Medical Anthropology, 23:113–156, 2004

ISSN: 0145-9740 print/1545-5882 online
DOI: 10.1080/01459740490448911

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Narrative Constructions of Sexual Violence as Told by Female Rape Survivors in Three Populations of the Southwestern United States: Scripts of Coercion, Scripts of Consent

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There is a growing literature on the narrative construction of rape as sexual violence. This is puzzling, since, in certain contexts, violence may stifle narrative production. Researchers of atrocities, for example, propose that the experience of recurring terror disrupts narrative cohesion in reporting lived trauma. Genocidal horror occurs in the context of communities and ethnic groups. Our rape survival data from women of three populations in the southwestern United States reflect traumas of sexual violence against women, experienced within everyday lives. From interviews with 62 female rape survivors, we (1) identify narrative conventions and linguistic devices to show how these women structure accounts of sexual assault that reflect their cultural background; (2) contrast scripts of coercion and consent; (3) examine how the way in which these women describe the coercive actions of the perpetrator(s) contradicts the assumptions of legal discourse; and (4) discuss the narrative production of several women in abusive relationships and compare it to

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the narrative production (or lack thereof) of persons who experience state-engineered terror.

Key Words: rape survival; coercion and consent; women's narratives; southwestern United States (Cheyenne, Mexicana, and Anglo)

When each of us imagines rape, our images differ. The ways in which our ideas vary are socially learned (Lebowitz and Roth 1994) and culturally supported (Doherty and Anderson 1998; MacKinnon 1989). "Rape myths" (Burt 1980) and "practical ideologies" (Lea and Auburn 2001) represent ways that a society constructs a set of cultural beliefs around sexual assault, of which rape is a specific instance, by assuming that certain settings and types of behavior, and a particular manner of self-presentation (which includes attire), are precursors to rape (Bachar and Koss 2001; Doherty and Anderson 1998; Koss 1992, 1998). These beliefs carry with them an underlying premise that denies women the capacity for agency because they imply that women subtly invite violation ("she was asking for it"). They rarely take into consideration the cultural supports upon which a woman may draw in order to avoid sexual assault or, at the other extreme, to negotiate the appropriate time and place for consensual sexual relations.

A core feature of rape-supportive attitudes is the issue of coercion and consent in definitions of what constitutes "rape." Most research on the issue of consent and coercion is based on studies of White women in English-speaking settings. Studies with a cross-cultural basis explore issues of willingness to discuss an experience of sexual assault rather than how women from minority communities engage in and negotiate sexual relations or structure their accounts of sexual violation. Sorenson (1996), for example, examined attitudes about violence against women from Mexican, Korean, black, and Anglo communities, and found a willingness to talk about sexual assault, while Wyatt (1992) compared differences between black and white women regarding when they were willing to report rape. As one of the few studies to consider how rape is constructed cross-culturally, Ramos Lira, Koss, and Russo (1999) explored how Mexican American women described their experiences, noting that the descriptions given by these women differed from those given by white women. Contrary to an expectation that Latinas would be less willing to discuss negative aspects of sex, such as sexual assault, Ramos Lira,

Koss, and Russo noted the women's readiness to express ideas on what constitutes rape. Trinch (2001) provides an astute analysis of lexical usage in cases of domestic abuse, which, in some instances, included marital rape. She notes institutional influences (e.g., legal rules for presenting a witness account; structured questions based on an intake form) that compound cultural influences that generate "taboo topics" (e.g., silence on sexual violence; reluctance to mention body anatomy or sexual acts specifically), as well as the failure of practitioners to elicit explicit statements of sexual assault. Although the sexual violence literature is beginning to grow, there is little research devoted to how non-mainstream women negotiate sexual relations and avoid sexual violence.

This article presents a narrative analysis of rape survival interviews collected during a study of the lived experience of women from three predominant populations in the southwestern United States (Cheyenne, Mexicana, and Anglo) and examines how these women draw from, revise, and construct scripts of coercion as a means of dealing with rape survival. Following Espín (1997), we define "scripts" as guides learned as a person is socialized into being someone gendered as woman. "Scripts of coercion" are ways that a woman recognizes (either at the time that it happens or thereafter) that she has experienced an assault that may constitute rape (i.e., that the behavior of another person, typically gendered as male, is outside the boundaries that she finds appropriate). "Scripts of consent" are ways that a woman negotiates and sets boundaries within sexual relations. Within feminist discourse, these scripts are part of a broader discussion of "communicative sexuality," wherein women are provided the space (1) to express sexuality in ways they consider appropriate and (2) to experience comfort and pleasure in negotiating consensual sexual relations (Francis 1994; Cowling 1998).

As shown in the data we analyze, sexual boundaries are often variable. Due to cultural supports that compel women to be cautious of men and that restrict spaces in which they can explore their sexuality, all the sampled women were provided feminine-centered space to talk about their experience, and guided and supported as needed, in providing an account of unwanted sex. Some women in the study were "cycling through" phases in the rape recovery process (Warsaw 1994:65–82) and were unable to mix issues of anti-erotic sexuality (i.e., their rape) with pleasurable sex. Others no doubt focused on the study's intent to look at rape survival and ignored its opposite (i.e., healthy sex).[1] We examine scripts of

coercion and scripts of consent, consider differences in narrative structure for rape accounts across three communities of women, identify inadequacies of the oppositional approach inherent within legal definitions of rape, and contrast variation in the women's accounts of abusive relationships and stressful life situations to findings from research conducted on state-engineered terror and atrocity. We would be presumptuous if we continuously used the expression ''rape''; therefore, we use the term ''sexual assault'' when referring to the overall incident and ''rape'' when referring to elements of the incident appropriate to legal definitions and clinical manifestations of trauma stemming from the event. When interviewing the women, interviewers used the term ''unwanted sex'' rather than ''rape.'' As explained in the methods section, women who consented to the interviews were provided a comfortable environment in which they could feel free to produce the narrative that they felt best represented their experience.[2]

INTRODUCTION

Common throughout society, rape myths are beliefs about circumstances in which (and places where) sexual violence occurs as well as about the types of persons who commit it and how they do so. Most prevalent in the Western world is a belief that rape is a violent, often brutal act perpetrated by a stranger in a secluded location. Expectations of what constitutes rape by a stranger, which Estrich (1987) sardonically refers to as ''real rape,'' contrast to those of acquaintance rape, which occurs when a woman is familiar with the perpetrator. Popularized notions of ''date rape'' belong to the category of acquaintance rape, and the perpetrator may include, among others, male kin, co-workers, neighbors, and merchants, all of whom may be known to and trusted by a woman,[3] as well as someone whom she agreed to ''date.'' This person may be unknown to her or may be someone with whom she has had an ongoing relationship.

Completed at a time of growing interest in women's issues, Burt's (1980 [and 1998]) study of rape myths found that acceptance of interpersonal violence was correlated with acceptance of these myths. Subsequent studies consider the impact of rape myths on men and women, noting, for example, men's interpretation of mild refusal as ''token resistance'' rather than non-consent (Garcia 1998) as well as a greater endorsement of rape myths on the part of older as opposed to younger women (Kalra et al. 1998). Mutuality in

sexual relations has become a point of contention in debates about the validity of legal definitions of rape, which are based on a binary distinction between consent and non-consent. These definitions of rape hinge on a dual determination of whether or not a perpetrator had a sincere belief that a woman consented, and whether his belief is reasonable in relation to the actions she took or did not take during their sexual encounter (on legal issues see Pineau 1994a, 1994b; Adams 1994; Wells 1994; Harris 1994). Lea and Auburn (2001), for example, recorded two interviews in a therapeutic setting with a man incarcerated for rape and examined his narrative construction of the sexual assault for which he and his partner were convicted. They found that he used themes of ambiguity, mutuality, and intimacy as strategies to maximize the appearance of his passivity and his partner's complicity while, at the same time, seeking to emphasize the agency of the young woman who was their victim. Similar to Lea and Auburn, Ehrlich (2001) analyzes what occurred at two rape trials in Canada (a criminal trial and a university tribunal) and notes that talk structured by court attorneys and tribunal members, respectively, minimized any appearance of agency on the part of the accused.

