (2015) affirms that as a consequence of the anonymous and unrestrained nature of user-generated content, online comments are more likely to contain gender frames in relation to rape than other media forms. Thus, while other studies (see Keller, Mendes & Ringrose, 2016) suggest that digital media platforms can be utilised with a feminist agenda in mind to challenge the rape culture that girls and women experience in their everyday lives, user-generated-content spaces can also, unfortunately, serve a sinister purpose by facilitating the mass dissemination of the ubiquitous rape myths which have become firmly inculcated and subsequently normalised within social and institutional structures.

My study is conducted from the position that the popularity of specific discourses is not coincidental or accidental, but reveals culturally situated processes of assigning meaning to social phenomena, including sexual violence on and off university campuses. Research by Stubbs-Richardson, Rader and Cosby (2018) revealed that Twitter users who engaged in victim blaming were more likely to be retweeted and have more followers than Twitter users who engaged in tweeting victim-support content. Consequently, analysing the oppressive and resistive potential of online social media is vital. Moreover, social media platforms such as YouTube provide an enabling space for users to express themselves. In recent years, YouTube has grown into an

important location for internet-content production and consumption, as well as for social networking and communication (Burgess & Green, 2009).

As a participatory platform, YouTube is an ideal space to create, collaborate, interact, connect and circulate ideas, opinions and information. There has been substantial interest in who YouTube users are and how they behave on the site. Maia, Almeida and Almeida (2008) classified user behaviour and concluded that the “YouTube user” is not a “monolithic category”; individuals come to the site with different expectations and different goals in mind. YouTube users from diverse backgrounds engage one another on the site, arguing about issues such as religion and politics, and often bring different perspectives and expectations to such interactions. In particular, discussions regarding gender and sexism on the site provide an opportunity to observe how YouTube users with vastly different worldviews interact with one another and attempt to persuade others of their positions on controversial subjects. While such interaction has the potential to lead to positive understandings and constructive exchange of ideas, in practice, the discussions often become antagonistic. Users with differing worldviews attack one another and further exacerbate their points of disagreement (Pihlaja, 2011). The antagonistic nature of YouTube communication has been well documented (see Lange, 2007; Benevenuto, Duarte, Rodrihues, Almeida, Almeida & Ross, 2008; Jones & Schieffelin, 2009; Moor, Heuvelman & Verleur, 2010). As such, the discursive production and reproduction of rape myths and victim blaming often occurs. Consequently, rape-mitigating discourse is put into circulation. As such, user comments in these spaces constitute an area where the linguistic regeneration or disruption of rape myths and victim blaming might be investigated.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter identifies the data collection procedures and data analysis process employed for my study of online mediations of campus sexual assault. I will provide an overview of considerations for researchers using social media for qualitative research as described in the extant literature, before explaining my research questions and methods. This study employs FDP as methodological framework since online communities constitute what Thompson, Rickett and Day (2018: 101) describe as “a gendered site of identity negotiation”.

In essence, DP concerns itself with the performative dimension of language. Furthermore, according to Hall, Gough and Seymour-Smith (2013: 229), when it comes to DP, “language is not treated as a transparent medium, but rather as something that people deploy to produce different versions of reality”. This ties in with Wiggins and Potter (2007: 77), who remark on the three main characteristics of discourse (as understood as language use, or text) on which DP and its derivatives are based: discourse is action-oriented, both constructed and constructive, and, lastly, it is situated.

One of the early contributions of DP was to offer a different perspective on the relationship between gender, language, and power than previous work had done (Locke & Yarwood, 2017). Studies using DP are often concerned with the ways people use gender in talk and how sexism is accounted for (see Reynolds & Wetherell, 2003; Magnusson, 2008; Lynch & Morison, 2016; Venäläinen, 2016). Identity work is “both enabled and restricted by broader social meanings that speakers actively take up,

negotiate, and contest” (Taylor, 2006: 95). Thus, this study is concerned with the subtle and explicit rhetorical management of talk about campus sexual assault as well as how gendered individuals actively construct and are constructed by discourse.

FDP has much to offer this study with regards to analysing the discursive manoeuvres that inform participants’ accounts. As an offshoot of DP, FDP shares numerous theoretical perspectives with DP. Just like DP, FDP is concerned with the performative nature of discourse, and its penchant for identity work. However, FDP exists as a confluence of DP and feminism and will thus enable this study to account for agency in inherently feminist ways. Feminism is a useful addition to DP due to feminist concerns surrounding power and identity. Feminist engagement with DP has focused investigations into the production of gender and sexuality in texts and talk. Thus, according to Weatherall (2012: 466), FDP assists in highlighting the complex, contradictory, changing, and paradoxical ways in which gender inequalities persist. According to Thompson et al. (2018: 95), combining feminism with discourse analysis can potentially serve “feminist intellectual desires for transformation in problematic institutions that are resistant to change”. Moreover, FDP allows me to account for the mundane ways gender and sexuality are reproduced in talk. Thompson et al. (2018: 97) further contend that FDP aptly illuminates “structural systems of power and the voices of those who go unheard”. Therefore, the amalgamation of DP and feminism allows gender in language to be approached as something that can be done, or performed.

The aim of this research project is to investigate the myriad ways campus sexual assault is discursively accounted for online. Everyday speech (as exemplified on social media sites) is one of the main areas where psychological and relational affairs are enacted and produced. Moreover, social media platforms are embedded in our

everyday social practices. In their discussion of women's voices, agency, and resistance, LaFrance and McKenzie-Mohr (2014) argue that dominant discourses present problematic frameworks when it comes to understanding that women struggle to negotiate in relation to their embodied experiences and identities. Here, women's embodied experiences are often at odds with broader narratives, which tell stories they do not recognise, giving rise to powerful counter-narratives (Thompson et al., 2018). Therefore, this study occupies itself with identifying how participants recruit repertoires that delegitimise the campus sexual assault problem in the comments sections of various videos posted on the online social platform YouTube. With regards to these repertoires, the salience of gender is an important consideration. An additional key distinguishing aspect is how online participants actively ignore and diminish the embodied experiences of women. Thus, the following sections will look at how FDP can provide a framework for addressing these research imperatives.

By making use of analytic principles derived from FDP, this research will identify certain key linguistic aspects. Various iterations of gendered discourse are especially imperative to this study. Furthermore, here, my analysis is focused on how people actively construct and are constructed by discourse (Thompson et al., 2018). Speakers draw on "linguistic building blocks" to develop a text that results in their interpretation of reality, which then fits the particular context of the interaction (Wiggins & Potter, 2007: 77). Furthermore, while communicators might unconsciously do so, the choice of a certain way of recounting experience is not innocent (Dionne, 2019: 23). Thus, it is necessary to be cognisant of two major elements: the manner in which an account is constructed, and which function this particular construction serves (Edwards & Potter, 1992: 133).

Importantly, Dionne (2019: 22) theorises that “language users navigate a multitude of factors to decide what is deemed appropriate description and relevant events, all of which are indexicalized implicitly or explicitly in discourse-as-text”. Thus, if we view identity as an implicitly social concept, and language as constituting our social world, the specific discourses individuals produce and reproduce are noteworthy. Considering the myriad discursive devices and resources at their disposal, when discourse producers draw more strongly on certain ‘scripts’, their linguistic choices are rendered salient and warrant further analysis. This brings us to interpretive repertoires.

Lindgren et al. (2011: 3) aptly describe the nature of discursive choices:

The key issue is that we, as humans, are “identifying objects” as well as human identities, and the identity we confer upon another has more to do with our own purposes than with the actual nature of the person or thing identified. The binary language we use to make up human identities, such as masculine/feminine, sane/insane, heterosexual/homosexual, and so on, is based on socially constructed categories rather than on the essences of individual people. Our knowledge and how we perceive and represent our view of the world is historical, culture-specific, and contingent.

Therefore, interpretative repertoires can be seen as relatively coherent ways of talking about objects and events in the world, which nonetheless remain contingent, mutable and both reflective of larger socio-political arrangements, but also capable of exposing and resisting injustice. Reynolds and Wetherell (2003: 492) describe interpretative repertoires as “the recognizable routines of arguments, descriptions and evaluations found in people’s talk often distinguished by familiar clichés, anecdotes and tropes”. It is important to note that repertoires are not static entities but flexible resources which

individuals actively deploy as they discuss, argue, and evaluate actions or events and which can be contested and reconstituted (Charlebois, 2010).

The talk around sexual assault generates certain noticeable repertoires. The cultivation of these repertoires is attached to the social agency of participants, and dominant repertoires often speak to the emergence of hegemonic ideologies. With regards to interpretative repertoires in research on sexual assault, Gough (1998: 25) found in his study investigating the discursive reproduction of sexism in the speech of male students that “natural differences/biology” is a largely pervasive interpretative repertoire and is drawn on to justify men’s power over women and gender inequalities. Kitzinger and Thomas (1995: 380) identify that male participants in their study resisted a construction of sexual harassment as ubiquitous, instead orienting to a repertoire of consent as a complex concept. Furthermore, Gill (1993) observes the salience of “women as oppressors of men” or “men as victims” repertoires. The repertoires observed in my study share similarities with these earlier repertoires, yet are distinct in how they are deployed and communicated, and will be analysed in terms of how they structure, frame and direct the present conversation relating to campus sexual assault.

3.2 Data Collection and Procedures

This study focuses on a corpus of user-generated online material produced in response to YouTube videos emerging from both US and South African contexts. The dataset in question is comprised of over 1400 viewer responses to several online YouTube videos concerning the topic of campus sexual assault. While comparative studies exist examining the frequency and relationship between sexual assault cases and statistics cross-nationally (see Lottes & Weinberg, 1997; Sea, Beauregard & Martineau, 2019; Skott, Beauregard, Darjee & Martineau, 2021), few studies

comparatively analyse discursive attitudes towards campus sexual assault cross-culturally and cross-nationally. Feminist theorists propose that the prevalence of sexual coercion in a society is related to patriarchal power structures embedded in the social fabric and a culture that sustains it. In order for my study to successfully investigate the complexities surrounding permissive attitudes towards campus sexual assault, a cross-cultural approach transcends the limitations of traditional research methods. As will be clarified in subsequent chapters of this study, perceptions regarding campus sexual assault are not static, but are instead open to discursive reformulation and change. Mitigating factors ascribed to sexual assault are malleable and dynamic. Thus, the value of performing a trans-national study is that it advances and expands knowledge beyond the confinements of a single cultural context. Furthermore, due to the ubiquity of online media and its profound global influence on social behaviours, comparative multi-cultural studies are indeed necessary.

Therefore, for my study to vigorously investigate various manifestations of campus sexual assault online mitigating discourse, thirty comments were selected from *The Hunting Ground* comments section as well as twenty comments from the comments sections of the videos depicting the Rhodes University protests. The comments utilised for my study are publicly accessible and do not require passwords or permission to view them (also see Appendices A to C). Henceforth, personal privacy was not compromised as respondents themselves had made the decision to post their comments on an open public platform. This also expands the potential impact of these online discourses, since they are readily available for anyone to view, respond to and engage with. The focus of this research is text-based and not on the creators of these texts. In addition, I do not engage with any of the commenters. No direct contact with the commenters took place. Thus, “informed consent ... is not relevant” (Lipinski, 2009:

58). Furthermore, ethical clearance for the use of human participants was not considered necessary by the institution where this study was conducted. Other researchers investigating ethical issues in connection with online content support this position (see Madge, 2007; Rosenberg, 2010; Whiteman, 2010; Thelwall, 2010; AERA, 2011; Hewson, 2015).

Proceeding on to my sequence of analysis, firstly, the entire dataset was analysed for regularities and patterns in participants' talk about campus sexual assault in general. Particular constructions that emerged include a set of repertoires: The 'false rape' repertoire, the 'feminazi' repertoire, and the 'modesty' repertoire. A user-generated-content space – YouTube – is investigated to determine whether it is an arena in which users contribute to the affirmation of rape culture through the mitigation and delegitimization of campus sexual assault. In the context of online consumption, YouTube retains a pivotal role as a tool of "mass self-communication" and is thus an ideal space for exploring and analysing user-generated representations of sexual assault (Rolando et al., 2016: 495). Consequently, YouTube communication was selected for its contemporary cultural significance and its influence in shaping global attitudes, ideas, values and traditions, as well as the expedient platform it offers its users for the dissemination of this content.

The comments posted in response to the official trailer for *The Hunting Ground* documentary film (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GBNHGi36nIM>) were selected as a result of the multi-discursive interactions and mitigating strategies employed by users with regards to their linguistic negotiation of the serious social issue at hand. (See Appendix A for the comments section of the trailer.) The discourses articulated online in response to this video are comprised of multiple voices articulating different dominant discourses aimed at potentially reinforcing patriarchal norms and ideologies

(Krige & Oostendorp, 2015: 9). While the comments posted to *The Hunting Ground* trailer were abundant (over 1400 comments to date), the responses to videos detailing the #EndRapeCulture and #RUReferenceList protests have been few and far between, and, as such, several videos are employed in order to facilitate a meticulous analysis of the mitigating multi-discursive strategies utilised in response to these filmic depictions of campus sexual assault. The videos are entitled, *Rhodes students form human barrier, protest topless against rape* (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9noISdRte54&feature=youtu.be>) and *Wits 'naked' protest: Students protest against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes* (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_w9XJwzliw&feature=youtu.be) (Multimedia LIVE, 2016; News24, 2016). (See Appendices B and C for the respective comments sections of these videos.) These videos were chosen, as, similarly to *The Hunting Ground*, they address a cultural moment where campus sexual assault was gaining national attention in South Africa.

Among the key linguistic words and terms which this study will seek to identify in viewers' comments, certain language is particularly important. This research will specifically examine how frequently the words "sex" and "rape" are used in order to identify how a dichotomy of sex versus rape is constructed by participants. Furthermore, the research will take note of how frequently sexual misconduct on campuses is referred to as simply "sex". Previous studies have found that talk involving campus sexual assault often devolves into discussions surrounding party culture, and reports of female students falling victim to sexual assault are framed as "drunk sex" and female regret over engaging in drunken intercourse (see Ijverson, 2006; Gotell & Dutton, 2016). Gender categorisation will be examined to ascertain how gender bias is an essential factor regarding how commenters consider and respond to sexual

misconduct. Moreover, words such as “slut” and “whore” levelled at women will also be meticulously examined to identify patterns of victim blaming and how a woman’s actions are linguistically constructed to mitigate the sexual crimes of men (Krige & Oostendorp, 2015). This will also enable me to identify the extent to which rape myths prevail.

As previously mentioned in the literature review of my study, Krige and Oostendorp’s (2015) work involving the ways in which the rape of women by men is constructed in the advice column *Dear Dolly* is significant to this study. This is as a result of their conceptualisation of the discourse strategies of intensification and mitigation which are examined to determine the attribution of responsibility for sexual misconduct. Instances of discursive mitigation alleviate the responsibility and culpability of male perpetrators, as well as negate the victimhood and autonomy of the female victim. Thus, this study seeks to identify discursive frames in the language of online respondents which can be seen to mitigate the crimes committed by men. Of great importance to this study is how commenters articulate the issue of campus sexual assault compared with other crimes. Is campus sexual assault regarded as an issue worthy of attention and action? Moreover, Krige and Oostendorp (2015) identify the importance of ‘myth making’ as a mitigating factor with regards to sexual assault and this research will examine new myth making, specifically with regards to the framing of false rape claims, and how this problematic ideology shapes the respondents’ comments. The concept of intensification will be utilised to ascertain how the coded language used by respondents results in an intensification of the behaviour of female rape victims, versus the mitigating discourse ascribed to male perpetrators.

An additional methodological approach relevant to this study is Dosekun’s (2013) research which identifies four interpretative repertoires commonly used during

discussions of rape. The repertoires discussed by Dosekun include the statistics repertoire, crime repertoire, race repertoire and gender repertoire. However, for the purposes of this study, only the statistics and gender repertoires will be employed to analyse the data. The statistics repertoire involves invoking “putatively objective rape statistics”, whereas the gender repertoire is concerned with explaining rape “in terms of normal gendered dynamics and practices” (Dosekun, 2013: 517). Dosekun (2013) maintains that the statistics repertoire consists of situating rape as a clear crisis. The statistical construction of rape is entangled with a preoccupation with the prevalence of rape, rendering an almost ‘panic’ due to the fear and anxiety around rape. Conversely, the gender repertoire constructs rape as a matter of everyday, asymmetric gender and sexual norms. Rape is thus distinctively ascribed to women, be it in the form of victimhood, or as instigators of rape. The repertoires have the individual and interwoven effect of “othering and distancing rape, constructing both its typical perpetrators and victims as ‘Other’ ” (Dosekun, 2013: 521).

3.3 Limitations of Qualitative Research and Limitations of Analysing Social Media

This study adopted a qualitative research approach towards the analysis of its dataset. According to Queirós, Faria and Almeida (2017: 396), “qualitative methodology intends to understand a complex reality and the meaning of actions in a given context.” Qualitative research is not concerned with representing numerical statistics, but with deepening our understanding of a given problem. Qualitative research is therefore concerned with aspects of reality that resist easy quantification, focusing on the understanding and explanation of the dynamics of social relations (Queirós et al., 2017: 396).

It should be noted that qualitative research comes with certain limitations. Crescentini and Mainardi (2009) studied the limitations of qualitative research. According to them, when it comes to qualitative research, data need to be assessed for reliability and validity. Furthermore, Oppong (2013) analyses the sampling issues in qualitative research to ensure that the sample size of a given study is adequate or representative. I have taken measures to strengthen the academic rigour and rationale of my study, as described below.

To counter these limitations, I have engaged in systematic and thorough application of the principles of qualitative research, based on an interpretative approach through analytical induction and constructivism (Draper, 2004). While my qualitative data cannot necessarily be optimised, I have drawn from several videos and numerous commenters from two distinct cultural contexts (US and South African). An advantage of online web research content is the availability of multiple participants “articulating different gendered discourses” (Krige & Oostendorp, 2015: 7). Thus, this allows for a representational advantage and permits my study to account for potential social and cultural attitudes and mores surrounding campus sexual assault.

Similarly, limitations exist with regards to analysing social media. The analysis of social media is currently very important due to the unprecedented quantity of information. However, when it comes to collecting data from Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, certain constraints do exist. Ruiz-Soler (2017) examines the challenges associated with gathering data from social media. These include representation bias: it is very difficult to make general assumptions using research based on Twitter, Facebook and YouTube. Furthermore, the language challenge: users can write in many different languages. This implies that when collecting data, some cautions need to be taken to accurately gather the data needed. Bessi and Ferrara (2016)

investigated how the presence of automated programmes or social media 'bots', algorithmically driven entities that on the surface appear as legitimate users, affected political discussion around the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election. The authors uncovered that a large fraction of user population may not be human, accounting for a significant portion of generated content (about one-fifth of the entire conversation).

Another issue for online research is the often pernicious presence of online 'trolling' behaviour. An internet slang term, trolling is characterised by the deliberate act of posting inflammatory comments or messages with the intent to antagonise and cause discord. Trolling often manifests itself as "violent anti-feminist engagement" (Cole, 2015: 356). While trolling, hating and internet bots pose unique challenges for research into online discursive practices, McCosker (2014: 201) nonetheless theorises trolling as "productive forms of provocation". Thus, "aberrant forms of participation", such as trolling and internet bots, may frequently lead to incendiary dialogues (McCosker, 2014: 202). However, as a participatory culture, YouTube online engagement (including trolling events and behaviours) can illuminate intricacies surrounding contemporary cultural gender and power relations (Waldron, 2013). McCosker (2014) posits that with reference to online contributions such as trolling, this can:

... easily elide the complex set of practices, ways of acting and modes of use and participation that are encompassed by the participatory potential of many online platforms. However, at worst, they advocate for online spaces that are affectless. A dynamic or pluralistic participatory experience includes not just being affected by new forms and flows of networked media content and communication but also the power to affect with new forms of reciprocal capacity to act out and even 'act up'. That is, participation includes activism,

resistance and conflict as much as the creative deployment of new media literacies and productive cultures of media co-creation encompassed by ideal forms of networked publics.

Consequently, some may consider these actions as problematic and aberrant networked publics. Nevertheless, as McCosker (2014: 202) contends:

... as acts, as cultures of practice and as modes of social media use and participation, what has come to be called trolling should be taken as a starting point rather than a vague end point for understanding the place of provocation in its multiple, highly contextualised and always changing forms.

As a result, online provocation is a component of a multifarious, fluctuating online participatory culture. It does not necessarily only problematise, but can also productively intensify, vitalise and sustain networked publics within social media sites (McCosker, 2014: 202). Thus, while my research is limited in various ways, it nevertheless retains the potential to contribute to feminist-oriented, discourse-based studies of the construction of sexual violence in online spaces.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

“The comments on this thread are seriously disturbing...”
(Commenter Tayla Moore in response to comments posted
on the comments section of the YouTube trailer for *The*
***Hunting Ground*)**

4.1 Introduction

When investigating the gendered interpretive repertoires that online participants draw upon during talk, this study occupies itself with how online participants discursively construct rape culture and gendered identities. The study draws on feminist critical discursive psychology which views language “not simply as a window into people’s minds, but as a discursive resource which individuals utilize to perform various discursive functions” (Charlebois, 2010: 699). Youtube.com currently operates as the world’s most popular video-sharing website, not to mention the most popular website overall in both the global market and in the US as of December 2020, with over five billion videos watched every day (Collins, 2018). Thus, YouTube’s almost ubiquitous cultural impact cannot be denied. Consequently, the discourse which amalgamates on this particular online platform is collaborated on and viewed by such an array of participants that it is particularly useful for the analysis of how online rape culture manifests itself. This is why the occurrence of respondents repeatedly deploying and actively engaging a set of definable discursive repertoires is noteworthy and of consequence.

