Socio-cultural and psychological aspects of rape: Perspectives of young men from Kerala

Reshma J K¹, Punnaya M Pillai¹, Peeka Rajeevi¹, Sreekutty C R¹, Eslavath Rajkumar¹*, Allen Joshua George¹ and R Greeshma¹

Abstract: The intensity and frequency of rapes and attempted sexual assaults on women, along with several unreported cases, are rising alarmingly in countries including India. National Crime Records Bureau in 2018 reported one rape every 15 min in India. Additionally, according to the NCRB data, up to 91 rapes were reported in the country on a single day. This scenario, therefore, calls for the immediate attention of the researchers to explore the factors that contribute to such crimes. The current qualitative study, hence, was intended to explore the socio-cultural and psychological factors associated with rape from the perspectives of men. The current study was conducted among 37 males between the ages of 18 and 25 years. The data were collected using semi-structured interviews. The thematic analysis threw light on the development of several main themes and sub-themes for socio-cultural and psychological factors associated with rape. The important main themes that emerged include attitude towards rape, sexual restriction, masculine dominance, westernization, lack of social support, exploitation, perception and attitude toward law, psychological impact, and childhood trauma. The study had identified several socio-cultural factors that possibly contribute to sexual aggression against women; the psychological consequences of rape on the victims;

ABOUT THE AUTHOR
Greeshma Rajgopal is a Research Scholar in the Department of Psychology, School of Social and Behavioral Sciences, Central University of Karnataka, India. She did her Masters in Clinical & Counseling Psychology and is pursuing her doctoral research in the area of social and cognitive psychology. Her research interests and activities focus on influences of social and cultural determinants, decision making, perception of justice and morality, women’s health and interpersonal relationships. The current study converges on important issues which emphasize on socio-cultural and psychological factors that could be influencing perpetrators to commit a crime. The findings have its roots associated with criminology, women’s safety and health, men’s general attitude towards women and perpetrators, and also widely addresses the major concerns of social morality and gender issues which the author seeks to study further.

PUBLIC INTEREST STATEMENT
The current social situation is dominated by various social media influences, globalization, political ideologies and pop cultures. Amidst these factors, it would be interesting to know what the young men think of rape from a socio-cultural and psychological perspective and how they react to these incidents. It can be noticed that there is a substantial increase in the crime rates that occur in Kerala, India. Although the current study’s findings cannot be generalized, it still represents these young men’s opinions and concerns associated with rape and rape victims. The findings revealed that misperceptions about women’s desires and needs, lack of awareness, substance abuse, and negative attitude about relationships often lead to such criminal intentions and behaviours. Despite the sexual liberation movement occurring worldwide, provocative attire and body language exhibited by women are still considered a causal factor for rape according to most men. Additionally, sexual frustrations and poor emotional control are few psychological factors that contribute to crime rates.
and the role of societal norms that indirectly result in increased incidents of sexual assaults. The results would facilitate recognition, development, and implementation of social interventions to control the prevalence of rape in the country.

**Subjects:** Social Psychology; Prejudice; Psychology of New Media; Religion; Social Cognition; Attitudes & Persuasion; Social Influence; Attribution; Criminology & Delinquency; Gender Identity & Sex Roles

**Keywords:** Rape; Cultural aspect of rape; Social aspects of rape; Young adults; India

1. Introduction

According to National Crime Records Bureau\(^1\), rape is considered as one of the most heinous crimes. The NCRB report of 2020 revealed that in India a total of 28,046 cases were reported in a year (Crime in India 2020). Concerning the information shared by the state police department of Kerala, the crimes against women have had a substantial increase over the years from 12,659 in 2020 to 16,418 in 2021 (Mathrubhumi, 2022). 2011 census data showed that Kerala accounts for the state having the most elevated education pace with 93.91 percent which included 96.02 percent proficiency among males and 91.98 percent among females (State of Literacy, 2011). Despite having a greater literacy rate, the working environment in sectors like administrative, educational etc in Kerala is largely influenced by misogyny (Greeshma, 2021). This raises questions to understand the possible factors contributing to the increased rape and sexual assaults in the state. Some studies indicate that rape and victim-blaming are widespread in India, where male participants accuse victims and sympathize more with the perpetrators than the female victims (Hill & Marshall, 2018). The offenders are typically presented as males who are misled by women’s sexual signals, as sexually famished and as biologically and sexually predisposed to have sex (Qureshi et al., 2020). As per the UN Women report, only 11 percent of the sexual assaults are reported globally, though, in reality, the number has huge variations across the globe. In India, this estimate is just two percent (Hill & Marshall, 2018). Kanekar (2007) emphasized that the victims of rape and sexual abuse are treated more harshly by the society in India when compared to other countries like America. In the aspect of culture, sexual assault victims are especially vulnerable to being blamed for their assault, unlike many other interpersonal crimes, such as robberies and muggings (Gravelin et al., 2019). The belief in a just world, belief in benevolent sexism, restricted social ideas regarding women’s rights and traits, ethnicity, race and a lack of gender empowerment have all been linked to victim blaming in India (Niranjan & Purushottam, 2020). Some studies also inferred that in India, patriarchal conceptions of men’s control over women’s bodies, sexuality, movement, and autonomy lead to sexual violence against women. As a result, in India, sexual violence against women is sometimes accepted and allowed as a normal aspect of family life (Nieder et al., 2019).

Rape perceptions and values are important variables that need to be taken into account to understand men’s violent sexual actions towards women (Sierra et al., 2010). In her original work on multifaceted parts of hetero rape, Sanday (1981) examined 156 cultural structures and found that rape is an essential piece of a socio-cultural arrangement that spun around interpersonal violence, male strength, and an “ideology of sturdiness” in men and shortcoming in women. It is conceivable that societies that have all the more explicitly liberal mentalities may have higher paces of sexual violence yet similarly in less liberal social orders same perspectives may apply (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). Previous research has indicated that when the perpetrator has a higher status or is of the same status as the survivor, men were more likely to blame her but only if she did not file a complaint. Moreover, those who believe women use sex to obtain power from men, criticised the victim more when the offender was in a more powerful position (Gravelin et al., 2019) indicating the significance of social status on the same.

Cultural parts of sexual violence can be perceived from perceptions and works of literature on IPV concerning sexual acts. Higher paces of sexual viciousness are expected to be more pervasive
in societies that energize objectification of women, hence causing them to seem weaker compared to men (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013).