Classic legal definitions identify three elements in determining whether sexual contact is "rape." The first is that contact lacked consent, defined in U.S. law by a woman's use of verbal and/or behavioral resistance. In the Southwest, where most women in our study spent considerable time, particularly during their adolescence, rape laws continue to presume resistance. "Utmost resistance," defined as ongoing if not vigorous resistance throughout the duration of the encounter, continues as an ideal in precedent cases that clarify intent in laws in Arizona, Oklahoma, and California (three states in which more than two-thirds of the sample either grew up or lived as young adults).[4] The second element is that unwanted sex is compelled by force or threat of harm; or is imposed upon a person who is incapable of giving consent due to a state of intoxication, sleep, illness, or mental impairment; or is secured fraudulently (e.g., misrepresented medical treatment). The third element is that contact involved penetration of the mouth, anus, or vagina of one person by another, using penis, fingers, or another object. Reviewing research on rape, Koss (1992) notes that women are often unfamiliar with legal nuances in defining rape. Synthesizing epidemiological surveys on rape prevalence, and distinguishing between rape by a "stranger" and an "acquaintance" (e.g., Koss, Dinero, Seibel, and

Cox 1988),[5] she found that one-fourth of women who survived a sexual assault considered their experience as "rape" (legal definition), one-fourth felt it was a crime but did not realize that it qualified as rape, one-fourth thought it was "serious miscommunication," and one-fourth did not feel victimized by the incident. She synthesizes these findings to conclude that "the great majority of rape victims conceptualized their experience in highly negative terms and felt victimized whether or not they realized that legal standards for rape had been met" (p. 24).

Consent is an area of conceptual ambiguity, and this is due, in part, to an absence of social understanding regarding what constitutes appropriate communication before, during, and after sex. Despite laws that define rape, assault, and sexual misconduct, rape myths persist. At one extreme, MacKinnon (1989:172) distinguishes consent from coercion, succinctly positioning each as mutually exclusive: "force is present when consent is absent." Kazan (1998), in contrast, explores consent from several perspectives, noting that legal definitions of sexual assault are based on a "Performative Model" (i.e., one based on behavior) for determining when consent is present or absent. She argues that verbal assent alone is insufficient in sexual relations, unless it is clear that a woman's sympathies inform her "consent." She cites a Canadian law that requires that a man take reasonable steps to assure that a woman's consent coincides with her sympathies regarding having sex. Pineau (1989, 1994a, 1994b) articulates a similar observation for American society, noting that U.S. law is based on passive consent (lack of verbal objection permits the initiator to proceed), whereas court proceedings are based on active non-consent and require a rape survivor to show how she manifested non-consent through displaying continuing behavioral and/or verbal statements of disinterest in having sex (both in tandem are strongest) and/or a desire to cease negotiating sex (i.e., sex in progress) when comfort and pleasure are no longer present.

Culturally defined and socially learned ideas concerning violence against women are generally absent from discourses on sexual participation that falls within boundaries that a woman may find personally appropriate. One arena in which research considers the merging of institutional goals and personal violence (including, at times, sexual violence) focuses on state ideologies that sanction large-scale atrocities against whole populations or ethnic communities. These investigations describe violence of such a grand scale that the capacity to produce narrative wholes is eliminated. Experience of the

unspeakable renders a person mute (Uehara, Farris, Morelli, and Ishisaka 2001; also Scarry 1985) and precludes the effective use of talk as a venue for personal healing. Although individual tellers of atrocities may grieve in remembering and telling, and may express a complex and continuing personal experience with atrocity, researchers have noted that customary narrative conventions (e.g., coherence, structure) are missing, and this, in turn, precludes a reconstitution of the self through attaching meaning to experience. By way of drawing closure to our analysis, we return to this question of violence against women and instances in which it may entail the erasure of cultural and personal meaning.

BACKGROUND ON NARRATIVE ANALYSIS

Life experience is expressed in narrative, defined as a first-person description of one or more life phases or a description of events that links past and present preoccupations in the narrator's life. Sometimes a narrator moves back and forth in time to pull narrative elements together. Narratives may take the form of "chronicles," "stories," and "explanations" (Linde 1993). Stories carry a message (Polanyi 1989) and follow narrative conventions. Specifically, they structure the narrative with a basic theme and evaluation of "key events"; they stage the beginning of the incident, by framing it in time and space; and they describe the key players (Polanyi 1989; Linde 1993; Riessman 1993; Tannen 1989). Stories are produced to explain something of importance that a speaker wishes to share with one or more listeners. "Rape accounts" (our term) go beyond Linde's (1993) concept of a "chronicle" and Polanyi's (1989) construct of a "report." In our approach, "rape accounts" have evaluative clauses on the incident that is considered important within the context of the woman's life experience; they merge conventions of story production with factual dimensions of chronicle and report; and they have narrative features at the same time that they emphasize "details of fact." We found all these conventions variously and consistently in incident accounts produced by the women in our study.

METHODS

The narrative data presented below focus on incident accounts of women from three populations common in the southwestern United

States.[6] The investigation from which narratives of sexual assault were drawn distinguished a "life story" (narrative life-summation) from an "incident account" (a narrative telling about an experience of rape). Anglo women (n = 24) and Mexican-born women living in the United States (n = 13) (hereafter Mexicana, since incidents mostly occurred outside the United States) were interviewed in southern Arizona. Cheyenne (Native American) women (n = 25) were interviewed in western Oklahoma.[7] Several women had been or were currently receiving public assistance. The mean age of the Cheyenne women was 35 (median 35, range 24 to 54); the mean age of the Mexicanas was 36 (median 33, range 18 to 61); and the mean age of the Anglo women was 34 (median 33, range 21 to 65).

Interviewers were selected separately for each group of women, according to their language skills and prior experience in working with that population. Women in Arizona were recruited by staff at two community-based clinics, each in a separate part of town (one for Anglo women, one for Mexicanas), who screened women to identify those with a history of rape survival but who had come to the clinic for a health problem other than that of rape (generally, women were previous patients). Sometimes women self-recruited after they had heard about the study from other participants or from other patients who themselves may never have experienced sexual assault. A private, off-campus setting, converted into a research site, provided the venue for offering the life stories and incident accounts. Three interviews were conducted with each woman over the course of a single day. In the first interview, each woman was asked to provide "a personal history as she remembered it in autobiographical memories." In the second, each woman was asked to prepare a "life-line" of important events in her life, prior to the day of the interview, and to describe why each event was important to her. In the third, each woman completed a questionnaire on the incident and its aftermath (e.g., medical care she received, details of the assault).