For the comments section of the YouTube video trailer for *The Hunting Ground*, the results and findings from this research suggest that age-old rape myths are

experiencing discursive reformulation and change, yet pro-rape narratives remain embedded at their core. Common rape myths are largely eschewed in favour of new forms of victim blaming and myth making resulting in the utilisation of two preferred repertoires in the remediation of campus sexual assault. For the purposes of this study, these repertoires have been identified and labelled as: the false rape repertoire and the feminazi repertoire. For the comments section of the #EndRapeCulture South African videos, the modesty repertoire was identified. Additional results and findings of this study indicate that while interpretative repertoires constitute cultural 'common sense', individuals possess agency to discursively deploy, resist, and sometimes even reconstruct these discursive resources (Charlebois, 2010: 699). This chapter will now proceed to explicate the three repertoires as well as categorise the comments according to how they are deployed under the various repertoires.

4.2 The False Rape Repertoire

The false rape repertoire encompasses the emphasising of false rape charges and allegations. Participants employ their discursive resources and energy to engage in dialogues surrounding the multitudes of, and damage wrought by, false rape claims. Common themes which emerge include the concern for how these false allegations impact and victimise men particularly, as well as the summation of data and statistics in support of the 'false rape epidemic' (these statistics are also often uncorroborated and without sources or other means of authentication). The following comments are indicative of, although not limited to, the false rape repertoire. Interestingly, numerous comments do not service one particular repertoire, but instead, the comments assembled by respondents are often an amalgamation of the various repertoires

functioning collectively to minimise and repudiate the existence and significance of campus sexual violence.

Commenter TobixToxic: +Sly the issue is these people have no evidence to back their claims up, also like 90% of rape charges are false, thank god the legal system is finally bringing some equality where women get punished(although not enough) for falsifying rape charges for personal gains.

Comments such as these underscore what Charlebois (2010: 700) claims about the performative nature of language, that “conversational accounts are not ‘neutral’ descriptions of the ‘truth’, but rhetorically constructed in order to increase their veracity and undermine other versions of the ‘real world’ ”. My analysis, rooted as it is in critical feminist discursive psychology, suggests that this emphasis on ostensibly false rape charges functions to mitigate campus sexual assault, by constructing women as prone to exploiting accusations of sexual assault for personal gain. Doing so, TobixToxic discursively frames sexual assault not as a systemic problem, but as a form of policing that women use to extort men. Furthermore, by grouping women together, commenter TobixToxic constructs women as predisposed to lying and attributing false information.

Participants invoke repertoires such as these to position women as amplifying the occurrence of ‘real rape’. The construal of falsifying rape for personal gain also alludes to women using rape to benefit themselves and therefore overwhelmingly not being victims of such sex crimes. TobixToxic’s use of the figure “90%” performs the important rhetorical function of invoking an argument where the vast majority of sexual assault claims are purposefully falsified, and thus consequently the issue at large is unworthy of attention. Furthermore, the irony that TobixToxic posits that “people have

no evidence to back up their claims” yet provides no evidence him-/herself that “like 90% of rape charges are false” cannot be overlooked.

Commenter Anna: as someone who has experienced rape and numerous sexual assaults in this country, I can tell you its not an exaggeration. Rape is a violent act. Its about control, humiliation, and domination. That is its purpose.

Commenter Ejm Mc (in response): Anna will be just another pretend victim. Had a few dates with a boy who dumped her. Then the past sex becomes non-consensual, so she turns herself into a rape-victim wanting sympathy.

From commenter Anna’s account and the response by commenter Ejm Mc, here we see how respondents avoid interrogation of the systemic dimensions of rape. Commenter Anna challenged the false rape repertoire, and as a result she was subjected to punishment in the form of explicit repudiation of her intentions and experiences. This thus effects the negation of gendered injustices. Furthermore, sex is conflated with rape, a rape myth with a long tradition of mitigating the subjective experience of victims (Venäläinen, 2016). However, this comment displays how repertoires are not “fixed and enduring, but contestable and subject to discursive reconstruction”, as commenter Ejm Mc does not merely rely on old, gendered rape myths, but implies that women use their female agency to assume victimhood which affords them “sympathy”, thus disproving the existence of a crime. By using the verbs “becomes” and “pretend”, Ejm Mc posits the retroactive transfiguration of rape to sex, thus denying its legitimacy as a violent, traumatic act. As a direct response to a previous account of sexual assault, the discourse employed in this comment directly attacks the veracity of commenter Anna’s lived experience as a sexual assault survivor.

Commenter Steve Madden: As for Rebecca, another person indoctrinated by radical feminism → the police never say, "Well, it was your own fault for being out there", this is what your Gender Studies professors tell you, but they have a political agenda. The police can be suspicious of women lying because that is what women are so good at. The Hunting Ground film is evidence of that; the two main case examples used in the film were proven to be false allegations. Blatantly false.

By using membership categorisation, Steve Madden positions women as providing false accounts about sexual assault. Leudar, Marsland and Nekvapil (2004: 244) describe membership categorisation as "a formal analysis of the procedures people employ to make sense of other people and their activities". Categorising activities are not just representations, but used in specific circumstances to accomplish subject positions in talk. Steve Madden's criticisms concerning false rape allegations are gendered in terms of categorisations of and about women. According to Venäläinen, (2016: 426) categorisations often function in attaching "deviance and moral questionability to women both as victims and as perpetrators, thus maintaining the taken-for-grantedness of gendered differences in relation to violence". Thus, these categorising acts reify misogynistic gendered stereotypes in relation to women and lend support to patriarchal power relations.

Furthermore, as with the previous commenter's response to commenter Anna, women are not treated as reliable witnesses, especially when their accounts disavow normative gendered relations. Numerous comments in this thread categorically reject the personal experiences of women. Thus, practices of silencing become salient. This repudiation of female testimony can be viewed through the lens of epistemic violence. Dotson (2011: 236) offers an account of epistemic violence as the "failure, owing to

pernicious ignorance, of hearers to meet the vulnerabilities of speakers in linguistic exchanges”. In Steve Madden’s comment, women are directly accused of lying and the fact that the accounts of so many victims are not taken seriously is justified by the proposition that women are adept at lying. The commenter does not subtly minimise or question the legitimacy of female rape accounts, but instead positions them as outright falsehoods.

Commenter Ejm Mc: The *Hunting Ground* film uses two main false accusers to portray males as evil rapists. Kamilah Willingham and Erica Kinsman. BOTH of these cases have been exposed as FALSE. The two main women in the movie have been exposed as liars by both the university and by Justice System process Kamilah Willingham, falsely accused a fine young man of sexual assault in 2011. In the spring of 2012 the law faculty, after reviewing the testimony from the administrative hearing, voted to dismiss the charges against the innocent man that Kamilah Willingham falsely accused. “The overwhelming majority concluded he is not a person who should be punished.” Said Harvard law professor Charles Ogletree Jr. on the university’s handling of the case. The case was also analysed by the Justice System. A grand jury, in 2012, declined to indict the falsely accused man on any charges concerning accuser Kamilah Willingham.

This comment once again specifically references that cases presented in *The Hunting Ground* are false. While a grand jury did decline to indict Kamilah Willingham’s alleged rapist, one of the key arguments presented in the documentary is how campus-sexual-assault victims feel disappointed and disillusioned by the treatment of their cases by campus administrations and the criminal justice system. In many instances, campus management displayed greater concern over minimising and

silencing sexual assault statistics. Moreover, victims in the documentary regularly had to deal with unsympathetic university officials, as well as complex and ineffectual administrative procedures when it came to reporting their cases. As with the Rhodes University #RURReferenceList demonstrations, universities were revealed to have far more severe policies in place for dealing with plagiarism than for dealing with sexual violence. However, we see, as Charlebois (2010: 705) puts it, a “discursive absence” of comments discussing this subject. Instead, respondents predominantly merely engage in denialism by dismissing campus sexual assault through the emphasis of false rape claims. Additionally, Ejm Mc here discursively engages the assumption that the criminal justice system is infallible, above gendered power dynamics, and henceforth beyond reproach. Therefore, this contention is used to support and highlight that since no legal action was further pursued, or since charges were dismissed, the rape allegations are, in fact, false. The documentary is further vilified by supplementing the contention early on that the intention is to portray males as “evil rapists”.

Commenter Steve Madden (in response): Investigate the allegations within the documentary produced by Ziering and Dick and you will find many complications. Complications that occur because many of the allegations were false. The documentary omits this detail, preferring to label males as perpetrators and females as victims. The truth is very different. Behind the scenes, the film has been exposed as feminist propaganda and a man-shaming scam, but Ziering and Dick continue on unabated, pushing the lie.

A common theme among these comments is the formation of gendered dichotomies. This dichotomous positioning of men and women allows for the dissemination of new rape myths, and by posing women in opposition to men, these myths begin to carry more weight. The commenter does not merely downplay the veracity or frequency of

sexual assault allegations. He or she goes to linguistic extremes to not only discount them, but also malign those who took part in the documentary and shared their accounts by constructing these reports as “feminist propaganda” and a “man-shaming scam”. Thus, the comment accords particular attention to “gender specific assumptions” (Venäläinen, 2016: 426). The instantaneous nature of online interactions means that these assumptions are widely circulated with the potential for substantial socio-cultural influence. The comment also illustrates how dichotomous categorisations often work to preserve the standing of men while attaching moral questionability to women as victims. This gendered essentialism operates from the point of view that feminine categories are stable, relatively unchanging and fixed to particular heteronormative characteristics. The focus on downplaying women’s witnessing capacity in essentialised gendered terms highlights the perpetuation of epistemic violence present in the dataset.

Commenter Mike Thompson: You're full of shit just like most "victims" who make it up. look at Lena Dunham she said in her book she was raped then we find out it's all bullshit and she's sued for millions of dollars for defaming another person. Bitches want sex then regret it the next day and call it "rape" when it's all BULLSHIT!!

Commenter Mike Thompson continues with: If a girl acts like a bitch she gets treated like one. If a bitch dresses, talks, and acts like a slut, she gets treated like one!!

As well as: Not all but MANY bitches do. These skanks show up at parties flirting with guys saying they "want it" then when they "get it" they change their minds the next morning. I have seen it dozens of times in college and most times it's recorded on cell phones. I have NEVER seen a bitch get beat up they are

always smiling when they leave. Then a few days later they are crying on camera because they want a payout and shakedown from the University because they don't have the money for school anymore!! I testified against a "rape" victim because she was lying about a party at a fraternity. The trial ended in acquittal and the "victim" was expelled. Don't also forget the Duke Lacrosse Team where the "victim" (who was a hooker) lied. Also most "rape" victims are looking for a payout from the university. That's why colleges need to put serious money into their legal teams and expell the skanks and their lawyers looking for a shakedown against the "perpetrator" and the University. Also Title 9 should be done away by the Republican Congress!!

The commenters here do not merely focus their discursive action towards highlighting false rape allegations, but claim that women actively resort to lies and manipulation and falsify their victimhood. There is a lot to be said of the rhetoric employed by these commenters, which is arguably bordering on hate speech. Presenting false rape claims is also constructed as a gendered activity, where women specifically are accused of lying. Commenter Mike Thompson relates his or her own personal experience testifying against a campus rape victim whom he or she recounts was lying. This subjective account has an evidentiary function in Mike Thompson's narrative. However, while simultaneously constructing his or her own experience as reliable, he or she denies female rape victims the same privilege. Instead, women's capacity for circulating false information is extended beyond sexual assault, and they are discursively positioned as liars in general. The discussants are resisting sexual assault as a pertinent social problem and conflating victims with purposeful misrepresentation. Thus, these comments perform the ideological work of strengthening gendered power relations.

Commenter Alva Goldbook: How about you develop some compassion for the MEN who are FALSELY accused of rape. How about you develop an ounce of SKEPTICISM, and not believe any woman unquestioningly just because she peddles you a sob story. If defensiveness is often an admission of guilt, then tell me, why are feminists so damn defensive when it's pointed out that there is no such thing as the Patriarchy, that rape culture doesn't exist, that in fact FBI crime statistics show that the rate of rape is plummeting. If 1 in 5 women are raped on college campuses, then why would any woman GO to college in the first place? In reality, 63% of college graduates are now female. Think that perhaps this whole "rape culture" nonsense is making colleges a harmful, and dangerous environment for MEN and BOYS? Do you realize that the actual rate of rape, according to the Justice Dept. is closer to 1 in 5,600? Do you realize that rape is the LEAST COMMITTED violent crime in the USA, with the exception of murder? Do you realize that there are TEN TIMES more men who are PHYSICALLY assaulted than there are women who are sexually assaulted? Be more skeptical.

This comment illustrates how the respondent discursively reifies women's capacity for presenting false rape claims. In Alva Goldbrook's account, we see a discursive tension between the injustices perpetrated against men and the women responsible for perpetrating them. The danger that rape culture creates for men and boys stands in sharp contrast to women who are blamed for creating this problem by falsely accusing men.

Furthermore, here the statistical aspect of the false rape repertoire is distinctly showcased. In his or her repudiation of campus sexual assault, commenter Alva Goldbrook utilises statistics as a discursive resource. This is achieved through the interrogation of research and data on the frequency of campus sexual assault. Alva

Goldbrook postulates that scholarly studies that have reported approximately 1 in 5 women experiencing campus sexual assault (see Hines, Armstrong, Reed, & Cameron, 2012) cannot be correct, because if the problem were this perverse, women would refrain from attending higher education institutions altogether. In order to bolster his or her argument, the commenter then proceeds to provide his or her own statistics on rape. As discussed in the literature review of this study, there is extensive feminist research which illustrates how sexual assault has come to pervade women's everyday activities and experiences (Jane, 2016). Furthermore, Yung (2015: 7) estimates that the actual rate of sexual assault is likely at least 44% higher than the numbers that universities submit. Discourses such as those presented by commenter Alva Goldbrook are indicative of the daily victimisation women must contend with, not just on campuses, but on online spaces.

Commenter rg0057: Documentaries are only "needed" if the facts behind them are true. I haven't yet seen this film, but I will in a few weeks. What I've heard so far is that some key elements in the film are false, and the overall theme is also false. The currently relevant facts regarding college and rape are that young men's lives are being destroyed without evidence of ANY wrongdoing. We even have politicians actually going on record to say that several innocent men should go to prison, if that's what it takes to put one guilty man behind bars (and it's always men... guilty women aren't on the political radar). Finally, it's too much even for the courts, who are starting to push back against false college rape claims.

Of interest here are the discursive strategies the commenter uses to minimise the seriousness of sexual assault or social responsibility for it (Lea & Auburn, 2001: 16). He or she accomplishes this through recourse to rape-myth knowledge in describing

the current political climate. By engaging the discursive resources of mitigation and intensification, this allows the participants to set up a context of deniability. The platform afforded by online comments sections provides commenters with discursive freedom. In addition, the continuous denialism perpetuated around false rape claims becomes a powerful discursive resource because it is ostensibly based in logic, as there is no denying that false rape accusations do occur. This could potentially be why this repertoire is so popular and vigorously disseminated between commenters (Approximately 658 of the 1300 comments engage with it in some way). Another reason could be because this ostensible logic reifies structurally inscribed gendered violence. Thus, the 'false rape repertoire' becomes a powerful discursive resource. The mitigating and intensifying strategies employed here serve not only to undermine the credibility and veracity of awareness texts such as *The Hunting Ground*. Instead, it discursively constructs a world where, in fact, men are seriously threatened and endangered by the mass fabricated rape charges levied against them, a kind of warped reverse rape culture.

Commenter Brian Shipley: Of all crimes, rape is the most commonly falsely reported. Several studies, by the military, police depts. etc, put false rape claims at the 40% level. Same with false paternity claims, which run 29%, and up to 79% in places where the law rewards it. But women never lie, eh?

In the above comment, none of the exact details of said "studies" are mentioned or cited. However, this is an approach repeatedly used by respondents to bolster the rhetorical value of their arguments. Studies such as that by Habernal and Gurevych (2016) have found that online written arguments that contain some form of statistical information, or even merely allude to the existence of statistical evidence, maintain

higher levels of “convincingness” than those with a complete absence of this information.

Commenter Alexander Albert: Women never go to the cops because they have no evidence and are crying wolf. They go to the university because these institutions take there word.

Once again, by categorising and generalising the actions and intentions of an entire gender, the comment intensifies the untruthfulness of sexual-assault-victim accounts and mitigates the material reality of this problem. The commenter expends his or her discursive energy in utilising grouping plurals and pronouns, including “women” and “they”. No hedging language is present that would appear to allow for exceptions to the rule of women having “no evidence” and “crying wolf”. Additionally, one of the primary discussion points in the documentary is the argument that universities very often do not seriously attend to sexual assault allegations.

Commenter TobixToxic: do women understand what rape is, there are idiot feminist who claim virtual rape is a thing, also that crazy mattress girl became a hero for faking rape charges on a poor guy whos entire life was ruined, while she used that opportunity to set up her career. I honestly don't take it seriously especially on campus because of the false claims made every year versus actual cases.

The “crazy mattress girl” referenced in the comment is most likely Columbia University visual arts student Emma Sulkowicz, who focused her senior thesis on a performance art project entitled, *Mattress performance (carry that weight)*. This involved Sulkowicz carrying around campus a large blue mattress in symbolism of the hefty burden sexual assault victims carry with them throughout their daily lives. This was partly done in

protest against what was perceived as a lack of justice for victims and the ineffective treatment her case received at the hands of Columbia University (Bauer-Wolf, 2017). While the university did decline to take action against her alleged assailant, and her account has been rebuffed by numerous articles, editorials, and exposés (see Charen, 2017), Sulkowicz’s claims have never been definitely proven as ‘fake’. However, the commenter above uses discursive markers such as “idiot” and “crazy” in reference to women and their allegations, yet when speaking of a man, the commenter employs discourse (“poor”) traditionally used for inciting sympathy and concern. Furthermore, the narrative serves to direct the reader’s interpretation towards the conclusion that many more false cases transpire on campuses every year versus real cases.

Commenter Vin Bucketts: i dont remember to be honest and i dont feel like going back to watch. i just feel like they got fucked and then never got a call back and lost CONTROL of their feeling and then tried to regain that feeling of control by simply calling rape and ruining dudes lives.

Commenter Vin Bucketts here ascribes a generally active role onto sexual assault accusers in the perpetuation of false rape claims. This is underscored by inclusion of “calling rape” and the addition that the accusers are ruining men’s lives, once again making salient the plight men suffer at the hands of those who report sexual assault. Furthermore, again, the assumption is communicated that women crave male attention, and the discussion around campus sexual assault is aggregated around cultivating this male attention, not around spreading awareness or addressing safety.

A common recurring trend across the repertoires is how female identities are discursively negotiated in explicitly sexual terms. Women (and their intentions) are frequently discussed in relation to sex. Women are constructed as sexually conflicted,

and sexually available. Respondents regularly posit the amalgamation of this availability and confliction as being the true cause of rape accusations. This is problematic, as it functions as an implicit denunciation of sexual violence as sexual availability stands in discursive contrast against sexual assault. Thus, this invests the false rape repertoire with a veneer of rationality.

Another interesting aspect to the latter comment is the “CONTROL” written in caps. The emphasis of this word harkens back to other gendered discursive stereotypes, namely female emotionality, and is potentially reminiscent of the time-honoured notion that women are predisposed to being controlled by their feelings and are thus at greater risk of being overwhelmed by their emotional responses. Consequently, it is this reaction to emotional stimulus that results in women pursuing rape charges, not facts, logic or the presence of a ‘real rape’. A certain danger is therefore also attributed to women as a result of their capacity to lose control of their emotional responses.

Commenter letsgetrickertywrechedson!: Will they ever do a movie about the uva case, and how lying about rape is also an epidemic. Wich is sorely under reported.

What is very interesting in these comments is that, largely, respondents are not interested in popular rape-mitigating strategies such as ‘blaming the victim’. Rather, their interest is in discrediting, discounting and disregarding the very existence and presence of the phenomenon of campus rape. Instead of the underreporting of campus sexual assault (one of the topics of the documentary and the issue at hand), discursive attention is here aggregated around the underreporting of false rape allegations. By engaging the words “lying” and “epidemic”, commenter letsgetrickertywrechedson!

constructs a discursive reality wherein outright falsely making sexual assault claims is a rampant social occurrence, akin to an infectious disease. There are many comments containing similar content and which accuse *The Hunting Ground*, as well as the female victims it portrays, of lying and presenting false rape accusations.

Commenter John: @Brianna M "For 16 years, I was a kickass prosecutor who made most of my reputation vigorously prosecuting rapists. I am unaware of any Colorado prosecutor who put as many rapists away for as much prison time as I did during my prosecutorial career. Several dozen rapists are serving thousands of years as a result of my efforts. However, during my time as a prosecutor who made case filing decisions, I was amazed to see all the false rape allegations that were made to the Denver Police Department. It was remarkable and surprising to me. You would have to see it to believe it. Any honest veteran sex assault investigator will tell you that rape is one of the most falsely reported crimes that there is. A command officer in the Denver Police sex assaults unit recently told me he placed the false rape numbers at approximately 45 percent. Objective studies have confirmed this. See Purdue Professor Kanin's nine-year study published in 1994 concluding that over 40 percent of rape allegations were demonstrably false. The above statements are heresy to say publicly for many politically correct prosecutors. That is especially true if they want to maintain good relations with the victim advocacy community." -veteran sex-crimes prosecutor Craig Silverman

There is an interesting contrast between this comment and some of the previously analysed comments, which could easily be dismissed as misogynistic and hateful trolling. Yet, recent studies suggest that cyberhate should not be so easily dismissed (see Aslan, 2018; Brown, 2018). However, this will be discussed in detail in the discussion section of this study. What distinguishes the current comment from the

previous data is that the respondent renders his or her subject position as that of an authority on sexual assault, as he or she claims to have acted as a prosecutor for 16 years who actively worked on “dozens” of sexual assault cases. Apparently going by the commenter name “John”, he or she begins his or her argument by stating his or her vigorous prosecution of rapists, which pre-empts the ‘but’ in his or her comment. John goes on to account for the extraordinarily large number of false rape reports he or she personally handled. By first outlining his or her considerable success as a prosecutor and accomplishments of prosecuting numerous rapists, John discursively distances himself or herself from appearing to engage in victim blaming or mitigating the issue of sexual assault. Nonetheless, with the “however” and linguistic turn in this account, John proceeds to expend his or her discursive revenue on subtly rendering salient the frequency at which false rape claims occur. John goes on to place these false allegations reported to police at 40 and 45 percent as a consequence of his or her experience as a federal prosecutor. At first, it appears very difficult to argue with comments like this. John’s comment is eloquently written and with the first sentence he or she positions himself or herself as an authority on the matter of sexual assault. For many years it was his or her job to handle and evaluate cases against accused rapists. It is worth noting that this comment has gone uncontested in the comments section and has received numerous thumbs ups.