Within the framework of transformative psychology, male to female proportion is higher and offers to ascend to rivalry among men for females. This may prompt sexual envy and disappointment among men adding to sexual violence. This hypothetical structure views sexual brutality as a technique utilized by men to guarantee the sexual constancy of their female mates (D’Alessio & Stolzenberg, 2010). Sexual violence may prompt impersonation to comparative acts by men with respect to social learning theory. The theory additionally underpins proof that family atmosphere during childhood plays a significant part in the improvement of transmission, openness, and articulation of various types of violence. Interpersonal aggression showcased by male parental figures) and maltreatment of an individual during childhood are a few of the many reasons for this behavior of sexual violence as time progresses (Debowska et al., 2015). Traits of antisocial personality such as lack of self-control may be important in identifying those who encourage rape myths. Low self-control was found to be a key predictor of a variety of criminal and comparable behaviors as a general predisposition to engage in crime (Qureshi et al., 2020). Exposure to pornography generally

| Details            | N(37) | %  |
|--------------------|-------|----|
| Gender             |       |    |
| Male               | 18    | 48.6|
| Female             | 19    | 51  |
| Age                |       |    |
| 18–21              | 10    | 29.4|
| 22–25              | 27    | 72.9|
| Female sibling     |       |    |
| Yes                | 19    | 51  |
| No                 | 18    | 48.6|
| Education          |       |    |
| Schooling          | 6     | 16.2|
| UG                 | 20    | 54.0|
| PG                 | 9     | 24.3|
| Others             | 2     | 5.4 |
| Residence          |       |    |
| Rural              | 22    | 59.4|
| Urban              | 15    | 40.5|
| Family type        |       |    |
| Joint              | 3     | 8.1 |
| Nuclear            | 34    | 91.8|
| Religion           |       |    |
| Hindu              | 23    | 62.1|
| Islam              | 9     | 24.3|
| Christian          | 5     | 13.5|
| SES                |       |    |
| Low                | 0     | 0   |
| Medium             | 37    | 100 |
| High               | 0     | 0   |

Table 1. The distribution of demographic characteristics of the participants variables

https://doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2022.2064589
may promote coercive sexual fantasies that can influence rape to an extent (Ybarra et al., 2011). The increased use of pornography is linked to sexual aggression, which includes pornographic material leading to violent crime. Such addictions can be destructive not just to the person but also to society, as seen in rape cases and inappropriate behavior (Kamaruddin et al., 2019).

The apparent results of sexual viciousness fluctuate across societies. In socio-centric social orders where disgrace is a more predominant feeling than their emotions, the survivors of sexual viciousness may not open up about their injury and subsequently may not report it (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). This influences the casualty contrarily as well as influences a comprehension of the real essence of injury. In socio-centric societies, where the pride of the family precedes that of the individual part, the thought about mischief coming about because of sexual violence is shared more by the relatives. Despite what might be expected, in personality-driven societies, this damage from sexual violence is quite thought around the respect and character of the individuals part (Kalra & Bhugra, 2013). Rape is among the most serious forms of trauma with long-term consequences such as post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), abuse, suicide ideation, depression, repeated sexual victimisation, and health problems (Nautiyal et al., 2017). Sexual violence on women or men has an extensive effect on their physical as well as mental health, and the physical injury may cause severe reproductive problems with both immediate and long-term consequences (Jewkes et al., 2013).
Das et al. (2014), had found that “those who had a preferential attitude to traditional gender roles are inclined to be more likely to accept sexual violence” (Hill and Marshall, 2018). Abeid et al. (2015) showed that poor knowledge about sexual violence exhibit an acceptance attitude towards sexual violence, and socio-demographical factors like age, marital status, and level of education have a significant role in attitude towards sexual violence. In comparison to younger people, greater acceptance of the rape myth has been identified in older people, and these views have been observed more often in people with low educational levels (Sierra et al., 2010).

From the above literature review, the major research gap identified was that previous literature focused mostly on socio-demographic variables and failed to cover different perspectives of social violence, particularly its cultural and psychological aspects. Thus, the purpose of the current study is to explore different cultural and psychological factors associated with rape. It also intended to see whether Kerala, being India’s most literate community, shows any deviation from the historically perceived factors that are generally associated with the schema of rape.

2. Method

2.1. Ethical considerations
The participants were briefed about the purpose of the study before taking consent. Utmost care was taken to maintain the confidentiality of the personal information and the responses disclosed by the participants. Permission was taken to record the interview before its initiation. In addition to this, they were also informed of the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The study had been cleared and approved by the institutional ethical committee of the Department of Psychology, School of Social & Behavioral Sciences, Central University of Karnataka.

2.2. Study design
The present cross-sectional study followed an exploratory qualitative research design which intended to identify the socio-cultural and psychological factors associated with rape.

2.3. Study sample & procedure
Table 1 shows the socio-demographic characteristics of the participants of the current study. The sample consisted of young male adults between the age group 18- and 25 years (N = 37, Mean = 22.8; SD = 2.2) from Kerala. A convenient sampling technique was utilized to collect data. Participants from Kerala who had shown willingness to participate were included in the study. Individuals diagnosed with psychiatric illness were excluded from the study. Informed consent was obtained from the participants prior to the interview. Semi-structured interviews were done on each participant where the interviews lasted for an average of 34 minutes. The researchers had already prepared nine open-ended questions that include: “1. Is our culture more rape tolerant in comparison to the western countries, could you share your view on this? 2. Do you think women’s behavior and lifestyle will act provocative and what are those and why do you think so? 3. What do you think of the psychological problems a rape victim would face and why? The questions were prepared based on the insights received from reviewing the existing literature and expert opinions. Probing the responses of the participants has given the scope for further exploration of their viewpoints. To get precise and truthful answers, the interviews were conducted in Malayalam, the mother tongue of the participants. All the responses were recorded using a phone recorder with prior permission from the participants. Also, the importance of the recordings in the study was explained to gain participants” trust.

2.4. Data processing and analysis
The recorded data were transcribed and translated into English. Obtained data were differentiated and segregated according to the socio-cultural and psychological perspectives and the analysis was done separately. Thematic analysis was adopted and followed the steps formulated by Braun and Clarke (2006) that consist of (1) familiarizing with the data, (2) generating initial codes, (3) searching for themes, (4) reviewing themes, (5) defining and naming themes, and (6) producing a report of the
performed analysis after demonstrating a final analysis which includes checking the credibility of the analysis to the literature and research question of the study. From the final coded data, themes and sub-themes were developed. Trustworthiness in the qualitative inquiry process was achieved by following Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) criteria. All the authors have repeatedly reviewed and verified the data analysis process and an external researcher has revised the process to achieve credibility.

2.5. Findings
After the course of data analysis, the themes and sub-themes were developed for both socio-cultural and psychological factors as shown in Table 2. The meaning of each theme and sub-theme is put forward with reference to the participants’ verbatim responses.

3. Socio-cultural factors

3.1. Attitude towards rape
The first theme that emerged was the attitude of the respondents towards rape. From the participants’ perspective, the perception and approach towards sex and the deep-rooted beliefs of myths among individuals are associated with the lack of appropriate awareness and understanding of women. Three sub-themes emerged with respect to this theme—lack of awareness, attitude towards women and relationships, and misperceptions about women.

3.2. Lack of awareness
Some respondents believe that in the Indian culture, it is uncumbersome to acknowledge when a person is incorrect, especially when it is attributed to topics like sex or rape. Most individuals tend to live with misconceptions rather than educating themselves, which increase the probability of criminal acts against women, including rape. Thus, some believe that a general lack of awareness is one of the key causal factors for rape. As stated by the participant AF, 23, “Indians lack the awareness to understand when some things like this are wrong. India is not rape tolerant but it lacks the courage and awareness to bring it out”.