Care was taken not to use the term "rape" during the screening or interviews. Screening questions and informed consent referred to "unwanted sex," and occasional probes during the interviews referred to "an unwanted sexual experience" or repeated an expression that a woman may have used (e.g., "the person who assaulted you," "events surrounding the experience," and "at the time of the rape"). Apart from providing a setting in which each woman would feel comfortable, and using interviewers sensitive to

the community and women's issues (Briggs 1989), project staff tried to not lead a woman to interpret the experience she reported as "rape." Informed consent, for example, used the phrase, "unwanted sexual experience, involving force," and interviewers were instructed to use the expression, "unwanted sex." This strategy left each woman to decide whether her experience qualified as "rape" and it removed the stigma of "rape survival." Sometimes clarification was requested (e.g., several women were asked to clarify whether penetration had occurred). Thus, each woman was permitted to define one or more incident(s) and was provided with space to tell her account of sexual assault to someone who was used to unconditional listening (see Duranti and Goodwin 1982). Interviews were transcribed in the appropriate language, and, for each, independent evaluators verified the respective transcript against the interview tape.[8]

For analysis, evaluative propositions and descriptive clauses were identified in each account, using procedures developed by Polanyi (1989) and based on modified techniques originally used in the pioneering work of Labov (1972) and Labov and Waletzky (1967). Following what Polanyi (1989) calls "constructing an Adequate Paraphrase," wherein one identifies the bare elements of a story, the Main Story-Line Events (key actions that constitute the story's foundation) and Durative-Descriptive Propositions (clauses that evaluate crucial story elements) were "chunked" stanza by stanza (see Appendix) and separated from the clauses outside the basic story ("non-story world"). A text management and analysis program (ATLAS.ti 4.1) was used in coding and analyzing transcribed materials for the Anglo and Cheyenne women. Because there were fewer of them, Mexicana accounts were coded from transcripts ("hard copies").[9]

NARRATIVES OF UNWANTED SEX

Sexual assault is among the most common forms of trauma in today's world. Among the few first-person accounts of sexual assault that have been published, some are one-time rape incidents (e.g., Brison 1998; Winkler 1995), some appear as tales of recovery (e.g., Raine 1998; selections in Pierce-Baker 1998); and some describe repeated sexual and physical abuse and aim to increase public awareness (e.g., Kalman Harris 2000). These narratives all share a

remembrance of the emotional impact with which a woman is left after she survives sexual abuse, assault, or rape. Given the variation in narrative performance for the traumatic events that we analyze across 62 incident accounts provided by 62 women, we focus on basic differences in narrative production which, we propose, guided what was acceptable to disclose and influenced what each woman reported. We call these tales of assault and rape survival "incident accounts" because they hold to the features of staging and framing by which narratives are defined: they had retrievable clauses that formed the basis of Main Story-Line Event Clauses (hereafter Main Story-Line) and Durative-Descriptive Propositions that provided evaluative assessments of the total experience and/or explanations of specific actions. Evaluative appraisal underscored facets of reportability in each experience (Polanyi 1989) and permitted the identification of what each woman wished to emphasize.

Incident accounts from Anglo women were far more extensive than were those of Cheyenne women or Mexicanas, comprising a mean of 23.50 clauses that marked the Main Story-Line and 28.25 clauses that were Durative-Descriptive Propositions. Incident accounts from Cheyenne women had 13.44 clauses that marked the Main Story-Line and 21.92 clauses that represented Durative-Descriptive Propositions. Anglo women had more than twice as many evaluative phrases (mean 51.60) than did Cheyenne women (mean 22.28). Mexicana incident accounts were much less extensive than were those of the Anglo women and were slightly shorter than were those of the Cheyenne women. Since seven of the Mexicana accounts appeared in the Life Story Narrative (rather than as a "separate" account), and three were elicited by questions during the interview on Life-Line Significance, comparative counts of phrasing were not possible for incident accounts produced by Mexicanas.

Twenty-two of 25 Cheyenne accounts (88 percent) included staging ($n = 22$) and/or framing ($n = 21$). Many incidents occurred in apartments where the woman, after having received an invitation, was visiting someone whom she knew (11). Or they occurred in a vehicle (5) or outdoors (3). Incident accounts were framed by specificity of place ($n = 18$, or 72 percent) (e.g., house of a cousin, woods) and reference to time ($n = 20$, or 80 percent) (remembrance of age or relational reference to the occasion). Cheyenne women generally staged the account by describing a social context in which they were with a group of people (e.g., brother's friends) that included the men who subsequently became their assailants. Several

women referred to co-present persons (i.e., a neighbor), even if they were not linked to the rape. Relationship of perpetrator to the woman was usually specified (e.g., former boyfriend, men met in bar), sometimes with a comment on how well she knew or how she felt about him. The Cheyenne women did not personally name their assailants, except for one woman who named her step-cousin with whom she had a lifelong ''trusting'' relationship. Two Cheyenne women named a woman friend and one named the daughter she had as a result of her rape.

Ten Mexicanas (77 percent) staged the incident account by explaining how the perpetrator was related to them, and these ten, plus one more woman, framed their account in time and place (85 percent). Most Mexicana incidents were acquaintance rapes perpetrated by men who had a close relationship with the women (9/13) (e.g., a cousin, boyfriend, or husband, or an older man who knew the woman [such as a neighbor or mother's lover]). The two longest accounts described assault by a close acquaintance (one by a neighbor, one by a cousin), wherein each woman emphasized her sense of failed trust. These were considerably longer than were similar Mexicana accounts or four first-contact incidents (e.g., one woman raped as a teen by two men in a community park outside the United States, one woman raped as an older teen after coming to the States).

Twenty-two of 24 incident accounts by Anglo women set the stage (92 percent) by describing the woman's relationship to the perpetrator(s). In contrast to accounts by Cheyenne women and Mexicanas, Anglo women provided a range of stylistic comments and appraisal of interactions with the men who later became the perpetrators. Unlike the two groups that eschewed personal names, in the Anglo group the closer a woman was to her perpetrator, the more likely she was to give his name in her narrative, even when she also used qualitative descriptors. Women in strained relationships, however, often used pronouns to describe abusive partners. Anglo accounts were framed by temporal and spatial references that identified when ($n = 22$, or 92 percent) and where ($n = 22$, or 92 percent) the incident took place (e.g., college arcade, middle of nowhere, his grandmother's house, a lake). Location of the assault was typically specified (spatial reference), while time of the assault might be provided in terms of season or age (e.g., the summer I graduated, or age 15), in terms of an activity (e.g., placed an ad in the laundry), or in terms of perpetrator's relation to the narrator as

protagonist (e.g., dated ten times, dated four months). Temporal references might also be indeterminate (e.g., "that particular time"). The women mentioned co-present persons for situations that involved double dating and parties that ended in rape; Anglo women used personal names for those they dated but not for attendees with whom they were partying.

Cheyenne

Like other forms of abuse among Native American women (Brown et al. 1993; Chester et al. 1994; Stander 2001), and abuse among women in general (Bachar and Koss 2001), incidents of sexual abuse for Cheyenne women frequently included drinking (n = 12) as well as drug use (n = 1) by the perpetrators, or drinking (n = 12) or smoking marijuana (n = 2) by both. Women typically drank with same-age acquaintances (e.g., boyfriends, cousins). Several women described teen drinking parties that resembled "large play," which is discussed in a Southern Cheyenne narrative elicited and reported by Mack Haag, an amateur collector (Michelson 1932). However, traditional forms of "large play" lacked alcohol consumption and were closer to courtship.