This action orientation is further strengthened by the deployment of “honest phrases” (Edwards & Fasulo, 2006). Honest phrases, such as ‘to be honest’, ‘honestly’, ‘actually’, ‘in all honesty’ and in this case, “any honest veteran sex assault investigator ...”, functionally make speakers appear to be honest and allude to transparency and authenticity when participating in potentially controversial discussions. Consequently, while the respondent may present himself reasonably as

having experience with combating sexual assault, his discursive actions mitigate the singularity of campus sexual assault and undermine the problem at hand.

Another interesting strategy is how John employs correct results from an academic study, thus further validating his descriptions. However, what John elects to omit is that the Kanin (1994) study is 25 years old as well as controversial. This is due to the fact that Kanin (1994) examined the rate of false allegations reported to police in only one small community in the US from 1978 to 1987. A mere 109 complaints were used in the study, 45 of which were deemed as 'false' over 9 years. Allegations were classified as false due to complainants recanting their statements to police. Therefore, this led Lisak (2007: 22) to assert that "Kanin's 1994 article on false allegations is a provocative opinion piece, but it is not a scientific study of the issue of false reporting of rape. It certainly should never be used to assert a scientific foundation for the frequency of false allegations".

Commenter Steve Madden: The following article is about Brandon Winston who was falsely accused by Kamilah Willingham, google: [slate+the_hunting_ground_a_closer_look_at_the_influential_documentary_reveals](#) (by Emily Yoffe)

The following article is about Jameis Winston who was falsely accused by Erica Kinsman and her money grubbing lawyer aunt Patricia Carrol (coincidentally the two falsely accused men have the same surname), google:

[nationalreview+415269+filmmakers-omit-inconvenient-facts-about-campus-rape-allegation](#)

Another excellent article is by Billy Townsend, google:

lakelandlocal+read-the-reports-jameis-winston-is-almost-certainly-innocent-and-his-accuser-was-almost-certainly-a-victim/comment-page-1

Here, the 'facts and statistics' achieve the action orientation of discrediting campus sexual assault. This discourse strategy is used to argue against the frequency of campus sexual assault while presenting the writer as reasonable. Thus, the speaker is in the unique position of being able to orient himself or herself away from accusations of exhibiting sexism and prejudice; after all, he or she is merely 'quoting the facts'. An intriguing dimension of the false rape repertoire is its frequent reliance on statistical evidence. While the occurrence of false rape claims is discursively constructed, participants such as the commenter above also regularly rely on citing and publishing statistics, data, figures as well as providing links to articles and news reports in order to provide affirmation to the argument that sexual assault is wholly over-exaggerated in American culture, and that many sexual assault allegations prove to be incorrect.

4.3 The Feminazi Repertoire

A compounding of feminist and Nazi, *Urban Dictionary* (2017) defines a feminazi as:

A feminist who supports the hatred of men, female privilege, the culling/extermination of men, censorship of opposing arguments (facebook [sic], Wikipedia, university protests of talks concerning mens [sic] issues, mass flagging on youtube videos etc). The term feminazi is a play on the words feminist and Nazi as those who use the term believe there are glaring similarites [sic] between the two political ideologies and their methods of censorship, propaganda, fallacys [sic], double standards and causing division.

Naturally, commenters repeatedly call upon this term when utilising the feminazi repertoire. However, it also involves the articulation of beliefs that women hate men

and are purposefully attempting to ruin the lives of men and boys through using sexual assault as a weapon. Feminism is discursively negotiated with disdain, suspicion and even hatred. Documentaries and discussions surrounding sexual assault and misconduct are referred to as propaganda, and the 'brainwashing' induced by feminists is also a key concern for respondents who engage with the feminazi repertoire.

Furthermore, the feminazi repertoire is also concerned with a seeming 'rape hysteria' surrounding dialogues about campus sexual assault. Commenters articulate their assessment that rape and sexual violence/assault/misconduct is without merit as it is overstated, embellished and completely over-emphasised to the point that an illogical hysteria has taken over. Participants make mention of The Salem Witch Trials and McCarthyism as being similar to the current public concern over sexual assault. Commenters also recount narratives of being too terrified of interacting with women even in the most mundane, everyday situations for fear of being perceived as attempting to sexually assault them. Feminists are accused of falsely spreading fear and inciting public hysteria in order to serve a political agenda. Thus, the very real fear which many women must contend with every day of becoming a victim of sexual assault is reduced to an irrational panic which has been inflated and amplified beyond the scope of deserving due attention and collective action.

Examples include:

Commenter 77tubuck: You hate men we get it. No this man hating bile is not needed.

Commenter 77tubuck immediately equates dialogues addressing sexual assault with hatred of men. In *The Hunting Ground* documentary, hatred of men is never espoused nor condoned. However, by employing repetition of the word *hate*, the commenter

redirects attention towards a narrative accumulation of male victimhood, that this is, in fact, the problem which must be addressed.

Commenter Madonna bu: "It's all for "equality". Fuck, I really hate the feminists morons who give my gender a bad name".

In this example, the commenter discursively positions herself as a woman while simultaneously explicitly countering the notion of feminism. She accomplishes this by asserting that it is "feminist morons" who are giving her gender a bad name. Why exactly is feminism giving her gender a bad name? She thus establishes a discursive dichotomy between herself and feminist advocacy and situates feminist action as the aggressor and aggregator of discord. Furthermore, this particular comment also has received 11 thumbs up. What is interesting is that commenters who identify themselves to be female and who participate in this gendered 'e-bile' are often applauded for condemning feminism (Jane, 2016).

Commenter 77tubuck: "What's the better headline: School Brings Raped Girl Justice or 100+ Schools Cover Up Rape Cases?" They are both bad. "School Brings Raped Girl Justice" mean someone who could be innocent was found guilty in a campus kangaroo court. "100+ Schools Cover Up Rape Cases" would be a feminazi lie.

Here, we see an amalgamation of the false rape repertoire and the feminazi repertoire. The commenter expends his or her discursive resources on making salient that justice for women equates the persecution of an innocent man. Furthermore, the exposure of campus-sexual-assault censorship is reconfigured as an outright fallacy. By discursively constructing feminists as the 'other' and feminist causes as 'lies', sexual assault is not only minimised but entirely rendered as fictional.

Commenter red pill philosophy: Hope this documentary documents the series of false rape allegations that women have been making recently, thanks partially to their being brainwashed by delusional campus feminists to believe "all men are rapists".

Firstly, the commenter identifies himself or herself as 'red pill philosophy'. This is most likely in reference to the Red Pill forum, an alt-right Reddit online community dedicated to exploring the philosophy that it is, in fact, men, not women, who experience social, political, cultural and economic disenfranchisement. The participants on this forum are especially contemptuous of feminism, and often view gender-based violence as a feminist construct intended to subjugate men. Consequently, online discourses such as these are pertinent as studies (see Dignam & Rohlinger, 2019) have demonstrated that men conceptualise gender in ways that inform their personal and political action. Respondents who cultivate discourses of denialism and mitigation with regards to campus sexual assault are a cause for concern as internet misogyny has been known to often potentially parallel real-world harassment (Filipovic, 2007: 295).

Commenter Skyclasp: Great another feminazi driven film to make us all believe that due to a few cases of sexual assault there's some rape epidemic in the West.

Commenter Logical genius: "...What does that tell us about radical feminists like Amy Ziering and her mangina friend Kirby Dick? ... that even though the film has been exposed as feminist propaganda and a man-shaming scam, they continue on unabated, still pushing the lie."

In these two comments, we see a continuation of sexual assault negation. This negation is achieved through discourse that explicitly contextualises discussions

surrounding campus sexual assault as a lie fuelled by feminists. The commenters focus their discursive resources on discrediting the sexual assault issue by connecting it to feminism, an ideology which has a well-documented history of being viewed with suspicion and disdain (Harding, Ford & Fotaki, 2013). These notions surrounding feminist action have had ample opportunity to be further reified during the internet age. According to Dunlap (1988: 251), the marginalisation of feminism also frequently involves the marginalisation of issues and concerns central to women, such as sexual assault.

In this dataset, this marginalisation is achieved through overt mitigating and intensifying strategies. Sexual assault is mitigated through the incorporation of discursive markers such as “a few cases” and “lies” in reference to sexual assault. However, intensification is even more regularly utilised, as can be seen from instances where feminism is accused of attempting to construct a narrative in which rape is an epidemic. Additionally, further intensification can be seen in the instance where films that address sexual misconduct are likened to propaganda and “man-shaming scams”. Across the repertoires, respondents are concerned with the perceived brainwashing and ideological indoctrination achieved by texts that challenge sexual assault. The individuals mentioned by commenter Logical genius include Amy Ziering and Kirby Dick. Amy Ziering is an acclaimed filmmaker and producer of the Academy Award-nominated documentary film, *The Invisible War*. Similarly to *The Hunting Ground*, this film is concerned with sexual assault, namely the high rates of violent sexual assault within the US military. Kirby Dick wrote and directed *The Invisible War*. The commenter refers to him as a “mangina”, a play on words combining ‘man’ and ‘vagina’. If we once again use *Urban Dictionary* (2017) as a reference, then this is a

derogatory term for a man “who plays up the feminist agenda” or attends to female privilege.

Commenter Gene Waserman: Sexual Assault in America = Man talks to a Woman.

Commenter David Winston: Let loose the dogs of the witch hunt.

Commenter smug buster: dat McCarthyism tho.

Above we can see examples of how respondents discursively associate opposition to sexual assault with extremism and mass hysteria. This vehement resistance towards engaging in a meaningful discussion about the problem of sexual violence on campuses is significant. Not only is campus sexual assault mitigated, but rape activism is instead discursively intensified and distorted into a dangerous and repressive political ideology. This is noteworthy as in their research on anti-feminist men’s rights discourses on rape, Gottell and Dutton (2016) posit that in recent years online counterclaims to anti-rape feminism have intensified. A popular counterclaim appropriated by men’s rights activism and identified by Gottel and Dutton (2016) is that rape culture is a feminist-produced moral panic. The comments analysed in my study also suggest that campus sexual assault is emerging as a new target and focus for online misogyny. Matchar (2014) warns that men’s rights activists threaten to define the public conversation on sexual violence. Therefore, this disregard shown by commenters for systemic factors, particularly gendered sexual norms, can potentially obstruct feminist mobilisation and the combating of sexual violence and campus sexual assault.

4.4 The Modesty Repertoire

Video 1: “Rhodes students form human barrier, protest topless against rape”

(<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9noISdRte54&feature=youtu.be>)

Online commenters responding to the two videos featuring activism against sexual assault on South African universities largely tend to focus their discussions on the act of protest, instead of on the problem of campus sexual assault. Many respondents employ the ‘modesty repertoire’ during their talk of campus sexual assault and the events depicted in the videos. The modesty repertoire involves how respondents react to the sight of women protesting nude or partially nude to draw awareness to the problem of sexual assault and sexual harassment on South African campuses. These protests are frequently employed by anti-rape feminist groups and non-human animal rights activist groups to attract attention to their causes. Thus, feminine bodies that are commonly subjected to sexualisation are mobilised to assert that a woman’s manner of dress does not equate an invitation to engage in sex. The purpose is not to perpetuate nor enshrine rape culture. Rather, as Fanghanel (2020: 262) claims, the naked body is “presented as a grotesquery” in the service of emancipatory politics. Furthermore, nakedness has gendered connotations that are “embedded in histories and ideologies of racism, sexism, classism, colonialism, homophobia and other systems of oppression” (Sutton, 2007: 142). However, this activism is largely ignored by online commenters in favour of disproportionately adhering to a repertoire of shamefulness due to the public display of the naked female body. Additionally, respondents tend to reproduce ‘common-knowledge’ rape scripts more frequently than the respondents from the US sample. Some examples include the following:

Commenter Sunderly: doesn't being naked make people want to rape you more just me or do i only use logic.

Commenter warpin 3: I really don't see how protesting half naked will help to stop or even decrease rape. I 'm AGAINST rape, by the way.

Commenter Buzile Ntukela: The protesting past is okay but being topless at it is like asking rapists to come.

From the above examples, we can see how the modesty repertoire is in many ways an amalgamation of various traditional rape myths. Respondents are largely concerned with how naked protests can potentially aggravate rape. This is discursively constructed by positing the female body as inherently sexual, and thus consequently rendering sexual desire as a prospective common precursor to rape. The comment by Buzile Ntukela demonstrates how pathological agency is ascribed to feminine bodies through the implication that female nudity invites sexual assault. Therefore, the criminality and autonomy of the potential rapist are ignored in lieu of amassing attention around victim culpability. Even commenter warpin3, while attempting to mitigate his or her assertions by emphasising in caps that he or she opposes and is “against” rape, questions the legitimacy involved in staging naked protests. Furthermore, commenter Sunderly discursively situates himself or herself in a superior subject position by invoking reasonable, common-sense knowledge and merely using “logic”. As a result, the victim blaming intrinsically embedded within these dialogues is rendered salient. Consequently, as the display of the female body is likened with inducing forced sexual contact, female self-actualisation is repudiated. Accordingly, these samples show how female bodies remain objects onto which patriarchal discourses reaffirm their ownership by inscribing the discursive meanings of nakedness.

Commenter Jasinator (in response to Buzile Ntukela): So rape is okay as long as the women were showing their breasts? Then they deserve it? It's not the RAPISTS fault, it's the womans fault (for being born a with breasts)? Do these women who are someones daughter, sister, maybe even mother, deserve to be raped for showing their breasts? I'm just curious because that's what you're comment is implying.

Commenter Buzile Ntukela (in response): maybe you did'nt quite get my point. I said protesting is okay but being topless at it is like luring rapists to come.

Commenter GypsyVictorious (in response): Buzile Ntukela the point is that women shouldn't be raped regardless of what they wear or don't wear!

From the examples above, we see commenters attempt to challenge the modesty repertoire and oppose the pathologising of the female body. Therefore, the mitigating discourses surrounding campus sexual assault are not always left uncontested. Commenter Jasinator questions the gendered implications of commenter Buzile Ntukela's statements. Nevertheless, while many respondents may have initiated qualifying discourses in reference to their claims in order to save face, commenter Buzile Ntukela instead reifies his or her account (Avery, 2010). She or he insists that commenter Jasinator did not understand the meaning of what she or he was attempting to convey, and then proceeds to discursively justify the legitimacy of protesting in and of itself, while simultaneously employing intensification to pathologize nude protests by indicating that naked female bodies have the causal effect of prompting sexual assault. When commenter GypsyVictorious posits that women should not be raped as a consequence of their attire, or lack thereof, commenter Buzile Ntukela does not issue a response and this specific comment thread is discontinued. However, similar

sentiments are commonly expressed elsewhere in the comments section of this video, as can be seen by:

Commenter Wayne Riley: These women are just making spectacles of themselves, marching and protesting is no longer an effective method to apply pressure and change in 2016.....doing it topless just makes them look like extremely silly attention seekers.

What is interesting here is commenter Wayne Riley's assertion of protesting no longer being an effective method to enact change. With regards to the videos dealing with campus sexual assault in South Africa, contempt towards protesting is a recurring theme. Even if the activism is directed towards a 'worthy' cause such as rape and sexual assault, respondents are often quick to condemn the protests, yet the target of the protests – sexual assault – is largely minimised or ignored. Besides expressing disdain for legal, peaceful protest action, commenter Wayne Riley participates in this mitigation by reducing the protest to women merely "making spectacles of themselves". The commenter employs the discursive qualifier "just" twice in his comment. Therefore, he further modifies the meaning of his discourse by discursively reframing the protest by limiting it to "just" making them look silly. This also relates back to his claim that the protesters are making a spectacle of themselves and serves to acutely mitigate the very serious issue at hand, by reducing it to being frivolous and "silly".

Commenter Delafosee1000: what's wrong with this girl's man ? That's not how you protest against rape. It is like you inviting people to rape you again... Look at them titties man?

Here, we once again see a preoccupation with the nakedness on display during the protest, and a repeat of the idea that the female body is a potential instigator of rape.

The commenter even explicitly states that by showing their “titties” the protesters are inviting rape. The commenter also denounces the protests by asserting, similarly to many other commenters, that this method is the incorrect action through which to protest against rape. Once again, the pressing issue at hand is overlooked in favour of criticising the protesters. This is very dangerous, as the whole point of activism and protest action is to call attention to a particular issue. It is an attempt to force the public to acknowledge a problem, and when attention instead disproportionately aggregates around criticism of the act, then campus sexual assault is once again not adequately recognised and meaningful change is potentially curtailed.

Commenter Rene G (in response to Delafosee1000): Then how does one protest against rape. Yes they have breasts so what never seen breasts. So you're saying having breasts is an invitation to rape? I honestly I haven't met anyone who has actively invited a person to rape them that kind off defeats the whole purpose rape is forcing someone to have intercourse with you. BTW people with little to no boobs get raped, people fully dresses from head till too #ArabicTraditonalDress get raped. It doesn't matter what you wear PR don't wear. #StopVictimBlaming. Them taking off their tops shows that the want to end the mystification and sexualization of the female body.

Commenter Rene G responds to commenter Delafosee1000 by pointing out that nude protests aim to emphasise the danger around the incessant sexualisation of the female body. Despite this comment asserting feminist advocacy and also highlighting that how women dress does not cause rape, there has been no engagement with this comment. It also has not received any thumbs up and the conversation has ceased.

Commenter 97: This display of white feminist theatrics in black face won't do nothing but depreciate their agenda.

Commenter 97 links the protests against campus sexual assault to 'white feminism'. Feminism has long been critiqued for lacking inclusivity and not attending enough to the distinct problems facing women of different backgrounds and races, which has led to calls for a more intersectional approach to feminist politics (see White, 1999). However, commenter 97's response is still a mitigation of campus sexual assault. Women in Africa have long used naked protests as a form of activism (see Sutton 2007; Gouws, 2017). There is once again no mention made of the issue at hand nor the reasons for the protests. The respondent instead focuses his discursive resources on deriding feminism and comparing the activism on display to "theatrics". This has the discursive effect of diminishing campus sexual assault and reducing it to mere theatricality, detracting from the political agency exhibited by the protesters. The commenter goes on further to assert that nothing will be accomplished except a depreciation of their "agenda".

Video 2: Wits 'naked' protest: Students protest against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_w9XJwzliw&feature=youtu.be)

Commenter Sherri Soloman: these women are going about this all WRONG!
They NEED for SELF defense classes and to carry antirape defense devices!
Always travel in packs vs being alone.

Commenter The Germanic American88: No such thing as rape culture, like seriously where tf is it?

Commenter Mphoza Fisher: do these fools think by being naked they are pushing a plight, instead they are perpetuating it. indeed watch as statistics sky rocket.

From the comments above, we can once again see traditional rape myths in action. The respondents employ 'common-knowledge' rape discourses to account for the protests, thus mitigating the campus rape phenomenon. Commenter Sherri Soloman emphatically states that the protesters are proceeding with the incorrect course of action, emphasising this claim by the use of "wrong" in caps with an exclamation mark at the end. According to this commenter, self-defence techniques and safety devices as well as avoiding travelling alone are the correct solution, versus engaging in protest action. On the one hand, advice such as this is often well-intentioned and may seem logical; after all, if there is a campus rape problem, should students not take precautions to protect themselves (Mcmahon, 2010)? On the other hand, comments such as these reproduce hegemonic ideologies that disproportionately place responsibility for combating, avoiding and stopping rape on the potential victim's shoulders. Once again, attention is redirected away from the rapist and the criminality inherent of the act. The next two comments continue to mitigate sexual assault and rape culture. Commenter The Germanic American⁸⁸ unequivocally states that there is no such thing as rape culture, thus discursively rendering it a fallacy. Commenter Mphoza Fisher also directs attention towards the nude aspect of the protest, calling the protesters "fools" and pointing out that they are perpetuating sexual assault by appearing naked. He even insists that rape statistics will dramatically increase as a result of the naked protests, levelling the blame for sexual assault upon the victims as a result of their lack of modesty.

Commenter John Mhlanga (in response to Mphoza Fisher): +mphoza fisha I feel sorry for you my friend. I assume you are a man like me and don't understand the message that is being sent to you, in fact the poetry being "perpetuated" is against men like you. Without even realizing it they have revealed yourself as part of the problem!

Commenter ProdigyX117 (in response): +John Mhlanga I would go to this just to see tits lmao.

Commenter John Mhlanga attempts to discursively challenge the narrative provided by commenter Mphoza Fisher by asserting that Mphoza Fisher is part of the problem. He attempts to appeal to Mphoza Fisher by establishing a sense of similarity between them through claiming that he assumed commenter Mphoza Fisher was "like" him. This appeal is met with a single response by commenter ProdigyX117, who states that he would attend the protest "just to see tits lmao".

Commenter Tafara Olympus: Nothing but floppy boobs here.

Commenter Kay Hiway: #FeesMustFall...why must it be #BoobsOnShow?

Commenter Killjoy the Clown: If u wont to increase your chances of getting rape try covering the jugs.

Commenter Foo Rankoo: The first girl has a right to be nude. You see the jugs on her? I support that, damn!

Commenter Zenade Godongwane: Of course the hot girl won't show their tits.