Participant VP, 22, also expressed a similar opinion. “As a person with regards to India, I have understood that lack of knowledge about what is sex. So, rapes happen mostly because of this lack of awareness that people have about sex and lack of education about sex”.

About erroneous information, members offered comments that when the child is not endowed with enough information and discernment about sex at a proper period, they would strive to learn about sex from unauthentic sources. AA of age 20, opined “… parents … they educated me regarding this. Sure, I’ve got a fair share of knowledge both accurate and inaccurate from certain sources … but knowing the right fact helped me see things more clearly … what you shouldn’t do most importantly …” According to AF, aged 24 “Sex education, helps define the difference between consent … exploitation and abuse … “. The participants explained that rape perpetrators often have severe or barbaric dreams about venereal exercises which can likewise come from lacking to zero information about intercourse and assent.

“They may watch extremely deviant porn … forbidden must be arousing for the rapists … ” (AF, aged 24) “I read a news article where a man and women stab each other for pleasure … they experience arousal … I think they feel it’s attractive and explorative” (SK, aged 23).

3.3. Attitude towards women and relationship
Even though female goddesses are treated with the utmost respect in India, gender issues prevail in the form of socially constructed, predefined gender roles firmly anchored in India’s socio-cultural fabric that has deep cultural and historical roots (Batra & Reio, 2016). This sub-theme revealed the participant’s understanding of the ways most men have formed an attitude towards women and relationships due to which women are being attacked.
According to a participant, “women have more freedom in those countries compared to India. Because they do not misinterpret if either one girl or boy sits together, one woman travels alone at night. If a woman rejects love, especially in India that man gets infuriated and that anger, he will express in many ways. Sometimes they pour acid on her face, try to kill, or trouble her in different ways” (VAS, 23).

Another participant SAS, 20 shared similar opinions; “In India where a boy and a girl sit together or be friends with the opposite gender it is perceived in an inappropriate way and the intention of it is often misjudged”.

Misperceptions are a consequential reason marked by the participants, which include lack of moral values, erroneous perception, and judgment about gender and relationships. It was noted that less value given to bonds and relationships lead to incremented indulgence in violence and abuse. They discussed how they view women and revere the female members of their family: “the circumstances which they were raised in … and an inability to understand family bonds and the value of human relationships … they don’t give value for relationships against temporary enjoyments … I have never or rarely seen people tightly bound with families going for these kinds of acts” (VV, 25).

“Any guy who knows how women feel won’t hurt them … it would not be possible for him in any way … ” (SK, 23)

3.4. Misperception about women

In association with the less worth given to bonding and relationships, the participants concurred that absence of information on how women feel or how they think prompts the misperception about the female gender. Likewise, views of dominance or chauvinism were also mentioned. A participant added, ‘Women are confusing … maybe that’s why such people are perplexed, they may not know what feelings they are expressing … to them a simple “no” might feel like a “yes” AJ, 18 years.

“See, it is the misinterpretation … for example, if they see a female with minimal clothing they would think like ‘she is dressed in sultry pants and her cleavage is visible. This definitely means she wants sex and it is okay for me to approach her. when she verbalizes ‘no’ she genuinely wants to turn me on further to try her’ … that thought is not true at all … but one must know a woman to understand her … ” AA, aged 20

4. Sexual restrictions

This theme indulges on the participants’ opinion about most men being sexually unsatisfied thereby failing to meet their basic physical needs thus resulting in crime. Social and cultural restrictions imposed upon normal human tendencies tend to play a major role here. Under this theme, two sub-themes emerged—legal ambiguity about sex out of marriage, and social constraints for free sexual expressions

4.1. Legal ambiguity about sex out of marriage

An individual can probably fulfill his/her sexual needs once he is committed to a conjugal relationship. Sex before or beyond marriage is seen as highly inappropriate by most people in India when compared to western cultures. As reported by the participants of the study

“Living together is also more common in other countries and other countries. The availability of prostitutes is high, that is, the opportunity for fulfilling sexual desires is illegal without marriage in India” (JKB, 25 years).

When we take young adults, in particular, it is the time when they would experience a variety of hormonal changes, and unavailability or no opportunity of sexual activities might direct them toward unhealthy behaviors.
4.2. Social constraints for free sexual expressions

Decision making in Indian culture is influenced by multiple factors. India being a relatively collectivist country (Hofstede, 2011), where an individual’s decision is mostly influenced by considering the family’s wishes and desires, in most cases the individual finds it difficult to make their own decisions independently. Moreover, the collectivist culture is widespread within the society and thus, most individuals feel the need to follow social norms and morals. While coming to sexual freedom, the sexual desires are made to be suppressed to adhere to the societal norms and dictums.

As a participant had shared, “I think the answer lies in the autonomy and sexual freedom that Western culture experiences. India doesn’t have nude pubs or anything to release sexual frustrations in a safe manner, while the westerners do” (SK, 23 years).

Another participant SKG had shared a similar opinion “It is quite contradicting since ours is the culture that invented the Kamasutra. Maybe in the olden days, the concept of physical contact was casual and somewhere in the timeline people became ‘cultured’. In the present scenario, this cultural system where they’re not getting any sexual freedom might be why the people are getting intensely frustrated. People aren’t born sexual predators, when our culture prevents them from satisfying their growing sexual needs, they make the action.” (SPG, 23 years).

As pointed out by the participant SPG, people are not born as rapists or sexual predators, and the social situations contribute heavily to be what they become. The participant had also termed and compared the rape victim as a prey similar to that of a lion going for hunting, from which it can be inferred how serious the problem is. Hence, social-cultural norms that suppress the normal biological mechanism of human sexuality by labeling sexual explorations as something “wrong” and sexual expressions as taboo, can be attributed as major contributing factors for the materialization of rapists in the same culture.

4.3. Masculine dominance

Participants stated that when the culture itself is male dominant, the men have power and authority to demonstrate that dominance in many ways, including sexual coercion. India being a more masculine country, males are given most of the responsibilities and women are expected to be in the shade of men, and the traditional gender roles practiced across the country contribute to this (Hofstede, 2011).

As stated by a participant, “In other countries both males and females are equal. But in India, it is not like that.” (SAS, 20). According to another participant, “In our culture it is like from the beginning that men should go to work and women should stay at home. Men should be dominating. Maybe because of this kind of reason”. Similar views were shared by other participants too. “We are living in a society like that. That also influences each person. So males may feel to become dominant over females. From childhood itself, males develop an attitude like that” (SCS, 19).

Participants also believe that males develop a dominant attitude from childhood, gender-specific power differences prevail from home itself, the culture and its unwritten norms being the basis of these.

As stated by a participant in the study, “one of the reasons of rape would be to show dominance. Society considers women as inferior, so males may feel to establish their dominance over females. The males always think women are inferior to them. They think they are dominant. So they commit rape maybe to prove their dominancy over females” (SCS, 19).

A similar opinion was shared by another participant HPT, 23, “Western countries always keep a genuine attitude. They respect women and care for them. But in Indian culture, the respecting and caring mentality is less”.


The responses revealed that in Indian culture, most women are generally given a subordinate position compared to men and considered as the weaker sex. Some men are inclined to uphold the belief that they can exert power over women, and having forceful sexual intercourse is a way of showing this power and dominance, as suggested by some participants in the current study.