Cheyenne women structured the incident account as an act diverging from what they found socially and culturally acceptable by transgressing a woman's "dialogic self," indexed by her use of the personal pronoun "I." Interpersonal communication among Native Americans emphasizes talk between two persons (Urban 1989; Strauss 1989), and frequent reference to "I" served to underscore a woman's role as protagonist in events she experienced in relation to an assailant. In this context, assault lacked the mutuality and complementary communication of both parties (see related discussion in Berman 1998:189–198). One woman provided a model for a "dialogic self," wherein reciprocated communication validates the personhood of speaker and listener: "We'd sit in the car, we'd talk, we'd try to get to know each other better. . .*He'd tell me his, you know*, and then *I'd tell him mine, you know*" (C36) (emphasis added). Her statement is based on a construction of self that uses a personal pronoun, starting with the two persons as a couple ("we"), then proceeds to mutualize these two persons who reach a state of couplehood ("he" and "I") in dialogue (Strauss 1989). She indicates reciprocation by means of a couplet ("he'd tell me his, I'd tell him mine"). Later in the interview, she replicated the couplet

construction to describe another personal relationship, which illustrated how the dialogic self is reciprocated in consensual sex: "He grabbed me and I grabbed him and we hugged each other and everything" (C36). Reciprocity in gender relations, and in corresponding complementary social interaction, involves validating a dialogic self through communication (Strauss 1982; Urban 1989). Among the Cheyenne, communicative symmetry and reciprocity in talk is the preferred form of balance within interpersonal relations.[10]

One element of transgression that often figured in the account was removal of clothing, especially that of the woman. Female modesty among the Cheyenne centers on the lower body (waist to feet). Another element was an effort to talk about sex in a manner that the woman found inappropriate. From a young age, girls are taught to play separately from boys. As vindication of a form of sexual segregation based on the premise that males are sexually aggressive, the socialization of children placed the responsibility for sexual misconduct on the woman (Hilger 1946; Michelson 1932). Hence, sexual assault as inappropriate sexual contact (at one extreme) and rape (at the other) fit the concept of a "bad" rather than a "good" experience (Stander 2000; Strauss 1989). A good experience is mutually acceptable to both parties (i.e., "dialogic self" is reciprocated); a bad experience is one that represents "a failure of human relatedness" (Strauss 1982:120).

Consent And Coercion

For the events that characterized incident accounts, three components indicated a situation that departed from culturally acceptable behavior: (1) the woman is socially disengaged from other persons in her vicinity (separation); (2a) the man makes known his intent to have sex (intent revealed), despite the woman's protestations and non-consent; (2b) the woman is "assaulted" sexually and transformed horrifically (liminality); and (3) following the incident, the woman leaves the scene to return to her home, calls a neighbor, or rejoins those with whom she was spending time before the incident (reincorporation). Many accounts were truncated, which was made possible by Cheyenne understandings of what occurs when a woman is raped. As a sampled group, Cheyenne women's narratives of rape followed a classic pattern that approximates three steps of a standard ritual/transformational process (i.e., separation, liminality, reincorporation) (see Turner 1967).

First, a woman described how she was separated from a group of people who were co-present and became paired with one man. For example, he invites her outside to sit on the porch and talk, or invites her to a room to roll a joint and smoke. Or, as another variation, adolescent couples pair off at an outdoor drinking party: "We were out in the country all drinking together, girls and boys ... We all kind of paired off like, [pause] and me and him just kept walking" (C42). Each scenario has the potential for reciprocated communication through speaking or other forms of social interaction, which are highly valued among Native Americans (Cheshire 2001; Stander 2001; Strauss 1989, 1982). To this point, the event, as it unfolds in narrative, is acceptable. However, the narrator as protagonist in the account proceeds to describe how the man violates social acceptability within the temporary dyad. The male may talk to her about sex, but she does not reciprocate; or, behaviorally, he may grab her, push her, hold her down, and/or attempt to remove her clothes.

Life stories and incident accounts used "I told him" to refer to the way a woman communicated unwillingness to participate in a man's plan if it involved something other than sex (life story) and if his overtures were sexual (incident account). As the recipient of a sexual invitation, one woman said, "I told him I didn't feel like it" (C40), and another said, "I told him I didn't want to talk about who I had sex with" (C35). At times, a woman's insistence was grounded in the Cheyenne concept of horizontal relations, particularly those involving obligations of kinship that occur between siblings (Strauss 1989; Hilger 1946). As one woman offered, "I told him I would tell my brothers, [therefore] nothing happened with that experience" (C46).

Second, men who were unmoved by a woman's statement of disinterest or refusal to have sex escalated their intent with more aggressive and/or sustained body contact. Women's narratives moved to this next stage by conjoining the act of physical contact with a statement about being disrobed (typically, "pants down," emphasizing the lower stratum). Or women indicated there was a struggle: "[I was] trying to fight him" (C34), and "I kicked and screamed" (C50). Mention of struggle marked absence of consent, and narration of clothing removal and/or physical contact indicated the man's intent to have sex. At times, intent was indicated by forceful contact, followed by a man's disrobing: "He grabbed me by my hair, threw me down on the bed. . .He stood there, and pulled his pants down" (C35), or "He was holding me like that and then he

was taking down his pants, and then he was pulling off mine while he was holding my mouth'' (C36). Cheyenne women typically skipped a statement referring to act-occurring and moved directly to act-completed, or they used euphemism: ''had sex'' (several women), ''he's through, that's true, and it was too late'' (C42). One woman described her assault, which occurred after she accompanied a man in his truck to smoke marijuana and they had returned to his house: ''He grabbed me and started taking my pants off, and then he done his thing'' (C26). Apart from euphemism, women remained silent on the act of penetration. Very few women specified sexual actions. One women indicated that her uncle ''tried to nibble around [her] vagina'' after approaching her in the family barn; and another woman was talking with an old friend on her cousin's porch, then went to his apartment (his invitation): ''He just grabbed me, started kissing on me, and then he sort of forced himself on me, had his ejaculation and got off'' (C29). Although a sexual act is identified, these latter two excerpts do not describe any action on the part of the woman that might indicate a reciprocal interest in having sex.

Action words were given as a part of the Main Story-Line by 18 of the 25 Cheyenne women (72 percent) to describe the coercion that they experienced. Terms used for coercion often interpreted rather than defined a behavior, such as ''force. . .forcible. . .forcibly'' ($n = 9$). Other terms denoted an act of coercion rather than designated consent, such as ''grab'' ($n = 8$); ''throw down'' ($n = 7$); ''push'' ($n = 4$); and ''pull,'' along with its derivatives, such as ''tuggin'' ($n = 4$). Although a few women mentioned that they experienced ''nausea'' or obliquely referred to male climax (ejaculation), they rarely spoke about body fluids or symptoms they may have experienced at the time, such as bleeding, bruises, and lacerations. Nonetheless, 11 of the 25 women (44 percent) responded ''Yes'' to the third interview question, which asked whether they received ''bruises, scratches or minor cuts.''

The act that brings closure to an incident account involves departure from the site of sexual assault, typically signaled by phrases such as ''I ran home'' (C50), as well as indication of a reversal of the act of coercion and sexual intent/act by ''social re-incorporation.'' A woman may refer to body position—for example, ''I was just lying there'' (C29), or ''I just got up'' (C37, C38)—and she may invert the one-sided speech act by which the man made known his intent (his speech without her reciprocation) by her crying (sound and no words), or she may vent her anger toward his

inappropriate action, "I called him Low Life" (C31). If she was thrown to the ground (lower stratum), she gets up (returns to upper stratum). If disrobing occurred within the Main Story-Line of the narrative, then one or both of them "pull up" their pants or "put on" their clothes. "Social re-incorporation" often included a description of a weakened constitution or a state of debilitation in which the woman is not a full social participant and seeks a return to regular activities.

Finally, during rape aftermath the woman avoids contact with the man who assaulted her—immediately, by fleeing (as mentioned) and, later, by refusing to speak to him. The woman, not the man, is complying with the Cheyenne way. Since birth a woman is taught to be wary of men, especially older men. A part of her learning is that it is improper to flee from a man with whom she has been legitimately paired (Michelson 1932), thus some women's confusion within settings such as adolescent parties. The man who is the assailant, by his actions, denies expectations of respect for the woman with whom he is paired. Her action as the protagonist in the account carries additional weight when we consider what social avoidance means among the Cheyenne. The assaulted woman marks the experience as a concrete event that violates her participation in negotiating sexual consent. As the women refrained from naming their assailants (naming in this context is associated with wrong behavior, see Strauss 1982), the event is defined as immoral if not criminal: "When refusal to listen results in criminal behavior [no consent], it was and sometimes still is punished by exile and/or shunning" (p. 59).