Throughout the comments section in response to these videos, there is a preoccupation with the exhibition of the female body, and the immorality associated

with its display. What distinguishes the comments above, however, is that they are not only concerned with levelling criticism at the female protesters, but are also concerned with mocking and ridiculing them and their bodies. Commenters make vulgar references to the breasts of the protesters, with some questioning why they would appear naked when they are not physically attractive enough to do so. This completely warps the intent and purpose of such activism, as the goal is to vehemently compel the public into recognising the absurdity of the continuous, almost spontaneous, sexualisation of the female body.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I present an interpretation of my analyses informed by FDP on the ways in which social actors construct campus sexual assault in the comments sections of YouTube videos. The dataset analysed demonstrated the “complex social processes which perpetuate rape-supportive culture in everyday talk” (Doherty & Anderson, 1998: 584). The study supports existing research concerning the pernicious nature of problematic gendered sexual assault representations that endure online (see Guha, 2015; Dodge, 2016; Lumsden & Morgan, 2017). Furthermore, the current research study also supports other research (see Boonzaier, 2017) in that it demands a rethinking of our framing of gendered violence. With the present study, different social constructs concerning campus sexual assault are omitted or accentuated. However, in contrast to previous studies (see Everitt-Penhale, 2013) that found rape to be constructed as a masculine behaviour, here, the occurrence of rape is largely denied. The social and ethical implications surrounding sexual assault are eschewed in favour of repudiating the existence and extent of the problem. The following sections of this chapter will proceed to discuss the significant results from the study, as well as the three discursive repertoires predominantly utilised by online respondents in the dataset.

A key finding of the study was the occurrence of respondents repeatedly deploying and actively engaging a set of definable discursive repertoires. Despite the innumerable ideologies and linguistic strategies at their disposal, respondents repeatedly chose to orient towards these few repertoires. Furthermore, these repertoires had the combined effect of mitigating the problem of campus sexual

assault. For the comments section of the YouTube video trailer for *The Hunting Ground*, most of the findings from this research suggest that rape-victim blaming is still present; however, it is experiencing discursive reformulation and change. While the discursive strategies that the respondents take up might at first not be viewed as traditional victim blaming, pro-rape narratives remain embedded at their core, and women are largely held culpable for campus sexual assault.

Many rape myths (false and unrealistic expectations surrounding how rape is defined and constituted) are well known, including, among other myths, women 'asking for it' by dressing provocatively, becoming intoxicated at parties, being sexually promiscuous, willingly being alone with the perpetrator, lacking 'adequate' resistance during the assault, or having a previous or current intimate relationship with the perpetrator. These negative perceptions of women who have been sexually assaulted have a well-documented history as serving to minimise the severity and frequency of rape and shifting responsibility from perpetrator onto victim (see Pollard, 1992; Whatley, 1996; Anderson, Cooper & Okamura, 1997; Suarez & Gadalla, 2010; Hockett et al., 2016). Research has shown that these rape myths, which function to focus on the behaviour of victims versus the behaviour of perpetrators, are often overwhelmingly utilised during talk of sexual assault (see L'Armand & Pepitone, 1982; Heise, Pitanguy & Germain, 1993; Du Mont, Miller & Myhr, 2003). According to Tomlinson (1999: 118), myth-associated characteristics of sexual assaults are "deeply embedded in our general culture".

Nonetheless, Buddie and Miller (2001) also suggest that perceptions of rape victims are more multifaceted than has previously been suggested. This study supports this notion, through findings that societal stereotypes and common rape myths are largely eschewed in favour of new forms of victim blaming and myth making, resulting

in the utilisation of three preferred repertoires in the remediation of campus sexual assault.

Interestingly, several comments did not service one particular repertoire. Instead, the comments assembled by respondents are often an amalgamation of the various repertoires functioning collectively to minimise and repudiate the existence and significance of campus sexual violence. The deployment of these repertoires is significant for many reasons, one of which being due to the overwhelming influence of online media. Bernard C. Cohen is quoted (in Nel, 1994: 15) as saying the following regarding print media, yet the same is true for online information:

The press is significantly more than a purveyor of information and opinion. It may not be successful much of the time in telling us what to think, but it is stunningly successful in telling its readers what to think about. And it follows from this that the world looks different to different people depending not only on their personal interests, but also on the map that is drawn for them by the writers and editors, and publishers of the papers that they read. The editor may believe that he is only printing things that people want to read, but he is thereby putting a claim on their attention, powerfully determining what they will be thinking about, and talking about, until the next wave laps their shore.

The three commonly utilised repertoires from the datasets will now be discussed in further depth. For the US video, *The Hunting Ground*, two overarching repertoires are discerned. These are the false rape repertoire and the feminazi repertoire. Furthermore, for the South African videos, user engagement and commenting were less copious than the US counterpart. Nonetheless, after analysis, one central repertoire revealed itself: the modesty repertoire.

5.2 The False Rape Repertoire:

As previously discussed in the findings chapter, the false rape repertoire involves participants highlighting and stressing false rape claims. Participants employ their discursive resources and energy to engage in dialogues surrounding the multitudes of, and damage wrought by, false rape claims. Common themes that emerged include the concern for how these false allegations impact and victimise men particularly, based on the summation of data and statistics in support of the false rape epidemic. Interestingly, these statistics are also often uncorroborated and without sources or other means of authentication. Academic peer-reviewed studies and research studies are seldom referenced. Despite the fact that much research exists which supports the notion that false rape claims are incredibly low (between about 2% – 6%), respondents largely concern themselves with discussing this issue (see Gavey & Gow, 2001; Belknap, 2010). Numerous comments in the dataset are indicative of, although not limited to, the false rape repertoire.

Instead of discursive action aggregating around the topic of the video – the problematic presence of campus sexual assault – respondents overwhelmingly in some form or another orient towards this specific repertoire. Furthermore, instead of relatively balanced and neutral investigations into false rape accounts, what emerged was a candid construction of women as purposefully providing erroneous testimony, and a denial of the broader social and historical context of rape. Sexual violence is a serious crime that impacts women’s everyday lives, their behaviour, attire, safety measures, yet respondents refrain from being cognisant of this material reality. Gavey and Gow (2011: 34) suggest that this construction of “the ‘new issue’ of false rape allegations can be read as an expression of ‘backlash anxiety’ about the emergent gains made by feminists in challenging rape-supportive discourses and practices in

society". As can be seen throughout the dataset, feminism, and feminist causes, is often met with distrust and distain. The media shape public reactions to the feminist movement, and this materialises in different forms in the US and SA. This is further exemplified by deployment of the feminazi repertoire, and my discussion of this repertoire will address this in additional detail.

Gavey and Gow (2011) further propose that widespread circulation and adherence to such myths hinder the criminal justice system and broader cultural responses to rape that are sympathetic to women who are raped. This is why such strong adherence to the false rape repertoire becomes problematic: it belies the presence of systemic patriarchal power disparities. One of the concerns of *The Hunting Ground* is not only that campus sexual assault is a common occurrence, but also the disconcerting failure of organisations, institutions and administrators to adequately address the problem. The refusal to engage with and discuss the issue at hand only further perpetuates this problem. This is why the negation at the heart of the false rape repertoire is noteworthy. It potentially contributes towards the dilemma of campus sexual assault and renders women further vulnerable to victim blaming, which, in turn, only continues to sustain their susceptibility to sexual violence. Repertoires such as the false rape repertoire thus possess the power to sustain unequal gendered power relations. An issue (campus rape) which is largely associated with women is minimised and essentially outright refuted. As a result, this problem which affects women is denounced, making it more difficult for meaningful systemic change to be enacted and allowing for sexual misconduct to escalate.

This leads us to another dimension of the false rape repertoire, the statistical element. While the occurrence of false rape claims is discursively constructed, statistical evidence is frequently employed. Respondents often greatly rely on citing

and publishing statistics, data, figures as well as links to articles and news reports in order to affirm the argument that sexual assault is wholly overexaggerated in American culture, and that many sexual assault allegations prove to be incorrect. Instead of merely introducing and deliberating the issue of the presence of false rape allegations, commenters reaffirm it by outwardly appearing factual. It is this veneer of factuality that lies at the heart of the false rape repertoire.

Thus, when it comes to the false rape repertoire, respondents take up a defensive position and take great care to provide 'evidence' that campus sexual assault is an overstated and superfluous problem. The participatory nature of YouTube spontaneously allows for dialogue and the sharing of information; thus, it is noteworthy when commenters expend their discursive resources on presenting statistics. Statistics are generally viewed as a principled argument. The publication of statistics is seen as a sign of logic, research and expertise and renders a speaker more knowledgeable and even more trustworthy. According to Hoeken and Hustinx (2009), "under certain conditions, statistical evidence is more persuasive than anecdotal evidence in supporting a claim about the probability that a certain event will occur." However, the deployment of statistics can also be misleading. While providing a veil of accuracy, statistical evidence is highly variable and still remains open to interpretation, and social media respondents are free to cite and publish almost any information as corroboration for their argument.

The reason statistics are effective, however, is that they impede further discursive deliberation. It can be highly challenging to argue against a posited fact, figure or reference in the moment, because statistical evidence presents itself as being objective and largely irrefutable. Respondents who wish to reasonably counter the narrative presented by a commenter would have to first investigate its accuracy. This

can be time consuming and it is likely that few potential respondents would engage in this research. Consequently, this has the potential effect of silencing feminist discursive action and diminishing female political participation. Research is scarce on the utilisation of statistical evidence for argumentation purposes in online user-generated content. Dosekun (2013) identifies a statistics repertoire with regards to rape. According to her research, participants in their talk of rape in South Africa quoted statistics that were overwhelmingly unspecified and unattributed. Henceforth, not much has changed from Dosekun's (2013) study, and her work remains applicable. Consequently, feminist research and activism remain highly necessary to highlight and hopefully attend to these issues. Nonetheless, the power of interpretative repertoires such as the false rape repertoire lies in its outward veracity. While much of what commenters claim may not be entirely accurate, this repertoire in essence does possess a level of accuracy. While exaggerated by many respondents, the very existence of false rape claims cannot be denied. This is a problem which undoubtedly does take place, albeit on a very small scale. Thus, this can prove to be a convincing argument, and an easy repertoire to take up.

5.3 The Feminazi Repertoire:

As portmanteau of the words 'feminism' and 'Nazi', feminazi merged in the 1990s and was popularised by political commentator Rush Limbaugh to describe a specific brand of 'extreme' feminism (Smith, 2017). At this time, the term was mostly applied to pro-choice activists in the USA. Since then, the term has found its way into the mainstream zeitgeist and is popularly used on social media. The label is applied in a variety of ways to imbue negative value upon certain groups of women. Smith (2017) contends that the frequent utilisation of the marker triggers a stereotypical

representation, and it suggests that feminism is bad *per se*. A key aspect of this repertoire is that commenters repeatedly call upon the term *feminazi* when utilising the feminazi repertoire. The accusatory nature of the repertoire is significant, as the term is mostly employed by participants as an indictment and denunciation. However, it also involves the articulation of beliefs that women hate men and are purposefully attempting to ruin the lives of men and boys through using sexual assault as a weapon. Feminism is discursively negotiated with disdain, suspicion and even hatred. Documentaries and discussions surrounding sexual assault and sexual misconduct are referred to as propaganda, and the “brainwashing” induced by feminists is also a key concern for respondents who engage with the feminazi repertoire.

In Gotell and Dutton’s (2016) research on the discourse on popular men’s rights activism websites, it is argued that sexual violence is emerging as a new focus of the men’s rights movement. Gotell and Dutton (2016) found that common topics with regards to men’s rights activism include the claims that false allegations are widespread, and that rape culture is a feminist-produced moral panic. The repertoires identified in the present study also support that anti-feminist men’s rights activism potentially hinders the conversation around anti-rape activism. By utilising comparisons to The Salem Witch Trials and McCarthyism, respondents evoke discourses of fear and paranoia. These are notorious examples of mass hysteria. Applying the logic that campus sexual assault is a comparable situation not only mitigates the problem of campus sexual assault but contextualises the issue as invoking unbridled panic. To contextualise the dramatic proliferation of these terms as associated with the feminazi repertoire, it is necessary to understand that anti-rape activism is directly equated with feminism, and feminism in the dataset is largely viewed through a lens of mistrust and apprehension.

While with the false rape repertoire respondents focus more strongly on minimising rape culture and repudiating the magnitude of campus sexual assault, with the feminazi repertoire the focus is more directed towards emphasising the negative features of feminism as an ideology. Consequently, while the previous repertoire focused much more on firm denialism/minimisation of the issue, with the feminazi repertoire, a form of intensification takes place regarding the behaviour of people who support anti-rape movements. Little critical engagement with feminist principles and theories accompanies this repertoire. Commenters are highly mistrustful of feminist philosophies, yet seldom provide a comprehensive reason or explanation as to why they believe it to be problematic. Respondents discursively establish and negotiate the potential manic outcome or consequence of feminist anti-rape activist texts. Thus, feminism is directly equated with radicalisation, yet what about calling attention to sexual violence is a radical idea?

5.4 The Modesty Repertoire (South African Videos)

For the SA videos, respondents largely utilised the modesty repertoire during their discussions concerning the protests against campus sexual assault featured in the video clips. The two YouTube video clips in question depicted female students engaging in naked protests in order to vividly highlight to the issue of campus sexual assault at South African universities. The nude method of protest employed by the female students became a dominating topic of conversation in the comments sections of both videos. Thus, the 'immodesty' on display became a central focus for participants, with discourses revolving around the female form. Orth, Andipatin and Van Wyk (2020) describe the public reactions to the South African #Endrapeculture protests. While the reactions studied by Orth, Andipatin and Van Wyk (2020) were

mainly restricted to the social media platform Facebook (not YouTube), their findings largely correlate with my own. The protests were largely successful in initiating public conversation around the topic of campus sexual assault. Nevertheless, Orth, Andipatin and Van Wyk (2020: 23) found that “reactions towards the #nakedprotest were divided with some perpetuating a mainstream public discourse which perpetuates rape culture”. A further finding was that victim blaming emerged as a consequence of commenters suggesting that the protesters were increasing their chances of being sexually assaulted by marching topless (Orth, Andipatin & Van Wyk, 2020: 24).

The normalisation of the sexualisation of the female body in the data corpus is fundamentally connected to patriarchal power dynamics. Textual constructions of the female body in South Africa have a long and sensational history which is beyond the scope of this study. According to Gill and Elias (2014), the female body is a site of contradictions. Furthermore, Gqola (2007: 111) argues that the dichotomous nature of the female form is “enabled by the continuum through which masculinities and femininities are thought and sanctioned in contemporary South Africa”. This pernicious, yet contradictory, regulation of women is present in the sample. Commenters frequently discursively mobilise to argue that rape is wrong, but that displaying a nude female body will only aggravate the problem. Respondents who are critical of nude protesting rarely engage in a thorough explanation as to the reason why in their responses. The focus appears to be on an almost visceral, instinctual response to label nude female bodily exhibition as abject (Altrows, 2016). This is intriguing, as sexualising women and girls transpires with alarming regularity across media forms. However, the responses from the commenters suggest that the display of female bodies that do not service patriarchal desires and instead facilitate emancipatory politics are vulgar and provocative.

As previously mentioned, commenters on the SA videos appear to subscribe more strongly to stereotypical rape mythology. This notion of the female body intrinsically initiating rape is a long-standing rape myth. While US respondents focus more acutely on minimising the problem, SA commenters are more concerned about the behavioural dimension exhibited by women. These SA comments show that fascination over female bodies continues to saturate the media. As an articulation of sexism, the continued preoccupation with the female body is problematic for several reasons. One of these reasons is that continued patriarchal discursive markers applied to female forms often shift from bodily to psychic regulation, ensuring that traditional male/female dichotomies and unequal gendered power relations are maintained. While the repertoires identified from the US video might constitute seemingly more subtle victim blaming, they still function to suppress the conversation surrounding campus sexual assault. The policing and disparaging of women was present in both samples of comments. For the SA sample, participants were more concerned with the physical female body, as well as regulating visual access to feminine bodies. This resulted in respondents projecting sexual associations onto femininities. The US sample saw greater emphasis placed upon denouncing female testimony relating to rape claims, thus potentially policing female political and discursive autonomy. Henceforth, while talk of campus sexual assault may be differently discursively constructed in the datasets, my study finds that rape-supportive cultures emerge in both contexts.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

Through a study of user-generated content, namely online YouTube comments, my study examined discourses surrounding campus sexual assault across two cultures. Viewer responses to the trailer of *The Hunting Ground* documentary film and two clips

depicting protests and dissent against rape on South African campuses were analysed using an FDP methodology. For my final segment, I will now proceed to outline my concluding remarks and observations regarding the research undertaken.

5.5.1 Key findings

The key finding of this study was the identification of three dominant discursive repertoires across the various investigated user comments posted in response to the video clips. As of 2020, YouTube is the world's most popular website, with more monthly traffic than Facebook and Twitter combined (Hardwick, 2020). Despite this ubiquity of online media, as well as being easily accessible to millions of individuals articulating numerous ideas and theories, the respondents in this dataset repeatedly oriented to discernible overarching discursive themes. With countless discursive strategies at their disposal, a significant division of participants employ and expound upon the false rape repertoire, the feminazi repertoire, and the modesty repertoire.

5.5.2 Significance of the study

This research demonstrated the importance of examining talk regarding sexual assault on online spaces. This is in line with Burgess and Matamoros-Fernández (2016: 3), who assert that “social media play a prominent role in mediating issues of public concern, not only providing the stage on which public debates play out, but also shaping their topics and dynamics”. The repertoires identified in my study showcase the interplay of engendered discourses on online platforms. These repertoires are noteworthy, as they individually and collectively function to not only minimise campus sexual assault, but also constrain feminine subjectivity and online agency. An unexpected finding from the study was the omnipotence of the false rape repertoire. For the US context, respondents repeatedly utilise this repertoire. Commenters for the

US video also largely eschew traditional rape scripts, myths, and victim blaming, instead largely resorting to a narrative of denialism when it comes to campus sexual assault. This is in contrast to the SA videos, where the nude protests depicted have become an avid talking point, resulting in commenters connecting rape with the female body. Nonetheless, my findings suggest that rape mitigation occurs cross-culturally and transnationally. Both the US and SA can be interpreted as constituting rape-prone environments, although they manifest and function in unique and distinct ways.

Talk about sexual assault is already a stigmatised problem. Discourses that potentially serve to hinder dialogue and constructive conversation with regards to the issue result in unequal access to self-disclosing media forms. The topic of the videos to which commenters responded revolve around establishing awareness about campus sexual assault as a pertinent issue. Yet, many respondents continuously redirect the conversation away from female subjective experiences regarding campus rape and violence. Repertoires that encompass silencing and diminishing pertinent issues are of consequence as “delays in disclosing sexual violence, or not disclosing at all, continue to persist and are of concern” (Alaggia & Wang, 2020: 2). Furthermore, the discourses that proliferate in this dataset possibly work to contest a gendered analysis of campus sexual assault. This is in line with Gottell and Dutton’s (2016: 76) work, which shows that online discourses can work to accuse feminists of “erasing the victimization of men, and to paint the feminist concept of rape culture as a moral panic”. Thus, the present findings illustrate a continuing need for further research on the issue.

5.6 Limitations and Recommendations

During the process of investigation, I identified certain limitations regarding my research. For the South African comments, far less user engagement took place in

comparison with the US responses. Additionally, *The Hunting Ground* is a documentary and presently no similar comparable documentary investigating campus sexual assault on South African campuses exists. Further research should continue to assess online attitudes towards campus sexual assault cross-culturally. This will support feminist advocacy and work towards creating safer and more equitable online spaces.