4.4. Westernization
Participants believed that women following the western culture would be a triggering factor for sexual assaults. With this, two sub-themes were developed.

4.5. Imitation
Following the trends of the western culture and trying to follow them has been identified as a factor that influences the sexual desire of men, as stated by a participant.

‘Nowadays we started imitating other foreign countries” (HPT, 23 years). Another participant shared a similar opinion, “I think that's where the difference between Indian and western culture matters, Indian people are not used to seeing exposing clothes. I won't tell if it is provocative. But that might be a reason for some people to develop such thoughts in mind … Because I haven't seen it so far … In foreign countries, they are free to wear whatever they wish to and they see it from their childhood. We are not like that when for the first time we see this, anyone can have this tendency … But in my opinion, People who get tempted by a girl’s dressing style are lacking a good personality” (P, 21).

According to some participants, adopting western clothing is revealing, inappropriate, and provocative, which can kindle the sexual tendencies in men which might end up in rape.

4.6. Provocative body language and attire
Around 20 percent of the participants had stated that most women provoke men by walking alone at night, going to pubs, and so on, which would precipitate sexual crimes against them.

‘when a girl walks into a room, we men can immediately understand her intentions based on how she walks and how she dresses. The bright lipstick and the exposing of cleavage, won’t it mean she did it on purpose just to attract men. So it’s like a signal that “ she’s asking for it”(AS, 21).

A similar response was shared by the participant, “Recently I saw a video on YouTube where it was a social experiment. I feel dressing style can also be one of the factors which lead to rape … and I'm not sure but if a girl is very much open to going to the pub and all and getting drunk they might get misused which would be leading to rape. Many cases reported like that as well so I feel obviously culture and behaviour influences rape as it has an impact.” (NS, 26).

Most of the participants clarified that even though it may provoke it will not lead to rape and it depends on the mentality of men. Dressing style can be one of the factors that provoke a man to commit a crime.

4.7. V. Substance abuse and influence
Around 10 percent of the respondents had stated that rapes are committed under the influence of alcohol and drug use of the perpetrators. Participants stated that rape is unintentional in many of the cases, the individual’s altered state of consciousness by the consumption of alcohol or psychoactive drugs is a contributing factor. As stated by a participant,

“I feel rape is more due to the alcohol and drugs used … if they are not in their conscious state then they don’t know what they are doing”(TA, 28).

Another similar opinion was shared by another participant who had stated that “Drugs have an influence on rape … Like if the person is using drugs and a girl walks from there … There are chances that drugs might act upon him”(SS, 22).
Most of the rape cases are done when the culprit is not in his senses or when he is mentally unstable with the influence of a substance.

5. Lack of social support: Parenting style
This main theme emerged based on the responses of the participants about the laissez-faire parenting style where parents stay uninvolved and permissive about what the children do. Few of the participants opined that this often results in engaging in undesirable behaviors that extend to adulthood also. When children are not guided and taught to do what is healthy for themselves and others, either through rewards or through punishments, they do not learn to refrain from behaviors that hurt others.

“Mostly … I feel if the child does not get proper care and guidance they would end up doing such kinds of crimes like rape … Generalizing but still, the problem lies in the majority … Have seen people going on the wrong paths they don't get enough care from their families. Parents should take care of the child's daily activities where he is going whom he is meeting what are his friends like … Everything should be looked into” (SS, 22).

Another participant stated that “family too has a role … even in situations like … if a warning letter is received from the court, the housemates or family should not neglect it just like that … they should take care of where the child goes” (VV, 25).

In recent years, when parents are negligent about child-rearing due to lack of time or other personal reasons, especially in nuclear families where both parents are working, the chances for their children to become pleasure seekers who do not care about others' feelings tend to increase. Furthermore, participants opined that a shift from the traditional culture of joint families to nuclear families is probably contributing to the possibility of these children to growing into adults having unhealthy sexual fantasies. The elders in the family continuously instill moral values to the young generation while in the nuclear families, parents get little time to take care of the psychological development of the children.

6. Exploitation: Trust, credibility, religiosity
11 percent of the participants expressed their opinion that rapes are committed by people who are known to the victims. Taking advantage of the opportunity is prevailing and several cases have been reported as well. A lot of reported rape cases these days are where the accused is a known person to the victim including a close relative or a religiously prominent personality. One of the participants stated that “if the males are confident that the woman or girl believes them, they misuse that. The girls always wish to get caring and love. When she gets this from a person, they believe them, then slowly they start to use them” (VAS, 23).

Another participant also had a similar opinion, “The familiar people also commit rape like a parent, priest and other familiar relatives. But the number of people who are strangers to the rape victim is comparatively less. The much unexpected familiar people mostly commit this, so no one believes if the victim reveals that. Because they may have a good status in society. The opportunities to reveal such problems are less because of fear” (ABA, 21). “But it happened because of gaining belief. For getting this they use religion as a tool. Especially by people who are doing superstitious activities to gain money and belief”, was stated by another participant, VAS, 23. Using religious belief and taking advantage of this to commit rape, the culprits misuse the trust of the victims. They would have easy access to the victim since the participants believe that in Indian culture the culprit would have the confidence that the woman will not speak it out thinking of the shame it endorses on her family's reputation.

7. Perception and attitude toward law
The participants expressed that the persisting quandary of increased incidents of brutal rapes in the country is due to the ineffective punishment methods employed in the country. This fact, combined
with the sub-themes of taking advantage and personal revenge, it was concluded that offenders are mostly well-aware of their actions and are not scared of the consequences. “I don’t know the reasons behind the increase or initiation of sexual abuse, but I do know that none of it would have occurred if the law gave an assurance to the people and warning to these offenders . . .” (APR, 23). Participants stated that “Indian judiciary has enough loopholes for a culprit to get him secured from any sort of accusations, no matter what. The Indian judiciary system takes more time for giving punishment . . . the chance of escaping from crime is high. This motivates them to do the crime . . . ” (SS, 22).

8. Psychological factors

8.1. Sexual frustrations
Majority of respondents were of the opinion that these perpetrators being referred to were affected by disappointments brought about by the sexual frustration and were described by unsatisfied needs, poor emotional controls, and dysfunctional attractions.

8.2. Unsatisfied need
The responses of the participants converge to the fact that their unmet sexual needs are a reason for aggravated sexual pressure, and the abusers are also met with a lack of facility to restrain the resultant sexual violence. One participant, SK, 23, expressed that, “when you’re forced to strictly stay away from the idea of physical pleasure and not allowed to explore, sometimes you feel there’s an inadequacy in that aspect of growing up . . . you will feel like you will explode”. Also according to another participant, “It’s like a plastic bag being filled . . . the more ideas about sex is fed without letting it out, the more frustrated you get, and the more chances your thoughts would ‘stray’” (AF, 23).

8.3. Poor emotional control
Another sub-theme emotional dysregulation was mentioned by the participants who had indicated it as being another characteristic of the abuser due to profound sexual frustrations. “ . . . my guess is that they have an unhealthy way of coping with their needs and emotions . . . they may have problems within their own sexual life . . . so, acting on it is easier for them than to actually control it . . . ” (AF, aged 24).