Despite the overwhelming formation of narratives that emphasized non-consent through a transgression of the dialogic self, a few women referred to the possibility of continuing or renewing a friendship by indicating that the incident started in an acceptable, if not a desired, manner: "I thought he was my friend, I never thought nothin', so we go in [his bedroom] and roll a joint" (C38), said one; and "I trusted [only case of naming], my step-cousin, cause he had always been nice to me" [C26], said another. Common terms that illustrated the possibility of communicative sexuality were "asked" (Main Story-Line Event), usually referring to going somewhere to talk (e.g., outside to the porch), and "were talking" (Durative-Descriptive). However, a shift to the action words "started" or "tried" generally signaled something occurring that was outside the boundaries of acceptable behavior. Quite specific in her evaluation of the beginning of an incident, one woman took several men and

women from a bar to her house (they were from out of town): ''It was all right for awhile; I was getting drunker and drunker, and we were smoking''' (C49). After she passed out, she ''came to'' and found herself in her living room (no clothes) with a man who had also passed out. Recognizing she had been raped, she found a stick, struck the man, and yelled at him to leave her house. Another woman indicated the possibility of having sex but not in the manner in which it occurred. She passed out at her cousin's house, where five or six people had remained after a party. She went outside to talk with a man (on his invitation) but ''came to'' to find her pants ''unzipped.'' She explained, ''I just cussed him out and everything. . .I said, 'You could asked me, or told me you were too drunk'' (C31). She mentions that she would have been willing had she been approached differently. In this instance, she told the girl with whom she came to the party, who in turn told ''her boyfriend,'' and the three of them left.

Mexicana/Mexican American

Mexicana incident accounts generally were described as an event for which the young woman was unprepared. If the woman was an adolescent when she was raped (all but four cases), she described lack of preparedness by referring to her virginity and lack of sexual knowledge at the time of the assault. One woman, for example, who unknowingly became pregnant after the rape, told how her mother called in a local healer to ''divine'' the basis for her nausea (morning sickness), as she had no prior knowledge of pregnancy. Her mother dutifully watched her two daughters' outside-the-home activities and monitored their menstrual cycles but did not know of her daughter's assault. As a further marker of sexual innocence, Mexicanas stated their age at the time of the incident (many between 14 and 16), which framed the rape in a temporal context that marked the beginning of a girl's social and sexual maturity. For Mexicanas, social recognition of sexual maturity is celebrated with a family-organized festival known as *La Quinceanera* (''fifteenth birthday''), both in the United States and in Latin America.

In contrast to Cheyenne accounts, Mexicana accounts were often prefaced by an evaluative comment concerning the immediate impact of the assault ($n = 6$) and/or overall impact on the woman's life ($n = 5$). One young woman who was assaulted, and forced to marry an older neighbor who lived near her family, structured her

account by describing their relationship as neighbors. She then went on to preface the rest of her account by stating, "What happened to me I never imagined would happen that way" (*Me pasó lo que yo nunca me imaginé que me podía pasar así*) (M67). Assaulted by her cousin in her grandparents' house (where they both lived), another young woman summed up her experience near the beginning of her account: "I never had intentions that something bad could ever happen to me... He definitely marked me, this person." (*Yo nunca tuve malicia para que me podía pasar algo a mi malo... Me marcó definitivamente, esta persona*) (M64). She used the word "marked" (*marcó*) three times in her account. Evaluative appraisals by Mexicanas of the immediate effect as well as overall impact of the experience of rape occurred near the beginning of the incident accounts. This differed from women in the other two groups, who included any overall evaluative comments at the conclusion of their tale of rape survival.

Mexicana accounts were shorter than were accounts by Anglo and Cheyenne women, and they typically lacked detail. Corroborating a generalization in the social science literature to the effect that Latinas display more "sexual silence" than do Latinos with respect to the public discussion of sexuality (e.g., Hirsch 2003; Ramírez 1999), Mexicanas did not mention movement, position, sensations, or body characteristics (e.g., assailant's weight), nor did they specify sexual aspects of the rape (e.g., body fluids). Like Cheyenne women, Mexicanas did not give the assailant's name; they elaborated the relationship to their assailant, as neighbor, friend, or family; and they described a sense of comfort or discomfort while in this person's presence. Owing to a lack of specificity in describing what happened to them bodily and sexually, Mexicanas were the only group of whom interviewers occasionally sought greater clarification by asking, "Were you penetrated?"

Incident accounts generally included aspects of the impact on the woman's life. One woman (M64) who was raped by her cousin described how he came to be living with her grandparents, where she and her brother also lived (their parents were deceased). They spent time with the cousin, watching television in his room, where she was molested several times from age ten onward and then raped a few years later. Another woman told of her growing confidence, as a teen, in talking with a male neighbor. Ten years her senior and engaged to be married, he would tease her about her alleged interest in his younger brother, who was close to her own age. About the

time his family was making arrangements for his wedding, he offered her a ride home from school (her two classmates were not with her that day), which she accepted. He drove her to the building that served as a meeting room, where his parents met with the members of their "land collective" (*ejido*). He then raped her before bringing her back home. Her tale is particularly poignant since she was compelled by her parents to marry him, which resulted in disaster for both. Her parents moved to another part of Mexico, leaving her without any form of social support to live with the man who had raped her. As for him, he was denied the opportunity to marry his fiancée (who subsequently left him).

Consent And Coercion

Similar to previous research on focus groups consisting of Mexican American rape survivors (Ramos Lira et al. 1999) and interviews with Latina victims of domestic abuse where alcohol was a primary element (Caetano et al. 2000), nearly all Mexicanas summarized the incident account with a cursory comment on how they were assaulted or "taken by force" (*a la fuerza*). This was coupled with a statement pertaining to the overall impact of the incident on their lives. At times, their poetic remarks (especially in evaluative comments) suggested that some thought had been put into "cycling through" what they had experienced by drawing upon a culture in which suffering was a part of women's lives. One woman said, "He made me his by force" (*que me hizo suya a la fuerza*) (M67), and another called her assault "a wound [trauma] that never heals" (*una herida que no sana nunca*) (M64). There were no common action words from Main Story-Lines as there were in Cheyenne accounts. Mexicanas described how they were compelled to act against their will by using evaluative phrases such as *contra mi voluntad* (against my will) (M69) and, most frequently, "by force" (*a la fuerza*). Oblique rather than specific comments were used to identify perpetrator behavior(s). Mexicanas positioned themselves as passive recipients of things done to them—for example, "He made me" (*me obligó*) (M68); "He began to touch me all over" (*Me empezó a manosear toda*) (M60); "He brutally violated [me]" (*violía muy feo*) (M52); and "He ripped up all my clothes" (*Me machetó toda mi ropa*) (M67). In these statements (and others), male agency acts upon the woman or her clothes (which often represent the person in assault narratives), while the woman uses a "grammar of non-agency" (Ehrlich 2001: 36–61). Although torn clothing is occasionally mentioned, external

signs of assault (e.g., bleeding, lacerations) are rarely discussed in incident accounts. Interestingly, when addressing the same material presented through the survey question on injuries, 80 percent said that they had received ''bruises, scratches or minor cuts'' during the rape. Similar to the other groups, Mexicanas mentioned experiencing ''nausea'' (*asco*) during and/or immediately after the rape. *Asco* can refer to ''general nausea'' as well as the ''distaste'' or ''disgust'' consequent upon an unwanted personal encounter.