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Appendix A: YouTube comments section for “The Hunting Ground – Official Trailer”

ExportComments.com

Source <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GBNHGi36nIM&t=6s>

	Name (click to view profile)	Date	Likes	Comment	(view source)
1	ignFuze	28/01/01 14:29:59	0	if you are going to complain about rape, then dont go and view comment	
1-1	MsTiK	08/01/16 06:01:32	1	+ignFuze So women should wear burkhas because men can view comment	
2	John Doe	28/01/02 14:47:55	29	So, how's liberal higher education working out? You have view comment	
2-1	Emmie Mera	05/12/15 12:13:57	0	Great story/performance, but misleading descriptio. get view comment	
3	Smark Shillington, DFCO	28/01/08 14:30:37	0	Well, all it takes is a phone call to Rolling Stone magazine view comment	
4	Chad Battman	28/01/10 14:47:37	3	Most rapists in universities are 'athletes' mainly american view comment	
5	craigtorso	28/01/05 14:27:41	3	A reminder: Though so many of the comments here are view comment	
6	Lylie78	#####	9	There are way too many insecure men on this thread, th view comment	
7	Molly Hewitt	#####	2	I see a lot of comments about how rape is decreasing an view comment	
8	Renzo Arteaga	#####	0	I'm so sorry to find this so late! view comment	
9	Profoundly Deaf	#####	0	Sad, but true, woman today, in every street, every suburb view comment	
9-1	Automatic Porridge	10/11/15 02:35:23	1	Does "rape by dolphin" count as bestiality? view comment	
10	Aaron Taylor	#####	0	Kirby Dick makes decent documentaries about subjects view comment	
11	Fancyman181	#####	0	I want Lady Gaga TIHTY view comment	
12	Brian Shipley	#####	0	Anyone who is intellectually honest, instead of hysterical view comment	
13	BENNY RASHASHA	28/01/27 15:44:48	0	Wasn't this film debunked? view comment	
14	Silvannetwork	21/01/15 20:55:51	4	My privilege is getting checked so hard now view comment	
15	footytag	22/01/15 05:38:57	26	ah i see, only women get sexually assaulted. view comment	
16	Right Brainer	22/01/15 18:48:45	2	Looks interesting. I just hope it's based on up to date fac view comment	
17	Anjali Khanna	22/01/15 22:24:07	3	A documentary like this is much needed to provide more view comment	
17-1	edtastic	26/01/15 19:03:10	0	If you want information read some studies. These rape d view comment	
18	Kathy Myers	22/01/15 23:53:30	9	Konrad, it's about the institutional cover-up that's been view comment	
18-1	Brianna M	28/01/66 14:22:48	1	@***** "No sympathy" Wow, such a badass. Not textbc view comment	
18-2	JerryTheother	23/01/15 15:22:00	3	No one silenced you- you silenced yourself. Why didn't y view comment	
19	JerryTheother	23/01/15 15:16:10	19	Ha Ha - rape is down - but you say its not? Feminist lies a view comment	
19-1	a.arnold	28/01/29 14:23:43	3	@KingWess EntA joke because? (it should be 'an' not 'a', view comment	
19-2	KingWess Ent	28/01/74 14:22:41	4	This film is a absolute JOKE view comment	
19-3	KingWess Ent	25/01/15 23:21:22	1	@Kris McDaniel-Miccio I bet none of those sluts in that view comment	

19-4	Kris McDaniel-Miccio	25/01/15 23:19:18	2	another mindless comment by a mindless person. We h	view comment
19-5	KingWess Ent	25/01/15 22:57:48	0	Bunch of fuckery... College are full of sluts	view comment
20	David Shaw	23/01/15 15:48:42	0	The original documentary screened last year in France, p	view comment
21	Íñigo Arambarri Mendoza	23/01/15 19:27:10	12	LADY GAGA	view comment
22	Shady Pikachu	23/01/15 19:33:17	2	yaas Gaga	view comment
23	UriRules	23/01/15 19:34:35	0	GAGA	view comment
24	famn	23/01/15 19:35:39	101	Gaga brought me here. But I am glad she did because thi	view comment
24-1	H Soko	28/01/91 15:58:37	2	It is...I have seen it and I am going to have my 16 and 18	view comment
25	Leo X	23/01/15 19:35:56	58	Gaga is going to share a new song about this. I CAN'T W/	view comment
25-1	kyle bushnell	25/02/15 21:58:14	2	...about how much Verbal assault is taken as "rape" on c	view comment
25-2	Irene Xenos	25/02/15 02:45:53	0	Thanks I actually did see that after my initial confusion. 1	view comment
25-3	Brian Huffman	25/02/15 00:14:10	0	@Irene Xenos Diane Warren wrote a song for this film at	view comment
25-4	Irene Xenos	24/02/15 18:12:36	0	What?	view comment
25-5	MonstrousJesus	11/02/15 01:18:45	1	I heard "SWINE" plays sometime during the movie!!	view comment
26	A M	23/01/15 19:36:10	13	LADY GAGA-TILL IT HAPPENS TO YOU	view comment
27	Reynaldo Juarez	23/01/15 19:38:33	6	Lady Gaga till it happens to you	view comment
28	S S	23/01/15 20:38:49	4	Wait For Gaga <3	view comment
29	Eyoab Desalegn	23/01/15 21:02:56	37	Almost half of the comments are about lady gaga. Btw I!	view comment
29-1	Andrew Seelall	14/03/15 01:03:52	2	I'm here because of her too. Now I'll watch it. Thx	view comment
29-2	MonstrousJesus	11/02/15 01:19:52	5	@Jon Smith they are here because of lady gaga since she	view comment
29-3	Jon Smith	25/01/15 14:34:54	5	...because that's what important. shows you how shallow	view comment
30	BelievixComeOn	23/01/15 21:47:18	1	The song starting at 0:38 is Gaga's song ... I guess xP	view comment
31	EL BANDITO	23/01/15 22:42:38	0	It is not Lady Gaga's song exclusively. It was a collaborati	view comment
32	Ahmed Hathout	23/01/15 23:35:41	3	I'm only here for Gaga.	view comment
33	Marcus Pellegrino	24/01/15 02:15:12	0	Will this be on TV tonight?GAGA	view comment
34	research Yuri Bezmenov for tru	24/01/15 05:31:17	81	Now a documentary about left wing bullies including sta	view comment
34-1	research Yuri Bezmenov for tru	20/11/15 21:48:27	0	@Wiki Licks yeah I had a look at it a while back now and	view comment
34-2	Wiki Licks	20/11/15 21:42:13	0	+MrAntiFarLeft That documentary is called "Indoctrinate	view comment
34-3	research Yuri Bezmenov for tru	18/10/15 02:07:47	1	+rg0057 and you're a good person for it.	view comment
34-4	rg0057	18/10/15 02:01:42	3	+MrAntiFarLeft As a left winger myself, I agree. I do not ;	view comment
34-5	Thomas Anderson	03/06/15 20:19:04	0	@MrAntiFarLeft http://www.iwf.org/blog/2797328/Why	view comment
35	Jeremy Lawrence	24/01/15 12:46:10	53	If you are raped, Go to the police End of story.Don't expe	view comment
35-1	Lightning	14/03/15 17:52:28	0	@Arthur K that's actually true. For a student conduct he;	view comment
35-2	NY NY	14/03/15 06:00:14	0	@Cheryl HelmSo are you saying that the university can a	view comment

35-3	Lightning	14/03/15 00:45:28	0 @Chelsea Lynn I don't know what fucking world you live view comment
35-4	Jeremy Lawrence	14/03/15 00:20:04	0 @Chelsea Lynn Yes I have been raped but that has nothi view comment
35-5	Chelsea Lynn	13/03/15 15:33:34	0 Jeremy it's not that easy. Maybe watch the movie to get view comment
36	SheaTheUnicorn	24/01/15 14:25:24	39 Its always amazing how the angry little haters come out view comment
36-1	Brian Shipley	28/01/87 14:25:48	2 Yeah yeah, everyone who disagrees with you is always a view comment
36-2	E said	01/03/15 05:01:16	0 maybe your mind is too closed to receive th truth view comment
36-3	E said	27/02/15 21:42:13	4 @***** feminism is about EQUALITY. You do realize tha view comment
36-4	Charlotte Orth	24/02/15 18:27:04	2 @***** Controlling male sexuality, wow. I hear delivera view comment
36-5	SheaTheUnicorn	28/01/03 14:23:58	3 I choose to believe that forcing people to have sex is NO' view comment
37	meshaal_o	24/01/15 14:28:38	0 GAGA !! view comment
38	AnimationEpic	24/01/15 17:41:30	8 Incredible work!Can't wait to see this! view comment
39	Claire Bellemin	24/01/15 18:00:26	0 Gaga ll share a new song on this end of this moovie 😊 view comment
40	Fregoli Delusion	24/01/15 18:28:17	4 Did the producers give the men accused an opportunity view comment
41	Jagnole101	25/01/15 02:38:26	41 Sure, let's take the NYT seriously. The same NYT who cr view comment
41-1	Sheila Walker	03/02/18 15:53:24	0 EVEN IF she sleeps around, which is an assumption, she view comment
41-2	Jagnole101	14/10/15 01:08:09	0 @Elle B My answer is simple then. Look into the case! view comment
41-3	Elle B	13/10/15 03:01:44	0 @Jagnole101 women are thought to always be right??? view comment
41-4	Elle B	13/10/15 03:00:05	0 @Jagnole101 I know nothing about this case. I'm just try view comment
41-5	Elle B	13/10/15 02:57:47	0 @RayZon97 Why don't you do something more producti view comment
42	D Johnson	25/01/15 03:06:50	0 The Rolling Stone brought me here. ????
43	jaekid809	25/01/15 17:54:45	12 I wonder which of her 7 stories the Winston accuser will view comment
43-1	Mr. MB	26/01/15 03:31:03	14 She'll go with number 8. Since it seems she is always cha view comment
44	Shantylrishman	25/01/15 19:09:46	0 Tawana Brawley view comment
45	jonnyhan	25/01/15 20:24:35	21 The False Rape Culture is serving its purpose of printing view comment
45-1	CountryT82	27/02/15 14:29:20	0 @dietrich http://m.espn.go.com/general/story?storyId= view comment
45-2	KingWess Ent	28/01/25 14:22:41	0 Those bitches was never raped. They are all sluts view comment
45-3	Leslie K Brown	26/01/15 21:55:06	0 @KingWess Ent and you, my friend, have some real mys view comment
45-4	Mr. MB	26/01/15 03:29:15	2 People would rather have a lynch-mob mentality than w view comment
45-5	Kris McDaniel-Miccio	25/01/15 23:17:56	4 @KingWess Ent what a stupid and insipid comment. it : view comment
46	KingWess Ent	25/01/15 22:48:33	13 Get fuck outta here... Those college bitches are the slutti view comment
46-1	Alexandra Moore	02/03/15 01:41:38	0 You do realize what you sound like: a hate filled person, view comment
46-2	E said	27/02/15 21:51:03	2 You realize a majority of college students are sober desp view comment
46-3	korntastesgood	03/02/15 17:50:14	1 @*****I'll take that as a compliment...? Coming from th view comment
46-4	korntastesgood	28/01/89 14:22:53	0 @KingWess Ent got a pretty damn good one already. I w view comment

46-5	KingWess Ent	28/01/89 14:22:53	0 @korntastesgood Troll get a life....	view comment
47	KingWess Ent	25/01/15 22:49:02	2 This Documentary Is A JOKE...	view comment
48	Lucian Valsan	26/01/15 00:44:53	38 As time goes by, feminists and other gender ideologues	view comment
48-1	rimilecroc	23/09/15 22:27:02	2 @Alexandra MooreWhen all else fails, resort to frued	view comment
48-2	Jessica Calderon	22/09/15 07:55:43	1 +Dua Cirone https://rainn.org/statistics	view comment
48-3	rimilecroc	03/06/15 18:01:25	4 http://www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/doubl	view comment
48-4	Alexandra Moore	26/04/15 19:16:24	4 @John Carlos No seriously the only hard-core Misogynis	view comment
48-5	Mohammed Makile	18/03/15 18:31:10	11 What a stupid thing to say, you have no right to call thos	view comment
49	Dannyboy CdnMRA	26/01/15 02:04:14	84 Will there be a Pt 2 Follow-up?Let me suggest a title;"Fe	view comment
49-1	Harry Seldon	14/02/17 03:43:38	0 Agree with Dannyboy, although I think feminists have be	view comment
49-2	Bobby D	28/01/12 14:43:46	0 +Dannyboy CdnMRA If those statistics are true, then I w	view comment
49-3	Dannyboy CdnMRA	27/09/15 05:51:26	2 @Bobby DSo if only 8% of of reported rapes are false, an	view comment
49-4	Bobby D	26/09/15 20:11:51	0 Yes, men being sexually assaulted is a problem. Women	view comment
49-5	mss doob	25/09/15 10:39:46	3 I wonder what the statistics for sexual assault against m	view comment
50	duckampig	26/01/15 02:27:41	0 Man oh man I cant wait for the lawsuit against this chick	view comment
51	Jean-François G.	26/01/15 02:38:00	6 These aggressive, wolfpacked, often from anonymous use	view comment
51-1	Jean-François G.	26/01/15 21:15:21	1 @edtastic "You" and "we". That's exactly what this is ab	view comment
51-2	edtastic	26/01/15 18:59:47	2 You act like we didn't get over the UVA scandal, forgot D	view comment
52	Susan Eshleman	26/01/15 14:51:51	1 The New York Times article brought me here. It's called,	view comment
53	OoMASEoO	26/01/15 15:41:34	164 I challenge the people who say these women are lying to	view comment
53-1	SSJ1Igor	28/01/14 14:48:40	0 @***** actually it's a old and irrelevant internet comme	view comment
53-2	Madonna bu	28/01/23 14:47:54	3 +OoMASEoO "well, any amount of rape is too much rape	view comment
53-3	SSJ1Igor	18/03/15 20:54:00	0 @MsChhht yeah shit happens, but if it weren't for the fe	view comment
53-4	MsChhht	18/03/15 20:46:52	1 @SSJ1Igor Haaanw I'm a nice polite and educated woma	view comment
53-5	SSJ1Igor	18/03/15 20:44:08	0 @MsChhht how fucking paranoid can you get? i feel sorr	view comment
54	OoMASEoO	26/01/15 15:44:04	0 #TillItHappensToYou	view comment
55	TheHvk	26/01/15 16:33:15	2 Jameis didn't do shit. Hop off haters! People trying to rui	view comment
56	Jean Simutis	26/01/15 18:29:50	3 The rape victim I had contact with did go to the police. I	view comment
57	edtastic	26/01/15 18:54:58	1 Remember the Hofstra 'five'(2009), Duke 'Lacrosse'(200	view comment
58	Shaun Patrick O'Jameson	26/01/15 19:00:10	1 "The 2nd most common type of insurance claim against i	view comment
58-1	Shaun Patrick O'Jameson	28/01/00 14:27:50	1 @E said the CDC data is in their "Intimate Partner Violen	view comment
58-2	scoop245	14/03/15 04:43:44	0 @E said Yes legally b/c sexual assault includes rape. Each	view comment
58-3	E said	27/02/15 22:17:00	0 Sexual assault = rape in legal terms. So no that's not pro	view comment
59	Morgan F	26/01/15 20:41:50	0 I'm sorry but why is the Jameis Winston accuser in this d	view comment

60	jagswag21	26/01/15 22:11:33	0 WHERE CAN I FIND THIS DOCUMENTARY???	view comment
61	Brian Shipley	27/01/15 00:54:27	2 Of all crimes, rape is the most commonly falsely reported	view comment
61-1	Brianna M	28/01/13 14:25:50	2 @Jeff D. I put up the 2% statistic because I thought it was	view comment
61-2	John	#####	0 @Brianna M I actually agree with that. But how come you	view comment
61-3	Brianna M	28/01/75 14:25:44	1 @Jeff D. http://www.bloombergview.com/articles/2014-	view comment
61-4	John	28/01/41 14:25:44	0 @Brianna M "For 16 years, I was a kickass prosecutor with	view comment
61-5	Brianna M	28/01/27 14:22:48	0 http://web.stanford.edu/group/maan/cgi-bin/?page_id=	view comment
62	11JFish	27/01/15 04:33:24	0 Ha, this shit looks gayyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyyy. GO NOLES.	view comment
63	zzbirdman	27/01/15 05:14:50	1 As long as Pornography is legal.....easy access for all our	view comment
64	Inceladus Maximus	27/01/15 06:31:36	0 Does anyone ever find it odd that almost all of these high	view comment
65	Jon Russell Cring	30/01/15 15:50:25	0 I think opening with the Harvard story, makes you think	view comment
66	Derumas Forlos	01/02/15 08:22:58	0 Unbelievable	view comment
67	Hersch rothmel	03/02/15 18:06:05	0 The trolls have come out from under the bridge to protest	view comment
68	Andrea Conner	11/02/15 03:58:36	3 I do honor the courage of women to take a stand against	view comment
69	Superman	26/02/15 02:15:20	1 Go figure in the first half of the trailer they put a non-wh	view comment
70	James Sowka	26/02/15 16:33:02	0 I can deal with racist comments on facebook but pro-rape	view comment
71	mwells219	26/02/15 17:33:17	1 Maybe if this campus rape hysteria wasn't driven by bad	view comment
71-1	mwells219	07/03/15 00:00:31	0 @Laura Heck But the truth is there is no epidemic of coll	view comment
71-2	Laura Heck	26/02/15 22:35:35	1 I'm curious why that would change your mind? The issue	view comment
72	2Keen To give a what	27/02/15 04:14:02	4 Yet bucs fans want Jameis Winston badly. Well I'm not o	view comment
72-1	SIA_ROG	21/04/15 22:08:08	1 @turtles according to feminists women are always telling	view comment
72-2	turtles	17/03/15 17:44:55	0 @amanda miller Watch your fucking mouth, bitch. You g	view comment
72-3	turtles	06/03/15 03:29:20	0 @Brutus Mandingo Yeah no prob dude. Fellow PR here t	view comment
72-4	2Keen To give a what	06/03/15 03:20:09	1 @turtles I appreciate the non combative point of view	view comment
72-5	2Keen To give a what	06/03/15 02:56:16	0 Either qb can be a bust I don't want either to much of a i	view comment
73	CountryT82	27/02/15 14:23:11	0 http://m.espn.go.com/general/story?storyId=7967794&	view comment
74	turtles	27/02/15 17:20:23	0 I think it's fair to say that Erika Kinsman is a gold digging	view comment
75	mike jones	27/02/15 20:01:45	0 here's a fact, i was accused of sexual assault a couple of	view comment
75-1	Molly Grubbs	09/09/15 18:06:22	0 +mike jones so you're saying you think most rape claims	view comment
75-2	mike jones	01/03/15 11:37:53	1 ok, so any form of accusation, the alleged perpetrator is	view comment
75-3	E said	01/03/15 05:34:59	1 having seen a rape investigation first hand in the legal sy	view comment
75-4	mike jones	28/02/15 00:21:26	0 no i was just pissed off from getting expelled. I was NEVER	view comment
75-5	E said	27/02/15 22:04:39	2 That is unfortunate you experienced the rare case of son	view comment
76	Foogle Droogle	27/02/15 21:43:53	1 A long time ago in US history... white woman would claim	view comment

77	David Winston	28/02/15 00:53:40	1 Let loose the dogs of the witch hunt.	view comment
78	Shalita H	28/02/15 21:51:48	0 Young girls, miles away from family with just campus frie	view comment
79	Alexandra Moore	02/03/15 01:49:48	5 These comments just show the Misogyny that is rampant	view comment
80	ByarsDesign	02/03/15 14:53:37	0 But were they really sexually assaulted? Or did they reali	view comment
81	Peter T	08/03/15 21:35:41	8 College is for losers. Learn a trade, get paid.	view comment
82	Peter T	08/03/15 21:41:16	5 Stay home. Jerk off and play video games.	view comment
83	Alice Jagiello	09/03/15 06:41:52	3 Please tell me how the fuck this can even get dislikes ?	view comment
83-1	Evig Dauden	20/03/15 17:08:25	0 It's probably because Erica Kinsmen lied and changed he	view comment
84	Shauna Rae	09/03/15 08:31:14	86 Never give up, never give in you beautiful women! Stay	view comment
84-1	Madonna bu	#####	0 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' If you are drunk, he says	yo view comment
84-2	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:17:15	0 +Shauna Rae I agree with everything you said:Stay strong	view comment
84-3	musicu7	28/01/07 14:48:00	1 +Shauna Rae Not to good when the person this is based	view comment
84-4	maylightbewithyou	19/09/15 09:23:57	0 +Shauna Rae Thank you.	view comment
84-5	Kelly Moore	17/04/15 13:21:58	1 I understand that your telling me to go down to one of tl	view comment
85	Milan Z	09/03/15 13:07:40	1 Just have campuses that are separated by sex - problem,	view comment
86	Edward Stetson	10/03/15 15:10:07	13 This is frightening. These kids are so vulnerable and the	i view comment
86-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:47:50	0 @firefly33 Maybe because you don't take your education	view comment
86-2	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:46:57	0 These are often the same Catholic colleges that condone	view comment
87	Amiah	10/03/15 18:57:35	0 I wish this whole Jameis Winston stuff would go away, y	view comment
88	MrSkateJams	12/03/15 22:52:29	0 Title IX leaves it up to the victim as to if they want to	rep view comment
89	John Molesta	14/03/15 20:54:06	9 I was raped multiple times in my life. Just hitting the	bars: view comment
89-1	Meena Heartsong	28/01/91 14:42:48	5 +Felix Andersen Here's a thought: IT HAPPENS TO BOTH C	view comment
89-2	Megachris% Percent	27/08/15 20:58:33	1 +Felix Andersen That's so wild. I would get the same rea	view comment
90	SSJ1Igor	14/03/15 21:00:58	51 When will there be a movie on false rape accusations an	view comment
90-1	musicu7	#####	1 +fatha sharif Perhaps in Saudi. Not in the western world.	view comment
90-2	Natalia Valentina	28/01/68 14:42:59	0 +SSJ1Igor Try "Gone Girl." It was a pretty big hit, actual	ly view comment
90-3	Largo Corto	28/01/95 14:39:43	3 @fatha sharif then it's simple,stop replying!!are you 12?	view comment
90-4	fatha a.	28/01/04 14:39:42	0 yo honestly jog off i genuinely don't have energy to have	view comment
90-5	Largo Corto	28/01/17 14:39:41	1 @fatha sharif oh!!you found your straw man fallacy!!you	view comment
91	Adily Paeth	18/03/15 19:17:32	3 It's really interesting to see how many men are on here	: view comment
91-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 15:17:53	0 This is going to sound dumb, but stay the hell away from	view comment
92	Freakin Sweet Taco	19/03/15 01:26:47	10 Oy vey! Rape Culture MUST be stopped! Male privilege	h view comment
92-1	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:19:48	1 +Shoahshana Goldberg-Shekelstein If you believe that me	view comment
92-2	Automatic Porridge	10/11/15 02:36:50	0 You're using the internet! The internet was made by mer	view comment

92-3	GiantArt Productions.	16/04/15 04:57:41	1 @Shoahshana Goldberg-Shekelstein gr8 b8 m8, i r8 8/8	view comment
92-4	Check em	29/03/15 10:00:28	3 Oh the bleeding irony!	view comment
93	kaicheek	25/03/15 16:20:57	0 Rape is not the problem here, rape will always happen at	view comment
94	Goodfella	26/03/15 08:39:24	64 In a world where rape hardly happens.In a world where c	view comment
94-1	MegaSuperbrit	29/02/16 09:38:58	2 +Goodfella I guess all those doctors and toxicologists wh	view comment
94-2	MrGurujoe1985	29/02/16 07:12:45	0 @***** Agreed	view comment
94-3	Kandiss Williams	29/02/16 04:33:13	1 In a world where rape hardly happens? What world do y	view comment
94-4	Mark Billy	19/02/16 16:37:31	0 +Fiona.Rose What the police asked should always be me	view comment
94-5	Mark Billy	19/02/16 16:33:49	0 +Lyllie78 Now the 10% less paid is for the exact same ho	view comment
95	Check em	29/03/15 09:46:54	0 I guess we'll never see a movie where a man gets throw	view comment
96	Mark Davis	29/03/15 21:35:48	0 Funded by Rolling Stone	view comment
97	Paul Bousquet	01/04/15 05:29:55	0 Having Jameis Winston's accuser in this video makes me	view comment
98	Jim Greg	06/04/15 03:35:50	3 Sexual assault is not about sex, it is about power. When I	view comment
98-1	Jim Greg	17/04/15 19:12:00	3 Well yes, the sexual assault starts with lust, but whether	view comment
98-2	karlieb	17/04/15 17:26:55	0 @Jim Greg wouldn't sexual assault also be about...sex, a	view comment
99	boulder muzik	06/04/15 22:41:52	0 now is a better time than ever to profit off of sexual asst	view comment
100	FriickyFresh101	11/04/15 01:13:47	6 we should carry a switchblade with us so that if anyone I	view comment
101	SassyAndAlwaysClassy	14/04/15 23:47:14	2 Where can I see the full movie?	view comment
102	Jude Hebert	16/04/15 04:20:12	8 sooo..... i guess it goes without saying that everyone whc	view comment
102-1	Jude Hebert	13/07/15 23:09:53	2 How so?	view comment
103	Jean Sweeney	17/04/15 01:03:27	6 I loved the way the women in the movie were able to tel	view comment
104	karlieb	17/04/15 15:37:12	1 This issue should transcend male/female gender and be	view comment
105	SIA_ROG	21/04/15 22:07:14	1 The government report proves there is no epidemic of ra	view comment
106	Isabella Pierson	22/04/15 04:30:40	4 Just saw this film. It was absolutely fantastic and moving	view comment
107	Bitter Blue	23/04/15 00:21:33	2 This film is excellent. I appreciate how in particular it tall	view comment
108	Bitter Blue	23/04/15 01:24:43	17 For those of you upset over the asshole comments below	view comment
108-1	maylightbewithyou	19/09/15 09:30:37	1 +Bitter Blue Thank you, thank you, thank you.	view comment
109	mang kanor	24/04/15 09:54:54	0 of course who wants to go to Rape University. that's why	view comment
110	Alex Ownz	26/04/15 16:21:44	0 Do these people actually learn anything at university or c	view comment
111	TheFlanker35	29/04/15 14:18:32	0 These performers are just looking for special treatment t	view comment
112	Nate Harmon	30/04/15 04:02:31	0 I'm concerned what the objective of this film is. If by "n	view comment
113	Iron Maiden	05/05/15 12:31:54	2 Feminists financially benefit from spreading this propaga	view comment
114	Forest Child	07/05/15 10:35:11	17 All of the negative comments on here just prove why thi	view comment
115	Jase C	08/05/15 04:27:57	0 what a complete waste of time	view comment