Participant RTJ, 22, shared his opinion that “I feel that it’s probably because they don’t feel and express the same control and emotions normal people like us usually have and can.”

8.4. Dysfunctional attraction
Sexual desire influence and maintain attachment and attraction. Respondents opined that the sexual violators have undesirable and faulty methods for satisfying their intimacy needs, deviant from ordinary and healthy. ‘If she is partially dressed then it’ll be a curiosity to know what’s the rest . . . if she is completely covered it’ll be a curiosity of why she is covering and what’s so special hidden about her . . . it’s a natural habit of all men’ (AJ, 18). According to VV, 25, “I have had girlfriends, I have been attached but not to a point where I would want to stalk her and attack her, that is not normal . . . that is a threat to life”.

“Rapists are not just getting attracted . . . they sexualise the bodies they see in double or even ten folds . . . maybe the building sexual frustration is making them think and do so.” (P, 21).

8.5. Psychological deviations
Few personality characteristics, extreme mental disorders, and neurobiological disabilities were reported as the possible causes of sexual violence.

“Never can I ever say they are like the men I know.surely they are crazy . . . ” (P, 21)

“In our regional language they mention it as a problem with the nerves . . . that could actually be the reality.there could be some brain damage to it . . . accidents . . . maybe they were also raped during their childhood causing them to snap” (RTJ, 22)
“they are hypersexual … that’s a result of the damage inside of them.” (AT, 18).

Except for a few participants, all others have shared the perspective that rapists suffer from some kind of psychological disorder that prompts them to commit the sexual offenses.

9. Immorality
Abusers utilize the women’s weaknesses to satiate their carnal needs. In some instances, they may be incentivized by personal revenge or the perceived weakness of the judiciary.

9.1. Revenge
When the sub-theme of individual vengeance is concerned, respondents disclosed their opinion that some of the victimizers tend to have a personal association with the victim in many cases, where the former had also confronted rejection or humiliation. ‘If the girl ever has offended him in some way before, he might try to take revenge by raping’

“It must be a single one who gives the idea of a crime … and he might stand backstage afterwards … cases are different … some do this for taking revenge … . Means on love failures, or for not accepting their love request” (VV, 25)

10. Psychological impact

10.1. Social withdrawal
After undergoing the trauma of getting raped, most women would become less social. Respondents remarked that the rape victims would experience shame, guilt for degrading the name of the family, lack of self-esteem, fear, and distrust towards the male gender as well as the general public.

10.2. Shame
According to the participants, shame is what averts many survivors from verbalizing what happened to them. Rape survivors feel guilty, for the most part, because they feel they have done something erroneous which caused them to be sexually assaulted. Shame is longer lasting, and ultimately more perilous than guilt. Participant P commented, “the girl will be less social afterwards. And she would feel ashamed and guilty to have caused her family’s reputation down. She might suffer from isolation afterwards”. Another participant stated “The physical pain will go away within few months. If something happened to a girl now it spread fast through social media and all of them will know and will mentally torture her. That isolation makes more problems to her” (AA, 21 years)

10.3. Fear
A common psychological response seen among rape survivors is the development of unwanted fears and phobias surrounding the circumstances of the abuse. The study participants had communicated their perspectives about the consequences of trauma. One respondent, DT, said, “ … continuous and recurrent nightmares … if it was my sister I can’t imagine it … as a brother I would have to see her panic every moment, blaming herself for something that was never her fault … I can picture her being afraid of men, she is delicate … she may lose herself … ”

“If she sees someone who has features of the assailant, it might trigger her … fear is knocking on the door … ” (AA, 25). Depressive mood, increased anger and aggression as the aftermath of self-blame, fear and guilt were also mentioned as the psychological experiences of rape survivors.

10.4. Low self-esteem
Experiences from home and society contribute to the low self-esteem of the rape victims. JKB, 25, said, “Who had raped her is more important. If it was a family member or a friend, she might feel insecure. That’s enough to affect her confidence and esteem”
"The entire identity will be questioned. The person won't be in the right mind to try self-assurance ... any man would remind her of her attacker ... in a world where she finds no stability, she would find no self-love and self-esteem" (AA, 21)

10.5. Suicidal tendency
The respondents claim that suicidal ideation is a natural consequence of rape when the survivors feel like they can no longer cope with the emotional trauma. A participant stated, “She will be guilty over making her family ashamed before other people. Not being able to cope with the stress and grudge she would try to end her life by committing suicide. She will go to a stage of depression soon”.

‘ She will definitely have suicidal tendencies, sexual abuse is traumatic and can affect anyone’s self-esteem and self-confidence ‘ (A, 21)

10.6. Emotional instability
A survivor may develop a negative perspective and feel “damaged” or unworthy of a better life. Drug or alcohol abuse may become a way to cope with the unmanageable distress. The survivor can feel a wide range of emotions from extreme sadness to feeling of numbness. Anger, shame, apathy, mortification, solitude and fear were some of the emotions reported by the participants.

“The lack of control will make her feel like nothing matters and that there is no point in crying ... she may be feeling blank or a barrage of emotions” (AA, 25), “If I am guessing correctly she may feel extreme anger towards the rapist, so anyone who looks like the rapist or belongs to the gender of the rapist most probably will cause her to explode most of the time” (DT, 24)

10.7. Personal, social and professional life
The participants indicated that rape can cause distraction in an individual’s life, affecting attention and focus during work, as stated by one of the participants,

“If she is a student, the incident would affect her studies and it will go down. If she is a working woman she might not be working focused afterwards”.

“The memories would be triggered now and then, so how would they be able to work properly ... they may quit or even be fired by the firm or company.” (SK, 23).

A few participants mentioned the impact of rape by an intimate partner, “If the husband has raped his wife ... the woman starts to think she may not be able to trust anyone ... either she may be worried all the time causing her to not do her works well or she would take consistent leave from workplace out of fear and to be safe, leading to being kicked out” (AF, 24)

Participants shared their perspectives about student and working casualties, that they would lack concentration in studies and lack motivation. Respondents were sufficiently keen to specify about the decrement in the annual income and other financial loss the survivor would experience.

11. Childhood trauma
Participants thought that the environment that someone grew up in can influence his behaviour to indulge in sexual crimes, particularly childhood trauma. The participants had associated the influence of childhood adversities on later sexual deviance and violence.

“Ted Bundy’s parents were divorced ... I’m assuming that’s why he turned out the way he was ... his grandfather was also mentioned to be very abusive while his grandmother just kept on watching ... he was reported to have a troublesome childhood ... it’s important to give children a peaceful childhood” (AA, 21). One response also highlighted the need for sex education in children with troubled and abusive pasts.
“sexual abuse victims often overindulge in sex ... I feel it can be revenge rape or just the inability to understand because they did not get a peaceful environment while growing up ... right education is also important ...” (KS, 20)

The respondents had also mentioned about parental negligence, cruelty, and sexual exploitations in childhood contributing to childhood trauma, which in turn lead to feelings of sexual inadequacy, dependency, and displacement of hostility on the victims.