Although verbal protestations were common, descriptions of physical resistance rarely appeared in Mexicana narratives (there were no more than four). One example of physical resistance was offered by a woman who was accompanied by a female friend on a return trip from a patron-saint festival in a nearby province: ''Well, she [friend] came and took them [the men] off me'' (*Ella vino y me los quitó de encima*) (M58). Her friend was asleep in the van, but when she heard screams (the narrator left the van for ''a pit stop'') she exited the van to assist her. Three other instances involved older female adolescents or young adults in the United States struggling against acquaintance rape while ''dating.'' Women rationalized their inability to resist successfully by referencing the assailants' height, implying that the men were more powerful then they. One woman structured her explanation as a strategic aside (''he was tall''): ''He pulled me, he pushed me, he was tall, he climbed atop me'' (*Me jaloneó, me empujó, era muy alto, se subió arriba de mi*) (M66). Several women used terms connoting the perpetrator's body position as ''above her'' (*arriba de mi*) or ''over her'' (*encima de mi*). References to height (''up'') or body position (''over'' and ''above'') often appear in tales of Hispanic origin that serve to explain gender relations. Concepts of demarcation assume that men are socially and sexually privileged. Spatial enclosures separated women from the public spaces in which men are permitted to gather (Gilmore 1998; Gutmann 1996). Interestingly, no Mexicana reported smoking marijuana or passing out, which would imply that she had been drinking or using drugs, both of which are decidedly male practices in Latino culture.

From the view of communicative sexuality, women acquainted with their assailants were agreeable to certain kinds of behavior prior to the incident. Two women, for example, were dating young men with whom they felt comfortable, and kissing (*besando*) was part of the relationship. Mexicanas refrained from suggesting through Main Story-Line Events that sex might have been a

possibility on a date (see similar trend in Hirsch 2003). Otherwise, women—most of whom were raped prior to personal experience with sex—were unprepared to negotiate, other than through struggle, with the men who assaulted them. One young woman expressed her anguish at her lack of preparation in sexual matters as well as her social-cultural isolation by rhetorically asking herself (contextualized within a Durative-Descriptive Proposition), "Is this what happens to other girls?" (*A otras niñas le pasará lo mismo?*). She added that she never told anyone, which contributed to her isolation, for fear of ridicule and blame: "It's your fault" (*Tu tienes la culpa*). The woman forced to marry her rapist said that she "fell in love" at age 36 with a man that was younger than she was, which is an interesting juxtaposition, considering that her rapist/husband was older than she was. Two years later, she and her young boyfriend "fled" to the United States, taking her two children.

Anglo Women

After framing the narrative, Anglo women structured the incident by itemizing aspects of the assault, each according to setting and individual experience. In contrast to Cheyenne narratives, which displayed an order to the event phases and minimization of elements within each, Anglo narratives emphasized individuality within events pertaining to the assault (e.g., how she and the perpetrator met in college; how she was beaten and tied with a belt; how she waited in a truck in freezing temperatures while her assailant went into a bar). Rather than a common trajectory (which appeared in Cheyenne accounts) or stark disclosure (which appeared in Mexicana accounts), the Anglo accounts generally provided background to the assault through a series of nested stories. Langellier and Peterson (1992) refer to this style of narrative performance as "spinstorying," wherein someone generates stories related to a general theme rather than producing a single-account narrative. Sometimes elements of one story merged seamlessly with those of another. Anglo women, like women in the other two groups, often detailed the context and setting in which they were co-present with the perpetrator. Unlike Cheyenne women or Mexicanas, a few Anglo women incorporated parallel time (i.e., simultaneous action) into their life story, and several oscillated backward and forward in time in the incident accounts. A few Anglo women provided evaluative comments on how the ordinary

became the extraordinary: double-dating, expecting a "pleasant night at the lake" (A01); going home with her supervisor to a "very nice apartment, very nice" (A17); and dating a boy on a "night [that] seemed to be good" (A08). One woman regularly went to a bar because she "loved to dance" and "felt safe there." One night she gave a man she met a ride to a party (he knew the bouncer), and he forced her to take a side road (they were in her car) where he raped her (A04). There were fewer reports of men drinking alone (n = 3) than reports of a woman and her assailant drinking together (n = 6). Like the Cheyenne accounts, three Anglo accounts reported passing out due to drinking; however, unlike the Cheyenne accounts, only one Anglo account reported the presence of marijuana.

At some point, one-half the Anglo women marked an act as moving toward rape by drawing attention to the removal of clothing (n = 13). Unlike in the Cheyenne accounts, in the Anglo accounts there might be no reference to lower stratum (e.g., Anglo: "I had my shirt off and my bra" [A01]; Cheyenne: "He was able to get my jeans down" [C07]). Various articles were mentioned, even, in one instance, a bed sheet: "He threw the covers off me" (A20). Infrequently, the replacement of clothes was described after the assault (rape) was completed (n = 2). Unlike Cheyenne women, who emphasized outer garments over interior garments (primarily pants), Anglo women named garments that ranged from outer (e.g., blouse, shorts) to inner (e.g., hose, underwear). Using Main Story-Line phrases and Durative-Descriptor Propositions, Anglo women were anatomically explicit in describing resistance (e.g., "I was trying to pull out his penis") (A12); how they were violated (e.g., "He was penetratin' me in the butt" [A17], or "[He] decides he's going to put this vibrator he had with him into every orifice that opened in my body" [A14]); the type(s) of sex experienced (anal, vaginal, oral, or combined); and specific symptoms that were experienced both externally (e.g., bleeding, crying) and internally (e.g., choking, gagging).

Disclosure in Anglo narratives coincided with their "Yes" responses to the survey question concerning whether they received "bruises, scratches or minor cuts." The extent of Anglo women's injuries (mostly lacerations and bruises) may indicate that women in the other groups had more injuries than they were willing to identify. Like women in the other two groups, Anglo women also described feelings of "nausea" at the time of the rape or during its aftermath. Unlike Cheyenne women (who were silent regarding

inner states but attuned to social others in the surrounding environment) or Mexicanas (who minimized details pertaining to environment and maximized details pertaining to inner states), Anglo women provided details of both inner states and external environment.

Consent and Coercion

All but three of the 24 Anglo women described the ways in which the encounter was not what they were expecting or what they wished or were willing to negotiate. Exceptions involved three of eight women who had been in abusive or strained relationships. Women accompanied by other couples (double date, or party) typically yelled to the other couple(s) for assistance, but to no avail. Anglo women used a range of action words in Main Story-Line phrases to describe coercive behavior (e.g., "he kept hitting me in the stomach"; "he forced me to have oral sex"). And elsewhere they used evaluative comments to describe what they felt (e.g., "I was afraid of being beaten") or why something happened (e.g., "I was held down, I was kicked in several places"). In an evaluative statement, one woman poetically depicted the impact of rape: "I started to really feel like a tornado was going down my mind" (A16). Several women used actions words from Main Story-Line phrases to describe their resistance to their assailant (e.g., struggled, kicked, fought).

Anglo women marked the initiation of coercion by signaling a change in the course of an encounter with a man or boy, describing an escalation in actions by her assailant, and paying greater attention to remembering her discomfort. Like the men who assaulted the Cheyenne women (who broached a woman's past sexual experience, before stipulating what would take place) or Mexicanas (whose assailants shifted from casual talk to voice their intentions), men who assaulted Anglo women were portrayed as physically active in the pursuit of sex. However, unlike men in the incident accounts of the women in the other groups, men in the Anglo group relied upon physical actions rather than speech.[11]

Anglo women relied on three linguistic devices to indicate a change in direction of events. First, directional change was marked by referring to a cognitive act in which the woman switched from protagonist in the narrative to event narrator by employing "I remember" ($n = 18$), "all of a sudden" ($n = 4$), and "next thing I knew" ($n = 4$) as she recalled her reactions and became an observer of the events happening, or about to happen, to her. One woman

described a double date: "All of a sudden, this guy who had two arms, he had twenty arms" (A01); and another, abducted while waiting for a bus, explained: "Next thing I know, they grab me and put me in the car" (A11). The occasional negation of "I remember" served as a denial of cognitive recall and indicated that something important had taken place at a transition point in the account. For example, one women said, "I don't even remember how I got back into the bedroom" (A21), which was the only room that was specified after a transition from "school" to "house," where she and her friends went after their last class (high school).