116	renzo3dr	10/05/15 14:48:12	0 Are we not going to look at the overwhelming evidence 1view comment
117	RonnieDobbz1978	02/06/15 20:06:51	13 They should have called this film hearsay. Because that i view comment
117-1	MGTOW Coffee Drinker	24/11/15 07:33:32	0 +RonnieDobbz1978 haha view comment
117-2	RonnieDobbz1978	27/08/15 23:45:07	5 @Megachris% MGTOW Half the population uses emotio view comment
117-3	Megachris% Percent	27/08/15 20:34:13	2 +RonnieDobbz1978 "Are you all there?" What a compell view comment
117-4	RonnieDobbz1978	20/08/15 16:42:25	3 @keedeng yes. view comment
117-5	keedeng	19/08/15 23:32:29	0 +RonnieDobbz1978 Are you all there? view comment
118	Feminism is Cancer	02/06/15 22:41:44	0 http://reason.com/blog/2015/06/01/central-allegation-i view comment
119	dimitri pasckabusche	11/07/15 15:09:48	0 I'm here because of gaga view comment
120	Tayla Moore	19/07/15 22:04:28	79 The comments on this thread are seriously disturbing... view comment
120-1	Madonna bu	28/01/85 14:48:41	0 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' At this point I am starting t view comment
120-2	Madonna bu	28/01/82 14:47:47	7 +Tayla Moore Because some of them are actually disturb view comment
120-3	rg0057	18/10/15 02:26:26	5 +Tayla Moore And yet that doesn't make them wrong... view comment
121	misandry.org	31/07/15 07:30:26	0 How The Hunting Ground Blurs the TruthSexual violence view comment
122	SarsLeitao	06/08/15 10:58:42	188 It makes me so mad looking back at my time at universit view comment
122-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:41:41	0 The problem is that you passed out and don't tell yourse view comment
122-2	El Chirpo	27/03/18 19:45:34	0 SarsLeitao you're dumb as shit if you think somebody try view comment
122-3	Letmebe Frank	24/03/17 12:22:11	0 Excellent logic Jeff Bridges. I note that venswim pathetic: view comment
122-4	venswim	21/05/16 04:03:26	7 2%- 8% is *NOT* most. view comment
122-5	Jeff Bridges	21/05/16 00:45:39	2 @venswim *Most claims of rape are fake.* view comment
123	Kristen M	27/08/15 06:30:18	441 The comments on this only prove to me further how mu view comment
123-1	The MGTOW Misfit	06/12/18 02:05:30	0 They would if you only focus on men who commit rape, ' view comment
123-2	Fred Zeppelin	03/07/17 22:43:14	2 People speaking up against lies is proof to you how mucd view comment
123-3	77tubuck	28/01/84 14:48:41	0 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' "No the problem isn't unde view comment
123-4	77tubuck	28/01/33 14:48:40	2 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' "Police don't investigate raj view comment
123-5	77tubuck	28/01/06 14:48:40	2 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' Are you for real? "No one i view comment
124	Chris Lada	11/09/15 23:43:33	0 The makers of this probably think they're doing somethi view comment
125	Jerome Almon	19/09/15 01:07:12	1 Duke Lacrosse Team FALSE rape case.ROLLING STONE UV view comment
126	Jalen	19/09/15 04:47:41	140 Everyone in the comments assumes the girls are lying ab view comment
126-1	Avatinfemus	28/01/47 14:46:40	1 @Steven Lawrence You have a good point, and I agree w view comment
126-2	rg0057	18/10/15 02:23:07	4 +jalen40342 Well, there's proof that some ARE lying. It t view comment
126-3	American Hamburger	22/09/15 20:03:47	5 +Avatinfemus But the problem is then your over general view comment
126-4	Avatinfemus	20/09/15 17:39:53	16 thumbs-upand I'm also fed up of men feeling attacked. T view comment
126-5	maylightbewithyou	19/09/15 09:24:18	7 +jalen40342 Amen! Thank you. view comment

127	kristen mathews	19/09/15 12:29:26	3 so what if theyre actors , the movie is to send a message view comment
128	Rami Mikati	19/09/15 12:55:25	525 I love how people here are like "no ones getting raped" i view comment
128-1	TheLovelyPotato	23/07/19 09:10:58	0 Rami Mikati gimme a link to that view comment
128-2	Aron	10/09/17 04:25:11	0 That means nothing you mean people drunk in a semi-st view comment
128-3	Antonio de Vito	28/05/16 13:54:29	0 but all Americans are assholes like you ?! view comment
128-4	Lethal Spectre	17/05/16 18:56:49	0 +Rami Mikati But yet these are the same frats that wom view comment
128-5	Alva Goldbook	21/04/16 02:41:47	0 @***** Translation: "You'll give men your approval whe view comment
129	ferrozm	19/09/15 22:54:57	0 Bullshit! Mattress girl was a fraud, The Rolling Stones art view comment
130	ilgouvye	19/09/15 23:10:06	4 I wish we could all get along like we used to in middle sd view comment
131	Cass	20/09/15 07:18:08	1 When you go college you should think about parties, gr: view comment
132	Rachel A5	20/09/15 13:15:07	1 can't actually believe some of the comments I am seeing view comment
133	Chris	20/09/15 13:35:12	0 Who's here bc is Till it happens to you? view comment
134	Emma K	21/09/15 08:33:19	5 Girls don't have to avoid short skirts or dresses nor they' view comment
134-1	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:44:59	1 @Emma Peda Thats ok, thats for clarifying :) view comment
134-2	Emma K	21/11/15 23:36:11	0 I didn't say anything offensive, I mean it's totally fine if y view comment
134-3	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:33:11	0 +Emma Peda I wear short skirts and dresses, and I have i view comment
135	William Money	21/09/15 15:53:44	13 There is no rape culture on U.S. campuses. view comment
135-1	MGTOW Coffee Drinker	24/11/15 07:42:13	2 +Ivy Shoots God your dumb. No wonder so many males view comment
135-2	William Money	24/09/15 14:16:59	7 @Ivy Shoots*"Really? What do you call Yale frat boys ch: view comment
136	Snatchural	23/09/15 17:59:41	2 Rape is 10 times more likely than a false accusation. Calli view comment
137	Medini Too	02/10/15 03:31:06	0 Another reason rapes are covered up...1 out of ever 4 m: view comment
137-1	Medini Too	#####	0 yeah. is that controversial? the stats i quoted 1:4 would view comment
137-2	tibtib fifi	28/01/01 14:58:43	0 Troll view comment
137-3	musicgu7	15/11/15 22:41:19	1 +Medini Too Fuck being PC that has nothing to do with n view comment
137-4	Medini Too	15/11/15 22:38:00	0 not very politically correct of me, i realize. but i like the i view comment
137-5	musicgu7	#####	2 +Medini Too "1 out of every 4 males secretly believe rap view comment
138	Nicole Patton	07/10/15 19:43:24	0 I love how a lot of the comments on here say that this is view comment
138-1	John	22/11/15 04:30:26	0 +Nicole Patton Oops. It looks like feminism is actually re: view comment
138-2	John	22/11/15 04:29:47	0 +Nicole Patton "Although consideration of male victims i view comment
138-3	Profoundly Deaf	#####	0 +Nicole PattonWoman today, in every street, every subui view comment
139	Maria Exodus Bosconovitch	17/10/15 11:25:06	0 "Rape" is equivalent to MURDER a person. It is based on view comment
140	megatronVS	06/11/15 15:35:37	3 You are all a bunch of whining sissies. Good Lord. view comment
141	Cosmic Anus	06/11/15 15:56:54	70 The 1 in 5 statistic is bullshit, and this is sensationalist cr: view comment
141-1	Light	29/02/16 17:25:44	1 @Tom Wolf You are a special kind of stupid. Him being c view comment

141-2	Cosmic Anus	29/02/16 08:33:06	0 Where are these links? You don't seem to have posted tl	view comment
141-3	Donna Garcia	29/02/16 07:21:57	0 +Daniel Forsythe Here are some links to research studies	view comment
141-4	Veshimabeth Samuels	22/02/16 15:13:59	0 +Meredith Robertson I totallyy agree with you. And yes i	view comment
141-5	Liliana S	22/02/16 15:08:41	0 not exactly 1 in 5 in every college but rather 1 in 5 across:	view comment
142	kdcharun	06/11/15 16:25:37	8 MaCarthisim: The crazy feminist and left edition.	view comment
142-1	kdcharun	22/11/15 12:26:06	1 +Jeff D You have a very good point. I checked and it seen	view comment
142-2	John	22/11/15 04:27:11	3 +kdcharun At least McCarthy was actually correct about	view comment
142-3	Automatic Porridge	10/11/15 02:20:14	1 Because Rape victims are feministssmh	view comment
143	Dandy King	06/11/15 16:28:01	0 The movie fails to bring up the notion that it's not rape k	view comment
143-1	Dandy King	28/01/89 14:48:40	0 Again you're heavily strawmanning the discussion. no on	view comment
143-2	Dandy King	28/01/76 14:48:40	0 I am honestly done talking to you, you clearly are a sexis	view comment
143-3	Dandy King	28/01/10 14:48:40	0 stop trying to make this where one party is the guilty on	view comment
143-4	Dandy King	28/01/21 14:48:40	0 To be honest if a girl is making the choice to go to a party	view comment
143-5	Dandy King	28/01/27 14:48:40	0 I agree, BOTH men and women should be held responsit	view comment
144	smug buster	08/11/15 20:11:28	0 dat McCarthyism tho	view comment
145	Nat Brownizzle	12/11/15 04:13:43	22 Really the matrace movement? Are you kidding me. The	view comment
145-1	Alva Goldbook	14/03/16 17:40:51	0 @***** So, in that court document, he posts his text me	view comment
145-2	Alva Goldbook	14/03/16 06:49:19	0 @***** So if the Daily Caller posts a PDF of a COURT DC	view comment
145-3	Alva Goldbook	02/03/16 18:06:23	1 +cobydick789 980 If you bothered to read the daily calle	view comment
145-4	Donna Garcia	29/02/16 07:23:25	0 +Mark Billy Here are some links to research studies that	view comment
145-5	Mark Billy	19/02/16 16:18:24	0 +cobydick789 980 http://www.nationalreview.com/articl	view comment
146	Lavenderose73	16/11/15 06:40:31	1 Good gracious, and Harvard is supposed to be this word	view comment
147	Natalie Szabo	16/11/15 20:35:29	1 A response from President John Thrasher of FSU and why	view comment
148	Kirk Pierce	17/11/15 20:25:56	2 What about women who cry they were rapped only bec	view comment
149	Mike Krier	18/11/15 03:26:14	5 This is the most ridiculous fucking bullshit. Universities I	view comment
150	Hone	18/11/15 16:14:08	0 Sorry but this movie looks yawn. Don't do the crime, wo	view comment
151	veronica Deal	20/11/15 16:56:27	0 wake up and please share..... share share	view comment
152	The Narrator	21/11/15 02:47:17	3 http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/the-hunting-groui	view comment
153	The Narrator	21/11/15 02:48:21	3 http://www.washingtonexaminer.com/the-hunting-groui	view comment
154	Dr. Reinhardt	21/11/15 19:12:07	7 Maybe if the "victim" had not injected herself with coca	view comment
154-1	Monsieur Hadou	28/01/77 14:49:42	0 +'I'm an anti-social anarchist' I think the sexes should be	view comment
155	John	22/11/15 04:24:00	16 LOL. This movie has been completely discredited.	view comment
156	ToughTheWigglytuff	22/11/15 09:51:11	2 "The Hunting Ground"? Oh, this doesn't sound like a fea	view comment
157	letsgetricketywreckedson!	22/11/15 20:34:33	0 Will they ever do a movie about the uva case, and how l	view comment

158	CommanderCronus	23/11/15 06:47:11	0 Aren't colleges kind of obsolete now anyway? There's thi	view comment
158-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 17:28:32	0 You need that piece of paper to get a good job. The mon	view comment
159	Jinji Tronic	23/11/15 12:16:19	0 I'll just leave this here....http://www.slate.com/articles/n	view comment
160	Mandy Hazen	24/11/15 09:10:13	0 In addition to the stats, the qualitative research (intervie	view comment
161	sioda2008	24/11/15 09:11:20	0 SYT! SYT!	view comment
162	Joe LaMattina	28/11/15 20:18:41	240 Hey guys: how about developing compassion for others i	view comment
162-1	Nina Mancuso	10/10/20 15:20:35	2 @Winds of March Journey/Perry tribute band are you lit	view comment
162-2	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:33:03	0 @Nina Mancuso That isn't true. But you have to use sen	view comment
162-3	Nina Mancuso	19/08/20 20:18:15	2 Every woman, including myself, has been raped in colleg	view comment
162-4	RatNoseGaming	09/02/20 23:50:07	0 Joe LaMattina simp	view comment
162-5	oOOHermioneOOo	08/07/16 19:28:17	8 Great comment, Joe! =)	view comment
163	Joe Lapointe	02/12/15 07:11:32	0 So basically it's a bunch of liars who make up fictional ra	view comment
164	Joe Lapointe	02/12/15 07:23:14	1 Women who are poor are actually way more likely to be	view comment
165	donny P	02/12/15 22:02:34	86 So, quick scan of these comments: (Almost) All of you wi	view comment
165-1	crazyangst12	29/02/16 21:37:56	0 @bendib2003 aah. Men raping men is as common, if you	view comment
165-2	bendib2003	29/02/16 21:21:41	0 @crazyangst12 I know you mentioned male rape, I state	view comment
165-3	crazyangst12	29/02/16 20:57:00	0 @bendib2003 I think you're mistaken on who made that	view comment
165-4	bendib2003	29/02/16 16:15:46	0 @scalefish I wouldn't say I distorted your comments, I ju	view comment
165-5	bendib2003	29/02/16 16:11:29	0 @Alesandros356 That's not what I wazs trying to say. I th	view comment
166	Meth Monkey	03/12/15 04:06:45	0 If u don't wanna be a victim of rape, don't go home with	view comment
167	maverickjohn923	05/12/15 12:05:26	0 Damn it! Watching this trailer just made me late getting	view comment
168	dangerousanalysis	11/12/15 05:07:33	0 Bullshit and chips.	view comment
169	Boat Knight	24/12/15 23:36:16	0 Rape is the Second most Heinous Crime that can be don	view comment
170	Ari Snaevarsson	25/12/15 19:48:41	2 Is this supposed to be a comedy?	view comment
171	woman	28/12/15 05:25:45	0 only 2% of rape allegations are false.	view comment
171-1	woman	29/01/16 21:23:34	0 @Bucs - Rays - Bolts Shut up musty, you are late. Log ou	view comment
171-2	Bucs Rays Bolts	28/01/16 08:00:36	0 +leyia fanous you got a source on that statistic, dummy?	view comment
171-3	woman	28/01/32 14:51:43	0 +reese money LMAOOO	view comment
171-4	woman	28/12/15 08:16:17	0 +reese money I didn't read all this, but we can agree to c	view comment
171-5	woman	28/12/15 07:50:41	0 +reese money And you just guessing someone is 'lying' is	view comment
172	Meredith Robertson	06/01/16 04:36:09	0 i don't think i can explain how angry this makes me. I we	view comment
173	LokyNoKey	06/01/16 16:56:50	0 Why do I feel like this is going to be a waste of time.	view comment
174	Beatriz Folque	14/01/16 20:30:12	0 I got goosebumps watching this. Strong message	view comment
175	jennie's journal	16/01/16 20:27:41	5 To those that are saying that this is a feminist movie bas	view comment

176	Valentino	19/01/16 05:01:11	3 Saying there's no rape culture is like saying there is no ra view comment
176-1	tibtib fifi	28/01/03 14:58:43	0 You mean like how that jackie girl told the rolling stone s view comment
176-2	Mark Billy	19/02/16 16:45:07	0 +Knight Wonder People should never blame somebody f view comment
176-3	1AngelusNoctis	19/01/16 09:30:40	2 that comment raped me, by your logic the police should view comment
177	Jon Feld	19/01/16 22:36:13	0 Oh yes because we must teach boys not to rape. view comment
178	Jmichael Isbell	21/01/16 08:43:02	5 and don't arm yourself--you have "no right" to do that. view comment
179	Victoria Rotramel	29/01/16 06:58:21	0 This is just such a delicate subject that it seems many (lik view comment
180	Bubbling Babbler	04/02/16 20:52:58	110 It always comes down to money. Exposed it for what it i view comment
180-1	Merian Morwening	30/11/16 03:49:13	1 Funny how you try to lecture people in math, yet you fai view comment
180-2	Alva Goldbook	16/07/16 19:20:04	2 @Donna Garcia How does the conviction rate for rape di view comment
180-3	Donna Garcia	16/07/16 19:08:24	0 Examples are anecdotes and anecdotes are the lowest fc view comment
180-4	Harry Seldon	16/07/16 10:34:12	0 +Donna Garcia You are not using logic at all. Look throug view comment
180-5	Donna Garcia	17/06/16 04:38:18	0 @Xian Zi I'm basing my arguments on the logic of scienc view comment
181	Michael Felicianocruz	09/02/16 12:02:25	1 This is Internet cancer. view comment
182	pinco palla	09/02/16 19:15:54	2 according to the feminazis, How To Kill A Mockingbird is view comment
182-1	thezquad	09/02/16 19:26:40	0 +pinco palla Except when it comes to hilary and bill clint view comment
183	thezquad	09/02/16 20:00:31	4 Its exactly these type of propaganda video that I adopte view comment
184	TheFluffyDuck	10/02/16 07:09:27	2 Rape is bad! In other news water is wet. view comment
184-1	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:23:43	1 +TheFluffyDuck colleges are covering up rapes and need view comment
185	Dani Sanchez	16/02/16 23:15:15	1 I am SO proud of this. I am appalled at how easily rapists view comment
185-1	Steve Madden	28/01/46 14:56:54	0 +Suga sweet kookies The following is available online: "I view comment
185-2	Theknow All	28/01/33 14:56:54	0 +Suga sweet kookies This movie is a total distortion of th view comment
186	Alva Goldbook	28/02/16 19:44:41	7 What a bunch of bullshit. What this movie leaves out is t view comment
186-1	Alva Goldbook	12/04/16 06:03:56	1 @303Erika No, drunk people don't have human rights. N view comment
186-2	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:28:10	0 +Alva Goldbook Oh and everyone knows that once you'r view comment
186-3	thitn	27/03/16 21:10:16	0 @Jill Harris just nvm man view comment
186-4	Jill Harris	27/03/16 20:55:26	0 @thitn ah that's hilarious that's not my ip view comment
186-5	thitn	27/03/16 20:33:53	0 @Jill Harris oh I only called you that bcs "I have yr IP lelz view comment
187	Kat	29/02/16 04:36:41	322 As a female in college I can confirm, you either are the vi view comment
187-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 15:14:32	0 @Feliciatanktop Stay away from drinking parties. Don't e view comment
187-2	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 15:10:24	0 @Alva Goldbook Um, most women just went to get drun view comment
187-3	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:53:56	0 @Milantix Rule is, "No drunk chicks." I know guys who ar view comment
187-4	Dark Waters	28/01/15 15:54:00	0 Regretting sex after the fact, even if you were drunk wh view comment
187-5	Dark Waters	28/01/47 15:54:00	0 "Drunk women can't give consent"Two drunk people hav view comment