12. Discussion
The present study has identified several socio-cultural and psychological factors associated with rape, as perceived by young men from Kerala, India. From the outcomes acquired, lack of sex education was seen as one of the major contributing factors which prompt the event of sexual maltreatment. Dallager and Rosén (1993) and Kamdar et al. (2017) shared similar opinions in their respective studies, which add to the findings of the current study. A study pinned out that the majority of Asians see sex as an unspoken secret due to their Asian cultural background, (Wang, 2022), particularly in India, where young people find it difficult to gain sex-related knowledge. Consequently, studies revealed that existing programmes on sex education in India, like the Adolescence Education Program, employ ambiguous wordings adding to individuals’ confusion about the same. Owing to this, men are more likely to have a defective or inadequate sense of consent, which exhibits as another risk factor for sexual violence (Nieder et al., 2020). Media coverage of public controversy regarding high-profile incidents of violence against women could increase community awareness. During this era, the scope to make use of media is vast which can include a “psychological story radio station” that involves anonymous people sharing their stories with the host, which therefore would make the audience understand the significance of sex education (Wang, 2022). It was found that 72 percent of men had reported that they realised that violence against women of any sort is a serious issue (Flood & Pease, 2009). There exist some culturally bounded misconceptions about women and many studies have shown that negative stereotypical attitudes and beliefs towards women are correlated with greater rape myth acceptance (Kamdar et al., 2017).

Sexual restriction emerged as a prominent factor that contribute to rape attempts. Abiding by the Indian culture containing orthodox values and views about sex, were indulging in sexual activities before marriage is objectionable, leading to suppression of sexual urges, and the deprivation in satisfying basic sexual needs, all resulting in sexual frustration. According to Marrocco and McEwen (2016), the brain acts upon sex hormones and human behavior results from personal experiences and exposures. As stated by participants in the study, it is evident how the culture and society restrict the individual’s autonomy to express their desires and needs by making them adhere to the culture which contributes to the violations in order to release the sexual frustrations.

The female celibacy, particularly in Indian cultures, depicts women as powerless and docile while men are viewed as protectors and unrivaled (Rajagopalan, 1992). According to a cross-cultural study by Sanday (1981), in assault-inclined societies, women’s sentiments are ignored, and their social roles are limited, supporting the theme of masculine dominance. Women are portrayed as responsible to prevent rape by denying potential predators an opportunity to attack them. They are considered as sharing responsibility for their victimization if they dress in a way that makes them an “attractive target” and places themselves in a “guardianship” missing environment (Qureshi et al., 2020). Rape is used as a threat to keep women submissive and the culture articulates it as a symbol of power to punish women. In certain societies intimidating women with rape is common to show dominance (Sanday, 1981).

People's perception about the role of postmodernity (westernization) in sexual violence was another relevant finding during the investigation. As stated by Nosek et al. (2007), most men had a more traditional attitude and a higher level of sexism towards women, indulging in more rape myth acceptance than women. Few of the participants had stated that provocative body language
and clothing of women are contributing factors for rape, blaming westernization and representing it as an excuse for the heinous crime of rape. Results from studies on rape found that the way women portray themselves sometimes convey an indirect invitation or “asking for it” for men who are not able to control their sexual urges (Kamdar et al., 2017). The definition of victim precipitation in India criticizes the victim, who is called the invitee or pressurizer of the crime (Sonia, 2012). The developing lifestyle of women in both professional and social life (Harti & Prasad, 2013) supports the findings of the study. Regardless of the recent improvements in Indian society, such as women’s increasing empowerment, patriarchal systems continue to rule the country. Consequently, traditional gender roles emerge where men are granted the authority to dominate and direct the lives of women, which leads to men justifying sexual assault and women accepting abuse (Nieder et al., 2020). Consumption of drugs and alcohol among the perpetrators is a major influence on rape. From reports, perpetrators were mostly found intoxicated at times of sexual assault leading to loss of consciousness during the crime (Kelly, Caputo, Jamieson et al., 2005a).

Some of the participants believed that most of the rapes were committed by individuals who are known to the victim. With respect to the NCRB’s report, 98.6 percent share of known cases to total cases of rape were reported (Crime in India 2020). In marital rapes, for instance, it is not considered rape since the individuals involved are husband and wife, but the trauma the women goes through is not discussed enough (Flood & Pease, 2009). Misuse of trust and religious beliefs were another theme developed in the study. Previous studies have identified that individuals involved in such crimes would have a high influence on the victim that involves religious leaders as well (Hill & Marshall, 2018).

Berger (2000) established four typologies of rapists, as adapted from Groth and Burgess (1979)—the power reassurance rapist, the power assertive rapist, the anger retaliation rapist, and the sadistic rapist. A childhood experience of physical abuse is frequently reported indicating that victims of physical abuse may learn to act aggressively in their home environment, thus transmitting violence into their interpersonal relationships as children and afterwards as adults (Simons et al., 2008). This would form a predisposition for violence according to Maas et al. (2008). The responders explained that these traumatic circumstances would be manifested through impaired personality characteristics such as high sexual needs, uncontrolled sexual urges, depression, emotional instability, fear and anxiety that are projected on others, as is also demonstrated by Lev-Wiesel (2004). Few of the respondents agreed that as a coping mechanism against childhood abuse, the offenders may choose to resort to revenge rape, which would explain the existence of premeditated rape attempts.

More respondents affirmed that sexual offenders experience poor emotional control. The previous literature that focused on the emotional functioning of sexual offenders suggests that rapists experience extreme negative emotions and difficulties in managing emotions (Gillespie & Beech, 2016; Ward and Beech, 2016), which also support the current findings.

Every respondent agreed to the popular and prevalent opinion that an act of sexual violence can bring a significant amount of psychological problems to the concerned victim of a sexual offense. According to the National Crime Records Bureau’s (NCRB) annual report of 2013, around 11 percent and 13 percent of victims had shown suicidal tendencies and depression, respectively. After the incident of rape, survivors experience “sexual assault trauma syndrome” where they would cry, yell, or shake, and experience severe negative emotions. According to a study by McHugh et al. (2012), women experiencing Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) have irritability with high levels of anxiety and avoidance. Some of the respondents in the current study felt that survivors would grieve over the “unfair loss of their virginity” and some also believed that women would become anxious about their future and ruminate over what would happen next. The respondents felt that the victims would be ashamed of themselves. Survivors of assault were reluctant to ask for help due to the ill-treatment from family and friends, which was emphasized by Ostby and Stefansen (2017) and Abidde (2021). This could be a reason for lowered productivity in survivors, pointed out.
by the research participants. The direct effects of sexual violence including PTSD, long term mental health issues, alcoholism, indulgence in drugs and unsafe sex could “make it difficult for survivors to complete their education and maintain employment” (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). The respondents believed that the educational and awareness levels of the victim’s family determined the support they received. A good number of participants explained that society often forgets the plight of the female victims, which plunges them into depression (Ostby and Sefansen, 2017).