Second, 15 women used the term "just" (lit. "regular," "exact," "conforming to some standard") to mark the man's intent and her lack of consent at particular junctures of the assault (n = 13) and/or "kept" (lit. "stay unchanged," "retain in one's power") (n = 4) to reinforce the listener's attention to the assailant's persistence. For example, one woman described an insistent man whom she met at a bar: "He kept talking and everything" (A04). Another woman, attacked by a boyfriend who returned home intoxicated, stated, "He was just like forcing it on me... I just lay there, just so it wouldn't last as long" (A09). To stress excessive male persistence that might appear, on the surface, to be something minor, "just" and "kept" were sometimes combined ("just kept"). One woman, for example, described how a step-cousin forced himself on her at closing time at the beauty salon where she worked: "He just kept following me and just kept grabbing me" (A18). And another told how an ex-boyfriend came to her house one night, distraught over his father's death: "He just kept doing what he was doing and pushing himself inside me" (A03). Contrary to Wood and Rennie (1994:134), who call "just" a "downtoner" (i.e., "hedge"), we propose that Anglo women used this technique when calling attention to the intensity of some aspect of the sexual assault. A woman who double dated, for example, described a struggle in which her "date" gained control over her: "He just kept holding me down" (A07). In general, the combined use of "just" and "kept," as one expression, accentuated rather than "toned down" one or more aspects of a woman's experience that were severe and uncompromising.

Third, accounts of the Anglo women, like accounts of battered women who have become "very finely attuned to the escalation of violence" (Websdale 1998:74), emphasized when a man was going too far or moving too fast. Women used repetition to mark discomfort at an assailant's insistence or sustained action. An

expression would be repeated twice in succession when a woman refused her assailant verbally and/or behaviorally with the result that he escalated his efforts (e.g., "so he was trying and I was like no, no. . .[we got back by the car] and I was like stop, stop" [A10]). This escalation is a response to a situation in which the male "infers difficulty" and makes a counter-move as a "proposal for action" (Drew 1984). At times, initial intensity is indicated as the beginning of escalation. One woman recounted an incident at a drive-in movie, where she was with a man whom she had previously dated. First she uses repetition, then she specifies that his actions became intensely aggressive: "He was very forceful, very forceful at first. . . his movements were very demanding, it wasn't like he was tender anymore. . . the more I said no [protagonist], the more aggressive he got" (A13). Using repetition, another woman recounted an incident that occurred when she was an adolescent. She anticipated an end to her trauma by calculating the time needed to return home for a midnight curfew, "Five more minutes, five more minutes," before illustrating her resistance, again using repetition, "I'd move away and he'd push back, I'd move away and he'd push back" (A08). Still another woman marked a transition in her assailant's continuing insistence and her resistance when she asked him, "What are you doing? What do you think you're doing?" (A14). A question implies disagreement with a "proposed action," with the respondent indicating that an action is unwanted (Pomerantz 1984); and repetition highlights her protest against the social constriction (Berman 1998:189–193) being perpetrated on her by her assailant.

Several women used lexical repetition multiple times in the incident account, and a few used it at selected points in their life stories. Repetitive constructions emphasize a point convincingly. Phrase repeating enhances imagery (Scott Carlin 1992), improves comprehension by listener(s) (Hanks 1996), and topically links elements in narrative time even though they occurred in historic time (Berman 1998). A few women used repetition at a later point in the incident account to reinforce aspects of rape aftermath. For these women, repetition served to emphasize something that at first appeared benign but became horrific when the perpetrator escalated his actions. Lexical repetition was more common among Anglo women than among Mexicanas, and it was virtually non-existent among Cheyenne women.

From the viewpoint of communicative sexuality, Anglo women, more than Cheyenne women and Mexicanas, indicated ways in

which sexual contact might have been permitted. One woman grounded her incident account in a feeling of "safety" (part of the Main Story-Line) before describing (through lexical repetition) an escalation in sexual advances on the part of a classmate: "I felt safe with him. . .[He became] a little more physical and a little more physical, until I was not feeling comfortable with it." She used an evaluative aside to state her personal limits: "[I was] attracted to him but didn't want intercourse. . .Kissing was fine, mild petting was fine." Demonstrating unusual patience within the Main Story-Line, she described her communication efforts: "Numerous times, I sat him down and told him about it" (A24). She subsequently went with him to the house that his aunt and uncle loaned him and spent an entire afternoon and evening negotiating and renegotiating boundaries of acceptable encounter, from the back yard pool ("forced to the ground, fighting to get up"), to the bedroom: "We ended up in the king size bed. . .I told him, 'Stay on your side'. I said, 'If you want to cuddle or kiss, that's fine', we slept that way. . .I remember waking up with his fingers inside me, and being uncomfortable with that." Interestingly, she acknowledges that this was the first time that she "had ever been touched, or penetrated." However, in the overall assessment of her life trajectory, she defined sexual contact as genital relations and credited a young man with whom she later had consensual sex as "the guy I lost my virginity with."

Anglo women partnered in strained or abusive relationships (n = 8) seldom staged their account by temporal specificity; rather, they identified their assault (rape) using Main Story-Line phrases. These women selected one incident for telling that was demeaning or memorably brutal (e.g., forced to have sex with her husband's uncle as the husband watched; sent by her husband to accompany an unknown man to clean his apartment, then raped by this man in an isolated area). Similarly, Cheyenne women in strained relationships (n = 2) or who became drunk (n = 6: amnesiac, passed out) were rarely specific concerning the time period in which their assault occurred. What we found more significant, however, was that all five instances in which an account (one Anglo, four Cheyenne) lacked any form of staging (neither temporal nor spatial reference) or had partial framing (minimized relational context) were cases of abusive (Anglo) or strained (Cheyenne) relationships. Or they involved an amnesiac outcome prior to the event that inhibited recall, with "passing out" while drinking representing a difficult phase in a woman's life (Cheyenne). Moreover, all the incidents

related by women in abusive/strained relationships were extremely short (except one) and were given little embellishment.

The tension in power differentials between men and women that is identified in feminist discourse (Grosz 1994; MacKinnon 1989) resonates within the incident accounts of abused women (Anglo) or those who, due to stressful life conditions, were abusing themselves through alcohol (Cheyenne). Tension between herself and her partner (he wanted it, she didn't) was sufficient to structure most narrations without staging the account in time and limiting the spatial staging to an indeterminate "here." Ongoing tension has no time and no place. One Anglo woman stated, "He was verbally abusive. If I didn't want [sex], he would make me feel guilty" (A06); and another said, "He came over . . . he was crying, I let him in [here], we started talking . . . he was upset." (A03). One Cheyenne woman explained, "We were drinking. I didn't want to, but it happened, because I was drunk" (C34); and a second said succinctly, "He grabbed me, started kissing on me, and sort of kicked forced himself on me" (C29). Despite tolerance of difficulty and an altered sense of self, which served as backdrop to the incident in lieu of framing, several women embodied a language of physical and verbal resistance whereas others reported how they "gave in" to minimize further abuse. All the abused Anglo women talked about how and whether penetration had occurred. As one might expect, some but not all Cheyenne women in situations of strained relations, or who found themselves in a drunken state and then passed out, were explicit in describing certain aspects of their rape. Women in relationships that were strained often demonstrated an awareness of *consent* and an understanding of the "marital myth" that sex is a partner's duty (one-half were married); they understood the notion of *coercion* and that non-consent was possible in a long-term relationship like marriage (Trinch 2001). Non-consent by a common-law or legally married woman complies with the legal definition of "marital rape." Telling their tale in this manner, women in situations of ongoing stress showed awareness that the event they constructed in their narration lacked consent and was brought about by continuing coercive behavior. Lack of narrative structure, mirrored in a lack of temporal framing, characterized the ongoing abuse they were experiencing and, reluctantly, tolerating. The unspeakable nature of that abuse generated a continuing and complex experience not unlike the ongoing trauma experienced by individuals who suffer state-engineered terror or institutionalized atrocity.