188	Alex Farley	29/02/16 04:48:38	5 I think you guys are missing the point. Many of you say it view comment
189	Mike Thompson	29/02/16 05:58:33	0 This is bullshit is a girl dresses like a slut walks like a slut : view comment
189-1	Mike Thompson	29/02/16 18:00:36	0 @MegaSuperbrit Yeah that's why I testified against a lyin view comment
189-2	Mike Thompson	29/02/16 07:07:04	0 @mucalkittykat12 I disagree if a bitch dresses like a slur view comment
189-3	Micaela Anderson	29/02/16 07:05:32	4 It doesn't matter if that girl is BUTT NAKED if you don't h view comment
190	Raima Hossain	29/02/16 08:12:11	2 So the men here below in the comments are getting mac view comment
190-1	Alva Goldbook	02/03/16 17:36:53	0 +Raima Hossain So long as feminists don't give two shits view comment
191	VicInNocal	29/02/16 08:34:57	11 The ridiculous drinking age of 21 YEARS OLD in the USA c view comment
191-1	Anna	04/10/16 11:57:23	0 @Ejm Mc You are repeating yourself. Are you a man or view comment
191-2	Ejm Mc	04/10/16 02:14:14	0 Anna will be just another pretend victim. Had a few date view comment
191-3	VicInNocal	10/09/16 03:54:47	0 Nobody cares view comment
191-4	Anna	10/09/16 03:07:12	0 Yes, I was exposed to alcohol at 15 a well, and also got r: view comment
191-5	VicInNocal	02/08/16 22:43:55	0 LOL That is how you interpreted what I wrote? My god ꝑ view comment
192	valgehiir	29/02/16 14:16:20	1 Islam is the answer!! view comment
193	valgehiir	29/02/16 14:20:03	5 This film is an embarrassment! view comment
193-1	Amada Beloved	03/03/16 02:41:20	1 @valgehiir yes, that happen, and is terrible. Those wom: view comment
193-2	valgehiir	02/03/16 20:53:22	0 @Priscilla Ferrari You know who the victim is? The man. view comment
193-3	Amada Beloved	02/03/16 20:44:47	0 @valgehiir of course its wrong, but blaming the victim ju view comment
193-4	valgehiir	02/03/16 11:10:09	0 @Priscilla Ferrari You know that having sex while drunk, view comment
193-5	Amada Beloved	02/03/16 08:23:40	0 +valgehiir yes, it's embarrassing this is happening in the w view comment
194	Ceri Howe	29/02/16 14:48:56	41 I really wish that some of these comments could be show view comment
194-1	venswim	06/04/16 07:07:24	3 +Ceri Howe (chowe) This. Thank you for pointing this out view comment
194-2	Aleson Valentim	29/02/16 23:42:42	3 +Ceri Howe (chowe) That's the most proper comment I've view comment
195	Dustin Catalan	29/02/16 15:46:11	2 that's disgusting that the schools allow this to happen. r view comment
195-1	Hennessy Blues	02/03/16 11:24:50	0 +Dustin Catalan The media has told us that 1 out of ever view comment
195-2	Alva Goldbook	29/02/16 19:13:43	0 @Dustin Catalan There is no rape epidemic on college ca view comment
195-3	Dustin Catalan	29/02/16 18:54:24	0 +Alva Goldbook even though they lie which really hurts view comment
195-4	Alva Goldbook	29/02/16 18:43:43	0 +Dustin Catalan Be more skeptical. This film is nothing m view comment
196	ultraquiz	29/02/16 17:42:16	5 it's very controversial, because I totally agree that it's ne view comment
196-1	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:30:48	3 +Taylor mana12345 Its estimated that 2-6% of rape repo view comment
197	devonferris	29/02/16 20:32:30	0 I haven't seen the documentary before but did they sho view comment
198	hughgallop	01/03/16 07:51:25	0 rape is dreadful crime, no doubt, and it should be taken . view comment
199	ghost muffin	01/03/16 11:13:09	1 Wanna make a Movie about Cologne? You know, REAL n view comment
200	Volkan Tuncay	01/03/16 13:31:17	21 Materialistic capitalist system is the number 1 reason b: view comment

200-1	Harry Seldon	04/10/16 14:43:04	0 Porn is affecting the young minds of girls also, and they r	view comment
200-2	Volkan Tuncay	04/10/16 06:36:28	0 Maybe I can narrow down my statement a little bit but it	view comment
200-3	Daniel Mark	02/10/16 11:39:28	1 Volkan Tuncay such an unfounded statement. Women h	view comment
200-4	Tango Katz	21/05/16 20:34:37	5 +Lethal Spectre Rape is not of ANY of the victims fault. A	view comment
200-5	Volkan Tuncay	12/04/16 06:02:46	2 No Erika I am absolutely not arguing that. The punishme	view comment
201	devonferris	01/03/16 22:36:11	4 The hypocrisy that is coming out of the LEFT Hollywood i	view comment
201-1	Patrick Wells	30/06/16 15:52:24	1 I saw this movie last night and the Director and Producer	view comment
201-2	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:22:52	15 +devonferris this isn't coming from hollywood directors,	view comment
202	Ethel Peanut	02/03/16 00:58:40	0 #KillAllRapist	view comment
203	Paul Fregoso	02/03/16 17:09:34	9 Another regressive leftis propaganda bullshit documentz	view comment
203-1	BlueRevolvur ♪	04/04/16 18:30:51	0 +Paul Fregoso (Against GOP Clown Car) Yeah indeed lets	view comment
203-2	Paul Fregoso	04/04/16 18:28:45	0 +BlueRevolvur That's true however they always go into a	view comment
203-3	BlueRevolvur ♪	04/04/16 18:23:48	0 +Paul Fregoso (Against GOP Clown Car) You wont tgey ar	view comment
203-4	Paul Fregoso	04/04/16 18:22:26	0 @BlueRevolvur I guess we share the same perspectives a	view comment
203-5	BlueRevolvur ♪	04/04/16 18:11:49	0 +Paul Fregoso (Against GOP Clown Car) Yeah true that or	view comment
204	Astrid Vaandrager	03/03/16 10:45:05	2 I do not understand why so many men claim there are sc	view comment
204-1	Ascension 3030	28/01/66 14:59:53	0 +Astrid Vaandrager There are thousands of cases of false	view comment
205	C Monty	05/03/16 19:38:19	303 I love how many people are on here like "This movie is b	view comment
205-1	kso 40	27/10/19 13:01:17	0 @Morgan thank you I was just about to say that!! It's qu	view comment
205-2	Wally 1970	28/01/65 15:50:36	0 By saying it is bullshit , an exaggeration , is not defendin	view comment
205-3	Ejm Mc	21/05/17 01:35:41	0 Chicken P there are too many exposed lies out there to l	view comment
205-4	Smiliey	05/05/17 23:24:55	4 I know many girls who "lied" because society pushed the	view comment
206	1541 h3rn4nd37	06/03/16 04:32:35	0 http://putlocker.is/watch-the-hunting-ground-online-fre	view comment
207	adeadlyn3rotoxin11	06/03/16 21:48:20	2 To bad the makers of this doc got caught editing Wikipex	view comment
208	Leslie Portillo	07/03/16 09:43:34	0 As a college student, I can say this documentary really hi	view comment
208-1	Steve Madden	09/06/16 10:00:02	0 Almost all of the main college cases in the media, i.e. the	view comment
209	Martin Daniel	13/03/16 08:13:46	168 That's what happens when schools are run like enterpris	view comment
210	Omar Raymundo	15/03/16 22:37:29	2 This is the stupidest shit ever ! Fuck this propaganda bull	view comment
211	Nina	16/03/16 19:58:11	10 Bullshit documentary.	view comment
212	BL1	18/03/16 17:27:57	2 This documentary has been heavily criticized and denour	view comment
213	jen007 0	22/03/16 20:06:29	1 After reading these comments... yeesh. The feminist corr	view comment
213-1	Ascension 3030	28/01/52 14:59:53	0 +jen007 0 Bullshit. Feminism is a fascist hate cult, for su	view comment
214	Kharmazov	24/03/16 08:41:38	4 Feminist propaganda.	view comment
214-1	Kharmazov	11/04/16 21:40:13	0 @303ErikaNope in my mind hold to the "audiatur et alte	view comment

214-2	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:31:59	2 +Kharmazov In your mind don't rape me = feminist prop	view comment
214-3	Kharmazov	28/01/86 14:59:53	0 @Truth SeekerWWell it is. Someone in the comments be	view comment
214-4	Kharmazov	28/03/16 09:30:23	1 @Patrick HabibNope I actually feel quite fine.	view comment
214-5	Moeed Malik	28/03/16 06:03:49	2 You're sick! Go seek immediate help.	view comment
215	Camps2630	27/03/16 02:51:55	0 Yawn. Expecting something different having 4 1/2 stars	view comment
216	Bright Day	28/03/16 07:49:50	1 Brilliant piece, well done!	view comment
216-1	Bright Day	17/04/16 01:50:36	0 +Truth Seeker Flatearther!	view comment
217	Toby Koerbin	06/04/16 02:46:07	2 This seems so biased, I didn't see any opposing views ref	view comment
218	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:21:55	10 This is amazing. I'm so proud of these wonderful, strong	view comment
219	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 22:14:27	6 There is a reason some men go to bars to pick girls up ar	view comment
220	Wilted Brainz	12/04/16 21:30:07	1 Fake rape culture propaganda flick.	view comment
221	Lee Majikija	18/04/16 19:58:54	43 Young women are standing together to fight for all the s'	view comment
221-1	Theknow All	04/10/16 01:59:55	0 I completely disagree. This movie, The Hunting Ground, i	view comment
221-2	oOOHermioneOOo	08/07/16 19:26:22	2 I fully agree. =)	view comment
222	George EX	22/04/16 14:43:14	0 Whatever happened to just going to school? These assa	view comment
222-1	George EX	28/04/16 01:18:10	1 @pinkjunkies People have to be honest with themselves	view comment
222-2	Heidi Bee	28/04/16 00:59:26	1 +George etiorbo So your solution is to tell people to not	view comment
223	likeastarbaby	23/04/16 14:22:59	5 just finished watching this...i didn't know it was possible	view comment
224	Aline INACIO DOS SANTOS	23/04/16 15:37:50	15 I live in Brasil and when i watched this documentary i cri	view comment
225	Gromitdog1	25/04/16 17:46:42	0 Let me guess, 'lil sally goes to the frat house, gets drunk	view comment
226	xCxExNxSxOxRxExDx	03/05/16 20:22:17	0 The American football player that was accused of this? V	view comment
227	An na	16/05/16 23:53:11	1 I'm going to uni next year 🙄 I'm from CATHO	view comment
228	SethMcFartiane	18/05/16 17:51:07	3 lol those mattresses. These morons still think Emma Sulc	view comment
229	Tango Katz	21/05/16 21:17:30	1 Well done in been able to put this documentary together	view comment
230	Tango Katz	21/05/16 21:22:54	18 WOW. By the way... some comments are really concerni	view comment
230-1	Ejm Mc	09/06/16 11:28:55	1 It's a propaganda film by extreme radical feminists. Full c	view comment
231	Doobledee Schmoobledee	22/05/16 13:24:25	0 Would you look at that. Only one liar featured. Was Sulk	view comment
232	The Divine Feminine	25/05/16 20:39:15	0 It's upsetting to know they went to the principals and tol	view comment
233	KortX531	28/05/16 03:01:28	2 Hold up. People still believe in the 1 in 5 statistic? Rofl y'	view comment
234	Gihaal	28/05/16 03:37:19	0 wtf this is basically just the Angry Birds trailer	view comment
235	Gerbil13	30/05/16 19:26:01	2 SHUT DOWN SCHOOLS. easy.	view comment
235-1	Gretchen Wenthur	21/01/17 18:43:57	0 @Gerbil13 A virtual cake. XD enjoy	view comment
235-2	Gerbil13	18/01/17 10:30:58	0 yaaaaay what'd i win?	view comment
235-3	Gretchen Wenthur	18/01/17 04:40:52	0 There ya go.	view comment

236	Dr Gutowski	05/06/16 18:49:53	0 Do rapes occur on college campuses? YesDo false rape ar	view comment
237	Jean-Pierre Levac	08/06/16 15:30:08	106 I'm appalled at how many males downplay this. When a	view comment
237-1	Joey Lopez	12/10/16 21:37:16	0 @EditEnigma That probably means that the allegations \	view comment
237-2	Ejm Mc	12/10/16 11:16:24	0 @EditEnigma Did you bother to read the comments befc	view comment
237-3	FuturaBold	12/10/16 10:05:20	5 Did you bother to watch the documentary before makin	view comment
237-4	Joey Lopez	30/09/16 04:46:57	0 You dumb ass. Instead of making "documentaries" to jus	view comment
237-5	Ejm Mc	14/07/16 05:03:56	1 The Hunting Ground is an advocacy film full of lies and fa	view comment
238	Ejm Mc	09/06/16 11:43:49	1 This is a propaganda film by extreme radical feminists. Fr	view comment
238-1	Ejm Mc	19/07/16 02:13:08	1 When referring to the false allegations by Erica Kinsman	view comment
238-2	Ejm Mc	19/07/16 02:11:29	0 All you have said is that you are left wing. She gives sour	view comment
239	Borsko Doomer	16/06/16 22:55:20	0 what did we learn from this? Dont have sex with college	view comment
240	Musa Muzika	17/06/16 07:59:36	1 seriously?! lady gaga!	view comment
241	Alrune La Brune	23/06/16 15:19:19	15 1 in 4 is a statistic akin to what is found in war-torn Cong	view comment
242	Tiffany McLane	27/06/16 00:10:33	1 Not in college, but I've been assaulted by four different r	view comment
243	Rebecca Birch	06/07/16 04:01:52	87 So, as someone who has done a lot of research and worl	view comment
243-1	Ejm Mc	07/02/17 15:01:40	1 +Rebecca Birch I am constantly blown away by people's	view comment
243-2	Rebecca Birch	07/02/17 06:28:25	6 @Morgan I am constantly blown away by people's lack c	view comment
243-3	Morgan	07/02/17 06:01:11	1 @rebecca PREACH	view comment
243-4	Rebecca Birch	05/02/17 22:27:22	10 Here's my question- Why do we pit people who have be	view comment
243-5	Harry Seldon	05/02/17 15:05:44	0 @Morgan One source of truth is this online letter. https://	view comment
244	SavageCoffeeDrinker	06/07/16 23:42:50	81 This documentary was amazing. The responses these vic	view comment
244-1	RevolutionNews	09/12/16 18:37:05	1 Beta male are better than alpha male.	view comment
244-2	Tall Alioune	29/11/16 19:37:19	0 This moovie is now avaaailable to waaatch here => http	view comment
244-3	AAdamdaman	18/10/16 23:53:35	2 PatrickMCcolley says the beta male who believes in fem	view comment
244-4	AAdamdaman	13/09/16 19:56:20	1 Hey what I meant say is there is no such thing as rape cu	view comment
244-5	AAdamdaman	22/08/16 01:21:28	0 +SavageCoffeeDrinker this is bullshit there is such thing	view comment
245	Rapps Rangiuiia	07/07/16 18:34:33	1 Just watched this film. Yes it's money and corporate gre	view comment
245-1	Ejm Mc	16/07/16 10:48:35	1 The Hunting Ground movie uses two main perpetrator-v	view comment
246	joe wash	11/08/16 09:45:48	1 this is all fucking left wing feminist bs	view comment
247	Jenna Knowles	13/08/16 00:45:11	10 I swear some of these comments are making me not onl	view comment
247-1	Molt 2000	14/08/16 10:54:53	2 The youtube community is filled with toxic trolls. They st	view comment
248	Harry Seldon	29/08/16 13:14:19	3 The Hunting Ground is a load of rubbish. This feminist dc	view comment
248-1	Harry Seldon	29/08/16 13:15:48	0 Possibly the best analysis of the legal documents is prese	view comment
249	Jada C	30/08/16 02:33:43	1 This is some scary stuff. So far in my life (I'm only 20) I h	view comment

249-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 17:27:10	0 It isn't but it does make you look desperate or looking to view comment
250	Thatsswell2012	31/08/16 02:02:44	1 Most campus rapes happen in dorms. So why do so fe view comment
250-1	Steve Madden	27/10/16 05:52:53	0 Strange as it might seem, to those who don't understand view comment
251	Robert O	05/09/16 05:04:15	1 WTF? Come on smart people go to the police first...WTF view comment
251-1	Joey Lopez	30/09/16 04:53:32	0 Don't you get it? This is a feminist power play to give lov view comment
251-2	Anna	10/09/16 02:47:44	3 The majority of rapes and sexual assaults go unreported. view comment
252	Joey Lopez	30/09/16 04:42:11	0 The shit is just feminist propaganda to create public supj view comment
253	Joey Lopez	30/09/16 04:56:29	0 This is a feminist power play to give love scorn females tl view comment
254	Luke Powell	01/10/16 06:58:26	0 I watched this film. I found it disturbing. If I was a father view comment
254-1	Ejm Mc	26/01/17 12:53:18	0 This film is radical feminist advocacy, full of lies. The follo view comment
254-2	Emma Feather	24/01/17 11:52:22	0 The rapist is the only reason rape occurred. Think about view comment
254-3	Steve Madden	12/10/16 12:27:18	0 I will revise. You are more understanding of the situation view comment
254-4	Luke Powell	07/10/16 18:56:34	0 Steve Madden you obviously didn't read the whole comr view comment
254-5	Harry Seldon	04/10/16 14:52:06	0 Agreed. But no need to be at a daughter's side, that is sil view comment
255	Kate Allen	09/10/16 21:43:05	12 I like all the guys commenting about "feminist propagan view comment
255-1	Scuba Steve	10/02/17 23:27:51	0 The documentary is feminist propaganda as it full of inax view comment
255-2	Braveheart	08/12/16 00:20:35	0 You sound like a wannabe Chuck Bass. Gossip Girl is a ve view comment
255-3	Theknow All	07/12/16 01:27:28	1 +PumpkinCherub The other main false accuser in the m view comment
255-4	Harry Seldon	07/12/16 01:21:23	1 @PumpkinCherub Let me make this very clear to you, se view comment
255-5	Braveheart	06/12/16 22:07:29	0 +Harry Seldon Mate, feminists serve their purpose when view comment
256	Lonely Traveller	31/10/16 05:02:55	4 people that comment or put shit on twitter are worse th view comment
257	LearnEnglishESL	02/11/16 11:14:42	2 "The lack of spiritual values in society leads to a debasen view comment
258	jpz719	01/12/16 12:16:40	0 How to be incorrect about everything: view comment
259	Xerberus86	04/12/16 18:23:40	0 where is the documentary about the fact that regarding view comment
259-1	Cole-Con O	01/04/17 06:30:31	0 Xerberus86 but men were in it too view comment
260	Theknow All	06/12/16 15:24:21	0 Forty years ago the word(s) 'rape' or 'sexual assault' wen view comment
260-1	Theknow All	22/04/17 03:19:24	0 Marital 'rape' is just another feminist scam to get higher view comment
260-2	Theknow All	22/04/17 03:18:40	0 Rebecca Myers implies that it's legal for a man to rape hi view comment
260-3	Rebecca	07/01/17 07:49:53	0 Marital rape wasn't a crime until 1996. view comment
260-4	Steve Madden	06/12/16 15:30:58	0 As you realise The Hunting Ground is a feminist scam. Fo view comment
260-5	Theknow All	06/12/16 15:24:36	0 Forced and violent seems to be called 'legacy' rape these view comment
261	Cris Wildmiller	15/12/16 04:07:29	4 when i was raped by a fellow student, i felt so incredibly view comment
261-1	stan loona uglies	22/02/17 10:59:45	0 Stay strong. view comment
262	hotkayz	30/12/16 09:43:22	0 This film is so stupid. Wtf am I supposed to do about rap view comment

263	SeeStranger	17/01/17 17:19:23	0 Course, We'd Still Prevent The Hunting Ground.	view comment
264	Ashley	22/01/17 00:59:13	3 Parents teach your spoiled rotten sons, to not rape girls.	view comment
264-1	Ashley	22/04/20 00:36:38	0 @damnedcarrot How about you go to hell.	view comment
264-2	damnedcarrot	26/06/17 15:58:13	0 Parents teach your brain dead daughters to learn the de'	view comment
265	Morgan	04/02/17 00:36:33	1 @ all the guys in the comments calling this movie femini	view comment
266	Morgan	04/02/17 00:43:22	2 if you are a man and you feel attacked by this document	view comment
267	Ryan hodes	07/02/17 19:42:30	0 Is Betsy Devos going to do anything to change this?	view comment
268	Ethan	15/02/17 10:30:50	0 I'm scared to go to college now...	view comment
269	A_Socialist_Channel	03/03/17 22:48:49	0 For men who think feminism is only about women's issu	view comment
270	cuteNADA1992	06/03/17 16:54:15	0 Seriously, parents should teach their teenage daughters	view comment
270-1	cuteNADA1992	30/04/17 16:27:27	0 numbers don't lie. research the numbers of freshman st	view comment
270-2	Harry Seldon	30/04/17 12:02:27	0 A teenage daughter is VERY safe in college. This film is ra	view comment
271	Anna Mills	22/03/17 15:44:40	0 such a good documentary, highly recommend!	view comment
272	ChildOfTheFlower	12/04/17 18:11:04	1 I love how Notre Dame is on this due to it being the othe	view comment
273	Theknow All	22/04/17 03:25:08	1 This film is radical feminist advocacy, full of lies. The follo	view comment
273-1	Steve Madden	22/04/17 03:35:07	0 The following videos (two from female professors) will e	view comment
273-2	Theknow All	22/04/17 03:26:00	0 The following article is about Jameis Winston who was fa	view comment
274	Ejm Mc	22/04/17 05:18:47	0 colleges are safe, this film is feminist propaganda, the w	view comment
275	Asura	01/05/17 21:07:01	0 So many stupid feminists in this comment section.Look, r	view comment
275-1	Theknow All	20/05/17 07:19:36	0 Your comment is too kind to feminists. The Hunting Grou	view comment
276	LightnSalt8	21/06/17 12:06:22	0 so, all men are bastards and all women are saints? show	view comment
277	EDITH MACK	21/06/17 14:51:14	0 EVERYONE IN THE ENTIRE WORLD SHOULD SEE THIS!! a.	view comment
278	damnedcarrot	26/06/17 15:52:17	0 The main reason rape isn't taken seriously on campus's i	view comment
279	Chandrakant Mahapatra	01/07/17 05:45:19	0 Thank you so much for the much-needed documentary.	view comment
280	Nemo Sundry	05/07/17 17:16:16	0 Check the facts everyone. The reason so many people cr	view comment
280-1	eveherdez86	27/09/19 20:47:33	0 propaganda to whom?! dumbass!	view comment
281	light1986	10/07/17 13:37:19	0 if they are at a party y the fuck do they go up to the roor	view comment
282	happyricebowl	06/08/17 11:20:56	0 saw that movie yesterday, never laughed so hard my life	view comment
283	Ahmed AL-Mahdawi	17/08/17 16:07:32	0 Harassment It's a natural phenomenon when a girl show	view comment
284	C.W. Kenobi	29/08/17 17:34:36	0 Class A felonies should not be handled by educational in	view comment
285	Edward Kim	06/09/17 21:27:07	3 LIES! BULLSHIT! ALL OF THESE CUNTS SHOULD BE DESTRO	view comment
286	Hero of Mobius	29/09/17 12:59:37	1 This is one those movies I can't watch because it makes r	view comment
286-1	Harry Seldon	28/01/18 15:17:46	0 These investigations involved high level officials and judg	view comment
286-2	Harry Seldon	28/01/97 15:17:46	0 Naive virtue signalling. The Hunting Ground is an advoca	view comment