13. Conclusion
The study results highlight the role of socio-cultural factors in the formation and maintenance of negative attitudes, misconceptions, and normalization of criminal tendencies against women, as it is perceived by the young male population. Further, it can be understood how society and culture contribute to the development of psychological problems of rape survivors. The study results also indicate that despite all the attempts to establish equity between the genders, when it comes to sexual violence, women often bear the brunt—getting suppressed at multiple levels, being the victim as well as the one who gets blamed for someone else’s mistake. Specifically, the participants had the view that lack of awareness, negative attitude about certain intimate relationships, and misperceptions about women’s needs and desires often result in unsolicited sexual behaviors or molestation. When the laws in the country are ambiguous concerning how the citizens should express their sexuality, particularly in combination with taboo and stigma framed by socio-cultural norms of free sexual expressions, it further makes the situation worse. The representatives of the young generation in a male dominant society where even women’s needs are vocalized by men reported that the clothing and gestures of women are perceived by many men as provocative, especially when the women adopt unorthodox dressing styles, that needs to be overpowered with violent sexual coercion. Substance abuse, faulty parenting styles, and misuse of power given by social institutions like religion have also emerged as potential contributing factors for rape. The psychological factors associated with rape, as suggested by the participants include unsatisfied sexual needs, poor emotional control, eccentric kinds of attraction toward women, and deviant psychological functioning. Many times these are also connected with the perpetrators’ childhood trauma. Most of the psychological factors are outcomes of utmost social restrictions on natural sexual expressions. Participants have reported that the rape victims would experience social withdrawal, shame, fear, low esteem, emotional instability, diminished professional productivity, and even suicidal tendency. The current study findings also indicate that more men are becoming empathetic towards female crimes and are trying to understand the possible factors that lead to these crimes.

14. Limitation of the study
This study exclusively discusses the factors reported by a select sample from Kerala state, India. Being a country having diverse socio-cultural peculiarities based on region, religion, education, social class and so on, the perspectives of the participants cannot be assumed as a true representation of the entire nation.

15. Suggestions for further research
The current study explored the concept of rape from the perspective of young men hailing from Kerala. Further studies may consider obtaining samples from different age groups, gender, and locality, which may provide sufficient information to compare their responses based on these features.

Author details
Reshma J K1
Punnya M Pillai1
Peeka Rojeevi1
Sreekutty C R1
Eslavath Rajkumar1
E-mail: rajkumare@cuk.ac.in
ORCID ID: http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3012-0391
Allen Joshua George1
ORCID ID: http://orcid.org/0000-0001-9662-9863
R Greeshma1
1 Department of Psychology, Central University of Karnataka, Kalaburagi, India.

Disclosure statement
No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author(s).

Citation information
Cite this article as: Socio-cultural and psychological aspects of rape: Perspectives of young men from Kerala, Reshma J K, Punnya M Pillai, Peeka Rojeevi, Sreekutty C R, Eslavath Rajkumar, Allen Joshua George & R Greeshma, Cogent Social Sciences (2022), 8: 2064589.

References
Abdei, M., Muganyizi, P., Masawse, S., Mpmbeni, R., Darj, E., & Axemo, P. (2015). Knowledge and attitude
towards rape and child sexual abuse—a community-based cross-sectional study in Rural Tanzania. BMC Public Health, 15(1), 628. https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-015-1757-7
Abide, S. O. (2021). Trafficking in body parts and human organs for commercial and non-commercial purposes in Africa Hoffman, A. D, Abide, S. O. In Human trafficking in Africa (pp. 205–214). Springer.
Batra, R., & Rej, T. G., Jr. (2016). Gender inequality issues in India. Advances in Developing Human Resources, 18(1), 88–101. https://doi.org/10.1177/152342316630651
Berger, R. D. (2000). Successfully investigating acquaintance sexual assault. National Centre for women and policing: Office of justice programs. Retrieved December 27, 2020, from https://www.cshd.unm.edu/SSWcenters/mincaval
Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3(2), 77–101. https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp0630o
Crime in India 2020. (2021). Retrieved on 11 February, 2022 from https://mcb.gov.in/sites/default/files/CLI%202020%20Volume%20I.pdf
D’Alessio, S. J., & Stolzenberg, L. (2010). The sex ratio and male-on-female intimate partner violence. Journal of Criminal Justice, 38(4), 555–561. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jcrimjus.2010.04.026
Dallinger, C., & Rosen, L. A. (1993). Effects of a human sexuality course on attitudes toward rape and violence. Journal of Sex Education and Therapy, 19(3), 193–199. https://doi.org/10.1080/01614576.1993.11074082
Dartnall, E., & Jewkes, R. (2013). Sexual violence against women: The scope of the problem. Best Practice and Research Clinical Obstetrics and Gynaecology, 27(1), 3–13. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.bpoobgyn.2012.08.002
Das, M., Ghosh, S., Verma, R., O’Connor, B., Fewer, S., Virata, M. C., & Miller, E. (2014). Gender attitudes and violence among urban adolescent boys in India. International Journal of Adolescence and Youth, 19(1), 99–112. https://doi.org/10.1007/s00276-012-7167-62
Debowska, A., Boduszek, D., Dhingra, K., Kol, S., & Meller-Prunskas, A. (2015). The role of psychopathy and exposure to violence in rape myth acceptance. J Interpers Violence, 30(15), 2751–2770. https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260515563635
Flood, M., & Pease, B. (2009). Factors influencing attitudes to violence against women. Trauma, Violence, And Abuse, 10(2), 125–142. https://doi.org/10.1177/1524838009341313
Gillespie, S. M., & Beech, A. R. (2016). Theories of emotion regulation, Boer, D. P. In The Wiley Handbook on the Theories, Assessment and Treatment of Sexual Offending, 1, (pp. 245–263). https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118574003
Gravelin, C. R., Biernat, M., & Bucher, C. E. (2019). Blaming the victim of acquaintance rape: Individual, situational, and sociocultural factors. Frontiers in Psychology, 9(2422), https://doi.org/10.3389/fpsyg.2018.02422
Greeshma, D. (2021). Misogyny in Malayalam films. International Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences, 11(1), 7. https://doi.org/10.37622/jess11.1.2021.7-15
Groth, A. N., & Burgess, A. W. (1979). Sexual trauma in the life histories of rapists and child molesters. Victimology, 4(1), 10–16.
Harti, S. S., Prasad, B. S., (2013). Myths and misconceptions of sex and sexuality: A survey report. Indian Journal of Ancient Medicine and Yoga, 6(3), 115–121. Retrieved on 27th December, 2020.
Hill, S., & Marshall, T. C. (2018). Beliefs about sexual assault in India and Britain are explained by attitudes toward women and hostile sexism. Sex Roles, 79(7–8), 421–430. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0880-6
Hill, S., Marshall, T.C. Beliefs about Sexual Assault in India and Britain Are Explained by Attitudes Toward Women and Hostile Sexism. Sex Roles 79, 421–430 (2018). https://doi.org/10.1007/s11199-017-0880-6
Hofstede, G. (2013). Dimensionalizing cultures: The Hofstede model in context. Online Readings in Psychology and Culture, 2(1), 8. https://doi.org/10.9707/2307-0919.1014
Jewkes, R., Fulu, E., Rosselli, T., & Garcia-Moreno, C. (2013). Prevalence and factors associated with non-partner rape perpetration: Findings from the UN multi-country cross-sectional study on men and violence in Asia and the Pacific. The Lancet Global Health, 1(4), e208–e218. https://doi.org/10.1016/S2214-109X(13)70069-X
Kaira, G., & Bhurgos, D. (2013). Sexual violence against women: Understanding cross-cultural intersections. Indian Journal of Psychiatry, 55(3), 244. https://doi.org/10.4103/0019-5545.117139
Kamaruddin, N., Wahab, A., & Rozaidi, Y. (2019). Neuro-physiological pornography addiction detection using machine learning approach. Indonesian Journal of Electrical Engineering and Computer Science, 16(2), 964. https://doi.org/10.11591/ijeecs.v16.i2.pp964-971
Kamdar, Z. N., Kosambiyo, J. K., Chawala, B. D., Verma, M., & Kadia, A. (2017). Rape: Is it a lifestyle or behavioral problem? Indian Journal of psychiatry, 59(1), 77–82. doi:10.4103/psychiatry.IndianPsychiatry_78_16
Kaneak, S. (2007). An attributional perspective on sexual aggression in India. Journal of Aggression, Maltreatment and Trauma, 15(1), 113–129. https://doi.org/10.1080/10926773.2007.996653
Kelly, K. D., Caputo, T., & Jamieson, W. (2005). Reconsidering sustainability: Some implications for community-based crime prevention. Critical Social Policy, 25(3), 306–324. https://doi.org/10.1080/0261018050054073
Lev-Wiesel, R. (2004). Male university students’ attitudes toward rape and rapists. Child and Adolescent Social Work Journal, 21(3), 199–210. https://doi.org/10.1023/B:CAWJ.0000063482.94800.cc
Lincoln, Y. S., & Guba, E. G. (1985). Naturalistic inquiry. Sage.
Moas, C., Herrenkohl, T. I., Sousa, C ., (2008). Review of research on child maltreatment and violence in youth. Trauma, Violence, & Abuse, 9(1), 56–67. Retrieved December 27, 2020. https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1177/1524838007311105
Morrocoo, J., & McEwen, B. S. (2016). Sex in the brain: Hormones and sex differences. Dialogues in Clinical Neuroscience, 18(4), 373–383. https://doi.org/10.31887/DCNS.2016.18.4jrmoorocco
Mathrughumhi, (2022). Crime against women in Kerala increases as 2021 sees the highest number of cases in 6 years, Mathrughumhi. Retrieved on 11th February, 2022 from https://english.mathrughumhi.com/news/kerala/crime-against-women-in-kerala-increases-as-2021-sees-highest-number-of-cases-in-6-years-1.6438657
McHugh, T., Forbes, D., Bates, G., Hopwood, M., & Andamp, C. M. (2012). Anger in PTSD: Is there a need for a concept of PTSD-related posttraumatic anger? Clinical Psychology Review, 32(2), 93–104. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cpr.2011.07.013
Nautiyal, R., Velayudhan, A., & Gayatridevi, S. (2017). Perceived social support of the adolescents from rural and urban settings. *International Journal of Indian Psychology, 4*(2), 186–191. https://doi.org/10.25215/0402.098

Nieder, C., Bosch, J. F., Nockemann, A. P., & Kärtner, J. (2020). Evaluation of RISE: A Sexual Violence Prevention Program for Female College Students in India. *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 37 7–8, NP5538–NP5565 doi:https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260520959631

Nieder, C., Muck, C., & Kärtner, J. (2019). Sexual violence against women in India: Daily life and coping strategies of young women in Delhi. *Violence Against Women, 25*(14), 1717–1738. https://doi.org/10.1177/1077801218824056

Nilanjana, G., & Purushottam, G. (2020). Increasing sexual misconduct: Going beyond victim blaming. *Archives of Community Medicine and Public Health, 6*(1), 020–021. https://doi.org/10.17352/2455-5479.000064

Nosek, B. A., Smyth, F. L., Hansen, J. J., Devos, T., Lindner, N. M., Ranganath, K. A., & Banaji, M. R. (2007). Pervasiveness and correlates of implicit attitudes and stereotypes. *European Review of Social Psychology, 18*(1), 36–88. https://doi.org/10.1080/10463280701489053

Østby, L., & Stefansen, K. (2017). Netterverket betydning etter seksuelle overgrep (Translation: The importance of social networks following sexual assault) Tidsskrift for psykisk helsearbeid (Translation: Journal of mental health work) 14 3 210–220 doi:https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-3010-2017-03-02. (Translation: Journal of mental health work) 14 3 210–220 doi:https://doi.org/10.18261/issn.1504-3010-2017-03-02.

Qureshi, H., Kulig, T. C., Cullen, F. T., & Fisher, B. S. (2020). Rape myth acceptance among college students in India: Prevalence and predictors in a changing context. *Deviant Behaviour, 42*(8), 1043–1066. https://doi.org/10.1080/01639665.2020.1720935

Rajagopalan, V. (1992). Gender roles, obedience, and chastity in India and the United States. *Blood, 80*(1), 153–161. http://censusmp.nic.in/censusmp/All-PDF/6Literacy21.12.pdf

Sanday, P. R. (1981). The socio-cultural context of rape: A cross-cultural study. *Journal of Social Issues, 37*(4), 5–27. https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1981.tb01068.x

Sierra, J. C., Santos-Iglesias, P., Gutiérrez-Quintanilla, R., Bermúdez, M. P., & Buelo-Cosal, G. (2010). Factors associated with rape-supportive attitudes: Sociodemographic variables, aggressive personality, and sexist attitudes. *The Spanish Journal of Psychology, 13*(1), 202–209. https://doi.org/10.1017/S1138741600003784

Simons, D. A., Wurtele, S. K., & Durham, R. L. (2008). Developmental experiences of child sexual abusers and rapists. *Child Abuse & Neglect, 32*(5), 549–560. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.chiabu.2007.03.027

Sonia, A. (2012). Sexual violence against women with special reference to rape victimization and judicial approach in India, (Shodhganga: a reservoir of Indian theses @ INFLIBNET). Retrieved on 27th December, 2020 from https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/handle/10603/78428

State of literacy. (2011). https://censusindia.gov.in/2011-prov-results/data_files/India/Final_PPT_2011_chapter6.pdf

Wang, C. (2022). Analysis of How Sex Education in Asia is Expressed in the Media. In *Advances in Social Science, Education and Humanities Research: Proceedings of the 2021 International Conference on Public Art and Human Development (ICPAHD 2021)*, 638, 951–954. https://doi.org/10.2991/oss8eh.220110.180

Ward, T., & Beech, A. R. (2016). The integrated theory of sexual offending–revised: A multifield perspective. The Wiley handbook on the theories, assessment and treatment of sexual offending, 123–137 doi:https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118574003.wattoo006.

Ybarra, M., Hamburger, D.-W., & Leaf, P. J. (2011). X-rated material and perpetration of sexually aggressive behavior among children and adolescents: Is there a link? *Aggressive Behaviour, 37*(1), 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1002/ab.20367