287	Westin Yancey	26/10/17 20:32:18	0 Thanks for posting-enjoyed your video-dropped a sub-su view comment
288	HerrMikael	04/01/18 12:27:06	0 BTW this rubbish was produced by the Weinstein Comp view comment
288-1	Harry Seldon	28/01/20 15:17:46	0 These videos are much better:*The Hunting Ground: Jou view comment
289	I love horses 111	03/02/18 09:17:29	3 OK why are so many men getting so defensive and rude view comment
290	Mike Krier	11/03/18 17:01:44	0 If any feminist argues with me and references this video, view comment
291	Donna Little	16/04/18 00:42:53	0 Well now you can take classes online to protect yourself view comment
291-1	Steve Madden	11/09/18 04:32:11	0 This documentary has been heavily criticized and denour view comment
292	Google Mailbox	26/04/18 06:38:54	0 20% not true, that's been debunked a million times it's h view comment
293	Brietta	10/08/18 04:03:01	2 This film is amazingly well done. It sheds a bright light or view comment
294	Harshal Surywanshi	26/08/18 18:32:27	0 ghoul movie story view comment
295	Alexander Reznikov	21/11/18 04:43:21	0 Disgusting piece of garbage. Those women themselves a view comment
296	Frances Zapata	09/01/19 21:32:39	2 Please include closed captions so that the information is view comment
297	IThink_ BLM	12/01/19 22:59:32	1 Dear college rape victims, don't waste your time going to view comment
298	Endless Andy	19/01/19 19:40:57	0 Slightly ironic that it is distributed by, wait for it.....The ' view comment
299	Sbamabelle	30/01/19 20:05:03	1 The number of rapes a college covers up is unbelievable view comment
300	Ravi Sith	07/04/19 10:55:33	0 How can I watch full movie? view comment
301	nichole chibuzor	09/07/19 12:12:54	2 why are you guys arguing over statistics on weather it's 1 view comment
302	TheLovelyPotato	23/07/19 09:09:38	0 Yessss let's start conceal carrying on campuses, that or t view comment
303	TheLovelyPotato	23/07/19 09:13:35	0 The comments:10% can't wait to see the movie 89% wh: view comment
304	eveherdez86	27/09/19 20:50:30	0 FUCK Jameis Winston. Fool will get his karma. everything view comment
305	JNLolz	29/11/19 20:49:12	0 Its disgusting that people like that exist... view comment
306	Feminism Debunked	03/02/20 14:15:18	0 Wikipedia cites that in the USA - 140,000 men are raped view comment
307	Sarah Chaker	13/02/20 13:11:46	0 Where can you find this documentary ? I don't find it on view comment
308	justin crew sane's anti-flags of ;	28/02/20 13:09:30	0 little harry yessir *huntré view comment
309	piewackett1	29/03/20 18:36:36	0 Ask SMITH COLLEGE about Nick Ulura , scene design visit view comment
310	justincollectsane'sajinxcaseare	25/08/20 23:45:27	0 that ain't coming out of my allounce view comment
311	Kennedy Cox	05/09/20 17:07:08	0 nothing makes me more uneasy than seeing my college i view comment
312	Chinmayee Jeyapriya	25/09/20 06:42:45	1 All of the negative comments on here just prove why thi: view comment
313	Sarah	23/12/20 20:13:57	0 Russian Dolls and Bottle Services #imagine #exclusion view comment
314	Homie Mario and Yoshi and bo	30/12/20 03:42:31	0 Very important film and very serious thing going on view comment
315	dietrich	28/01/28 14:22:56	0 Well, OK, I'm leaving this sandbox, boys. This old senior c view comment
316	BuddhatheBlackDog	28/01/39 14:22:59	0 won't let me give thumbs down..... view comment
317	Kyle Smith	28/01/83 14:48:37	17 Rape culture is the new Salem witch trials view comment
317-1	Alva Goldbook	02/03/16 18:10:56	1 +You Got To Feel The Bern A woman is free to do what s view comment

317-2	DBproductions	09/02/16 04:43:05	0 Denmark? A place with no minimum wage and relatively view comment
317-3	DBproductions	09/02/16 02:52:49	0 "What MADE the west great was the multiculturalism an view comment
317-4	DBproductions	09/02/16 02:44:15	0 @***** you haven't called out anything. All you've done view comment
317-5	DBproductions	09/02/16 01:47:50	0 @***** "really? You're comparing blacks and Muslims to view comment
318	Meghan Master Cat	28/01/89 14:30:37	3 Keep fighting, ladies!!! view comment
319	Amira Eldaly	28/01/41 14:43:55	3 damn !!! i can't read these comments anymore .. how th view comment
320	CrimsonTide	28/01/33 14:48:40	0 I hope Winston sues the shit out of CNN. view comment
321	Joao	28/01/07 14:52:43	0 I really can't wait to watch it. view comment
322	Jorge Callico	28/01/23 14:22:57	4 "Rape culture" is a byproduct of female drunkenness and view comment
322-1	Joe Smith	28/01/64 14:25:43	2 @Jorge Callico You seem like you're on mushrooms. Wh view comment
322-2	Jorge Callico	03/03/15 04:50:08	0 Not to a fool like yourself Joe. It's almost like you're rept view comment
322-3	Joe Smith	03/03/15 01:43:11	3 @Jorge Callico Jorge is a fascinating study in psychopath view comment
322-4	Jorge Callico	02/03/15 21:40:37	0 You've positively PROVED THAT what I contend yourself J view comment
322-5	Joe Smith	01/03/15 01:31:41	4 @Jorge Callico Notice how rape apologist Jorge puts wor view comment
323	Katie Holton	28/01/92 14:47:40	4 I would say don't read the comments, but look how well view comment
323-1	musicgu7	15/11/15 19:07:39	1 +Katie Holton My apologies - I mistook you for one of the view comment
323-2	Katie Holton	15/11/15 18:09:39	0 +musicgu7 Thank you for changing the word you used. I view comment
323-3	musicgu7	28/01/12 14:48:00	0 +Katie Holton Oh well, since you said pretty please :)It se view comment
323-4	Katie Holton	28/01/67 14:48:00	0 +musicgu7 aww thanks your comment made me feel so view comment
323-5	musicgu7	28/01/09 14:48:00	1 +Katie Holton So basically " All the opinions that differ fr view comment
324	IRelentless	28/01/30 14:22:58	1 I knew a lot of people who carried guns ON campus bec: view comment
325	Lord of Allusion	28/01/15 14:55:48	0 I think it is wrong to generalise. view comment
326	waltereg0	28/01/44 15:07:44	1 This movie brought to you by Harvey Weinstein.....seriou view comment
327	ceguera maldita	28/01/25 14:22:58	2 more feminist bullshit view comment
328	loveableme59	28/01/59 15:11:42	0 I can't watch shit like this. I'm starting college next fall I view comment
328-1	Harry Seldon	28/01/31 15:17:46	0 Ur silly if you don't know it's a scam. Watch these videos view comment
329	skyclasp	28/01/07 14:32:58	3 Great another feminazi driven film to make us all believe view comment
329-1	Wally West	10/11/15 21:30:06	0 @Becca King Don't pretend to be witty while avoiding th view comment
329-2	Becca King	10/11/15 14:12:30	0 By George, he's got it! Maybe we can get the police to di view comment
329-3	Automatic Porridge	10/11/15 02:37:48	0 Could be prevented.If women didn't go to parties. view comment
329-4	Wally West	26/09/15 08:38:09	1 +Becca King Proof? view comment
329-5	Becca King	22/09/15 03:45:12	0 +RJSyeah 1 in 5 college women are sexually assaulted ea view comment
330	the jackel	28/01/14 14:22:58	0 Are these "rapes " happening in broad daylight in f view comment
331	Samantha Lopez	28/01/99 14:57:50	0 This documentary was probably one of the best I've ever view comment

332	MRheTTG	28/01/41 14:27:42	3 Judging by the overwhelming number of comments belo view comment
333	fouroverseven	28/01/15 14:22:41	0 Look, the truth is women are raped on U.S. college camp view comment
334	Kevin Mcgill	28/01/12 14:25:41	1 Awesome trailer. Looking forward to it. We need more n view comment
335	marisela BAS25	28/01/15 14:26:39	1 Omg amazing, cant wait to see it, laci green brought me view comment
336	Artorious Fortunous	28/01/60 14:22:57	0 They don't look very effected about it... They look like th view comment
336-1	Joe Smith	25/03/15 00:39:50	0 @***** Who says The Daily Mail is a "media outlet"? It' view comment
336-2	Joe Smith	25/03/15 00:25:18	0 @***** Whatever you know about the case, you only k view comment
336-3	Joe Smith	25/03/15 00:01:19	0 @***** Nobody considers The Daily Mail a reliable sou view comment
336-4	Joe Smith	24/03/15 23:45:41	0 @***** I don't consider The Daily Mail a reliable source view comment
336-5	Joe Smith	24/03/15 23:25:43	0 @***** The Daily Mail? Hahahahaaaa!! Thanks for the view comment
337	CircaCreature	28/01/15 14:27:47	3 Hope people actually go out and see The Hunting Groun view comment
338	ctic101	28/01/33 15:07:39	0 HARVEY WEINSTEIN SEXUAL PREDATOR THAT HAS NOT E view comment
338-1	Steve Madden	11/09/18 04:39:07	0 According to the evidence it is a feminist scam. Elite Jew: view comment
339	Rosita Walker	28/01/59 14:57:46	0 There are some who made the "Hunters" the "Hunted" z view comment
340	William Hapworth	28/01/84 14:25:41	0 I HIGHLY encourage EVERYONE to actually go look at the view comment
340-1	William Hapworth	06/03/15 15:55:01	0 full name is Kamilah Willingham, and I believe her lies wi view comment
341	Paige Aristidou	28/01/26 14:43:00	721 I love how whenever a film like this comes out a bunch o view comment
341-1	unikatura	24/10/19 14:22:52	1 I think you should back your stories with proof first then view comment
341-2	ijs	21/08/19 20:14:45	1 If you throw a stone into a pack of dogs the one that ho view comment
341-3	Matilda	22/06/18 02:54:46	0 Using gendered insults like "bitch" is really pushing wom view comment
341-4	77tubuck	30/06/17 17:15:25	5 I love how in Nazi Germany whenever a documentary fil view comment
341-5	Gabo Harris	23/02/16 22:20:04	0 I don't condone assault in any way, and I don't know hov view comment
342	Regina Phalange	28/01/60 14:24:52	1 TILL IT HAPPENS TO YOU 🙄🙄 view comment
343	polly polly	28/01/99 14:43:53	0 а будет ли перевод и когда? view comment
344	Little1Cave	28/01/32 14:44:39	0 This has a very similar vibe to another rape documentar view comment
345	M.A Assuhidis	28/01/49 14:57:46	0 At University of Sussex (Uk) we are having an "I love con: view comment
345-1	SwimmingSkies	13/03/16 19:16:32	0 I'm moving to the UK and going to college there while dr view comment
346	John	28/01/78 14:25:44	2 Bullshit propaganda. http://www.slate.com/articles/dout view comment
347	LexTheQueer	28/01/43 14:25:37	72 The majority of the comments here are absolutely disgu: view comment
347-1	Moon Man	21/11/15 23:54:57	1 @***** What do you think about that guy that is being view comment
347-2	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:47:39	3 I agree with you, the "mattress bitch" (as you put it, was view comment
347-3	Madonna bu	21/11/15 23:09:33	1 +DinosaurLizzie Know when you are being trolled. Loser view comment
347-4	julianna reilly	21/11/15 02:19:11	0 +DinosaurLizzie I completely agree, whatever happened view comment
347-5	LexTheQueer	23/09/15 02:11:54	7 @***** No. view comment

348	Bob Bob	28/01/77 14:25:42	0 giggity	view comment
349	LoOoL	28/01/73 14:43:40	13 I doubt most of the rapes are fake, but there are cases th	view comment
349-1	musicgu7	#####	5 +7lol2007 Thank you for being honest and coming forwa	view comment
350	Explosure Mode	28/01/16 14:22:50	1 Theirs plenty of woman that do get abused and try to tel	view comment
350-1	turtles	01/03/15 05:33:37	1 @Explosure Mode Agreed. If there was really a rape, I dk	view comment
350-2	Explosure Mode	01/03/15 03:28:37	1 Any body that sues for money with out a true cause is a	view comment
350-3	turtles	27/02/15 17:24:36	0 She was lying. The judge threw that shit out. Her toxic	view comment
351	Confucius Say	28/01/44 14:47:56	0 is this the stone age? what about the internet? facebook	view comment
352	Blessed 94	28/01/02 14:42:58	0 Nice lies here. Remember mattress girl, you made refren	view comment
353	Moo maya ida Ph ti	28/01/14 14:43:53	110 this is so true.Universities just cover things up not to ruir	view comment
353-1	Winds of March Journey/Perry	10/10/20 14:46:14	1 @Moo maya ida Ph ti Self-defense and gun safety shoulc	view comment
353-2	Nina Mancuso	06/01/20 18:59:45	0 @Alva Goldbook because the police dont give a shit and	view comment
353-3	Mike Krier	11/03/18 17:00:23	0 Bullshit. They get funding from the government the mor	view comment
353-4	Alva Goldbook	06/04/16 12:54:22	0 @***** Yes, all that is actually true, and is demonstrabl	view comment
353-5	venswim	06/04/16 07:04:36	0 +Alva Goldbook Sexual Predictors are a VERY real proble	view comment
354	Cid Vasconcelos	28/01/95 15:55:58	0 Resenha sobre o filme: https://magiadoreal.blogspot.co	view comment
355	Brianna M	28/01/21 14:22:48	3 Honestly what the hell are some of the men in this comn	view comment
356	Dark Waters	28/01/15 15:54:00	0 So expel them based on a complaint?So this is how you	view comment
357	Wally 1970	28/01/24 15:50:36	0 Liars . What a bunch of bullshit . If a guy says hello , he	view comment
358	Storm Raven	28/01/46 14:22:47	0 If it was a dude who was held down, sodomized by a wo	view comment
359	vin Bucketts	28/01/61 14:43:57	1 i felt bad for one of those girls... i got the impression the	view comment
359-1	vin Bucketts	13/10/15 22:54:50	0 i dont remember to be honest and i dont feel like going	view comment
360	Wally 1970	28/01/25 15:50:36	0 Was anyone else looking for the sasquatch trailer? 🙄 I	view comment
361	Harry Seldon	28/01/59 14:56:54	16 This movie is a total distortion of the truth. Many source	view comment
362	BannedIP	28/01/85 14:47:51	3 Feminazzies and liberals are destroying the world, fuck t	view comment
362-1	Dylaney	28/01/27 14:59:46	0 +BannedIP this isn't about feminism or hating men. It's a	view comment
363	Dark Waters	28/01/61 15:54:00	0 Regretting sex, even if you were drunk, isn't rape.	view comment
364	Count Fleet	28/01/98 14:43:58	2 Let the comments equating "anti-rape" with "feminism"	view comment
365	Monsieur Hadou	28/01/97 14:49:42	69 So rape is more prevalent in American colleges (20%) th:	view comment
365-1	Donna Garcia	09/04/16 03:19:53	1 Rubbish? I think you inferred more from my response th	view comment
365-2	Paulus Rex	09/04/16 01:46:33	6 +Donna Garcia Rubbish. The case in the 'documentary' h	view comment
365-3	Donna Garcia	09/04/16 01:10:19	0 Paulus Rex: It is easy to assess how many rapes (or any o	view comment
365-4	Paulus Rex	08/04/16 22:50:35	0 +King Tetsumaki If they're not reported, how do people	view comment
365-5	Donna Garcia	07/04/16 18:32:48	0 I cant comment about the numbers unless I know which	view comment

366	Orlando Rodriguez	28/01/50 14:48:51	0 In terms of the Jameis Winston case, Why were the only	view comment
367	Diane Brackett	28/01/00 14:22:37	2 At least one, Erika kinsman, has already been though 3 d	view comment
368	Birric Forcella	28/01/07 14:33:47	19 The movie has been debunked as a lie. The rate of sexual	view comment
368-1	Harry Seldon	21/12/16 02:15:37	1 This film is radical feminist advocacy, full of lies. The follo	view comment
368-2	Blessed 94	28/01/91 14:42:58	5 +Prettygirlcn5 Because emma lied, we know this becausa	view comment
368-3	Prettygirlcn5	02/09/15 17:18:24	2 Why are you just assuming these are all false rape accus	view comment
369	Major Chaotic	28/01/75 14:22:57	0 Reminds me of gamergate, only worse.	view comment
370	lucymia	28/01/39 14:25:58	3 To those saying the women are lying because police and	view comment
370-1	DownWithPlankers101	28/01/70 14:27:57	1 Well I hope that it doesn't happen to you. I know if it wa	view comment
371	Mike Ya	28/01/01 14:57:47	1 Sexual assault is very serious. It deserves to be addresser	view comment
371-1	Erika Nolte	11/04/16 21:31:22	1 +Mike Y Because people aren't lying/covering up reports	view comment
372	lucymia	28/01/08 14:25:58	0 Completely off topic, but as someone fascinated by body	view comment
373	Golib Husanov	28/01/14 15:30:39	0 They didn't have to go to bars and get drunk in the first p	view comment
374	15venzan	28/01/23 14:42:51	0 This movie is a fucking joke. Anyone who watches shoulc	view comment
375	Lorei Lazuli	28/01/24 15:46:57	1 Why are rape cases handled by anyone other than the m	view comment

Appendix B: YouTube comments section for “Rhodes students form human barrier, protest topless against rape”

ExportComments.com

Source | <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9noISdRte54&feature=youtu.be>

	Name (click to view profile)	Date	Likes	Comment	(view source)
1	Sabhyujai Vinodansh	20/04/16 06:54:42	1	This world is actually going backwards.....But on the other hand	view comment
2	mily rahman	20/04/16 22:16:49	0	may be all these ladies trying to say if have guts come now rape	view comment
3	WAYNE RILEY	23/04/16 11:34:19	2	These women are just making spectacles of themselves, marching	view comment
3-1	Jasinater	29/04/16 12:11:42	0	+WAYNE RILEY I will and I'll preach everything I said over and over	view comment
3-2	WAYNE RILEY	29/04/16 11:52:27	1	You sound even stupider than they are being but feel free to be	view comment
3-3	Jasinater	29/04/16 07:52:36	0	I'm sorry to tell you this but the point of marching and protesting	view comment
4	Dudik hidayah	23/04/16 13:25:32	0	stupid	view comment
4-1	Jasinater	29/04/16 07:23:17	0	Stupid because they're protesting AGAINST RAPE? Or is rape just	view comment
5	Buz Vii	28/04/16 07:34:27	2	The protesting part is okay but being topless at it is like asking	view comment
5-1	TravelingMama	28/01/27 15:14:37	0	Buzile Ntukela the point is that women shouldn't be raped regardless	view comment
5-2	Buz Vii	03/05/16 08:05:09	2	maybe you didn't quite get my point. I said protesting is okay	view comment
5-3	Jasinater	29/04/16 07:11:01	0	So rape is okay as long as the women were showing their breasts	view comment
6	John Smith	11/05/16 07:34:48	0	ça prouve que se sont des animaux sans coeur qui faut éradiquer	view comment
7	warpnin3	28/05/16 21:10:32	0	I really don't see how protesting half naked will help to stop	view comment
7-1	Coty Balingall	26/08/16 13:57:08	0	ive been wondering the same thing.. how protesting no matter	view comment

Appendix C: YouTube comments section for “Wits ‘naked’ protest: Students protest against rape culture in solidarity with Rhodes”

ExportComments.com

Source | https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=E_w9XJwzliw&feature=youtu.be

	Name (click to view profil	Date	Likes	Comment	(view source)
1	JulesRouleau	09/05/16 22:43:57	0	Elles sont laides.	view comment
2	John Mhlanga	12/05/16 12:37:46	7	So proud of you ladies may you consciousness grow to infinity.	view comment
3	Zenande Godongwana	05/06/16 12:57:19	1	Of course the hot girl won't show their tits	view comment
4	Foo Rankoo	08/09/16 23:47:08	5	The first girl has a right to be nude. You see the jugs on her? I s	view comment
5	Kay Hiway	08/10/16 22:11:56	2	#FeesMustFall...why must it be #BoobsOnShow?	view comment
6	Trash Talker	12/10/16 03:07:48	0	sleeping with a lecture to get extra 2 percent is rape?feminist	view comment
7	Pirate Gunner	22/10/16 12:00:23	0	blacks are trapped in a victim mentally 24/7. This protest was p	view comment
8	Sihle Khwela	25/10/16 22:36:51	0	nidakwa utshwala nidunuse,then it rape fusek,nisivezela ibele I	view comment
9	Tafara	01/09/17 09:44:16	0	Nothing but floppy boobs here.	view comment
10	Son of Odin	13/05/19 21:55:45	0	No such thing as rape culture, like seriously where tf is it? You h	view comment
11	Moses sport	18/10/19 13:41:32	0	I love dat	view comment
12	Chris Zitsenga	03/02/20 20:12:09	2	Being naked solves nothing..what happened to our morals.. Afi	view comment
12-1	Don Anderson	02/09/20 14:12:37	0	African tribes have been going around naked for centuries ever	view comment
13	Peter Ochieng	31/07/20 19:02:13	0	too bad	view comment
14	Afolabi Sanu	28/01/26 15:16:53	0	Charts on the chairs	view comment
15	Tshepiso Promise	28/01/87 15:52:56	2	Nonsense	view comment