DISCUSSION AND SUMMARY

Unlike researchers who use narratives to isolate the psychological dynamics of rape, we emphasize narrative dimensions of women's experience with rape survival by looking at cross-cultural differences in scripts of coercion and scripts of consent. Despite variations in how Cheyenne, Mexicana, and Anglo women chose to report rape, nearly all the women framed and staged their account(s) as a narrative. The incident each experienced was sufficiently significant to elevate its telling to story status. With regard to structuring, Cheyenne women emphasized the transgression of social expectations that might lead to a "good experience" within an atmosphere of balanced communication and interpersonally complementary sexual relations. Mexicanas used clauses of passivity that denoted lack of consent, if not anguish, at lack of sex instruction as young women. Encapsulating a perpetrator's aggression by lexical terms that connoted force (*a la fuerza*), they referenced the lived experience of violence and trauma, remaining silent on the aspects by which rape is legally defined according to male-centric language (i.e., insertion, penetration of recipient) and regarding recourse to female-oriented expressions of sexuality that come closer to reflecting consensual interaction (i.e., enveloped, engulfed, encircled) (Ehrlich 2001). Anglo women used verbal devices to highlight the discomfort and pain they felt during rape, thus signaling a transition from the ordinary to the unexpected. Like the other women, they too emphasized the insistent, noxious persistence of the perpetrator.

Women from all three groups ordered events by using particular devices to mark the ways in which they drew from scripts of coercion to voice non-consent, emphasizing how the perpetrator went past the limits of comfort and compelled participation in an encounter that was strongly discomforting. Like Cheyenne women, Anglo women, while double dating or partying, commented on the potential for a good experience ("just normal conversation, laughing," said one; "a pleasant night ... nothing more than light petting," said another) that evolved too fast, too soon, and broke expectations. Although a few Anglo and Cheyenne women described scripts of consent they might follow during consensual sex, using terms such as "fondling," "petting," "kissing" (Anglo), or reciprocation couplets such as "he grabbed me, I grabbed him" (Cheyenne), Mexicanas did not disclose what might be a script of consent for them. Variations implicitly communicated by women

belonging to these three groups provide a glimpse of the difficulty inherent within legal definitions of rape and assault, which depend on verification of actions in relation to particular body contact areas and unwavering evidentiary efforts to establish non-consent. We showed how these women, with only minimal direction rather than under the intensive cross-examination of a legal hearing (see Matoesian 2001:69–132), clearly described their experience through the use of familiar conventions. The fact that some women indicated the start of what might have been an acceptable encounter, preference for an alternative approach to their experience, as well as moments of uncertainty and hesitation (accounting for non-action on their part) illustrates the difficulty of sustaining actions of non-consent that would legally demonstrate "non-consent."

Description of physical contact varied (locative references to body zones for Cheyenne, directionality for Mexicanas, diversified but explicit references for Anglo). Anglo women often employed multiple terms for the act of penetration by which rape is legally defined. This stood in contrast to the women in other groups, who used euphemisms and indirect references (Cheyenne), and circumlocution and silence (Mexicana). We propose that the greater diversity in the self-presentation of Anglo women is linked to a cultural expectation of freedom of expression and to the fact that the Cheyenne women and Mexicanas are members of oppressed populations. Sexual expression is a means of maintaining borders that generate and delimit self-identity. Maintenance of borders reflects the extent to which society permits women of some (but not all) groups freedom to express a social and sexual self, along with privileged access to social, economic, and political opportunities. Control of women's sexual expression is one way to reinforce domination (Espín 1997; Segal 1994) and to stabilize the larger society (Schwartz 1998). Most significant in our study is recognition of how the cultural background of these women was evident in linguistic and stylistic variations in how they produced their narratives. We also found, as a corollary to this, that ethnographic interviews require a suspension of everyday rules pertaining to social hierarchy (Briggs 1989). This is similar to the narrative creation of "shared situations" under protest conditions that Berman (1998) describes for Javanese women. Effective narrative production in telling tales of rape survival, then, may set its own parameters and rules. If we acknowledge that remembrances are main-line (Kendon 1992) or key events (Polanyi 1989) of women's rape narratives, then we may assume a woman's

ability to repeat these primary elements under circumstances of acceptance and empathy[12]—unless these elements are derailed in a context that assesses "consent, coercion and violence" through practiced legal discursive practices such as those that occur in court (Matoesian 2001:31).

Integrity in the women's accounts of assault and a reliance on narrative conventions, which our analysis highlights, provide an understanding of how women express their experience of trauma. In the context of national genocide, for example, violation of women's bodies reveals a "symbolic terrain" that may elucidate the social processes that generate atrocities based on "male competition" and "unconscious fears" (Olujic 1998:45). Analysis of the manifestation of atrocity forces us to acknowledge that narrative accounts of "embodied pain" and "raw rather than reflected life experience" (Uehara, Farris, Morelli, and Ishisaka 2001:52) show individual impasses to complete healing. In the rape survivor narratives that we analyzed, women were faced with reliving their experience as they sought the best way to impress it upon the listener (both as a visible, co-present interviewer and as an invisible audience of unknown future listeners [i.e., readers]) (Briggs 1989). That vehicle drew from narrative conventions for structuring their tales, whether based on the three-phase model of the sexual transgression of the "dialogic self" (common in Cheyenne accounts), sexual silence and impact-intensification (common in Mexicana accounts), or nested stories and individualized actions, along with detailed, often graphic, depictions of the experience of rape (common in Anglo accounts).

In their telling, these women generally emphasized scripts of coercion, with little recourse to scripts of consent. We believe that this is partially as a response to having been inculcated into social norms that teach women to "not talk sex" (Erhlich 2001; Lees 1997). This made it easy to follow the instructions for a study that asked women to describe an incident of "unwanted sex": if women cannot and should not "talk sex," then they can at least describe an instance where sex was foisted on them, unexpectedly, sometimes brutally, without consideration for their consent or their input in determining the parameters of a mutually negotiated sexual encounter (Cowling 1998; Lees 1996). Wood and Rennie (1994) suggested that, in the rape narratives they analyzed, an incident cannot have been "rape" if a woman included any indication, however small, of consent. We suggest the addendum that a consensual encounter requires

sporadic "checks" into continuing consent. After all, a sexual encounter, however far it progresses, is no less an interaction of negotiation and mutual grounding than any other form of narrative communication.

Exceptions to structured narratives appeared among women in strained and abusive relationships, where routine abuse simulated the terror of social erasure (Uehara, Farris, Morelli, and Ishisaka 2001; Suráez-Orozco 1990), inhibiting a woman's capacity to produce a coherent, meaningful narrative. As Scarry (1985) reminds us in her landmark study of torture, "pain is resistant to language." Ongoing experience of sporadic rape and general abuse brought these individual women close to a state of masked interactions and numbed feelings, similar to a society that lives in terror of genocidal elimination (Olujic 1998), condemned to a social death that is communally administered. As such, these women faced similar constrictions personally enacted against them in an abusive relationship. In our study, sexual violence was individually perpetrated against isolated women by people who knew them; in the case of state-sponsored violence, physical violence is collectively perpetrated by an aggregated few on persons randomly selected from the masses and generally unknown to their perpetrators. Where the parameters between individual and state-engineered violence differ is significant with regard to attempts to resolve the problem of sexual violence in American society.

Rather than sharing news of their personal terror, with its counterpart in state-engineered public communications such as those that occur during "a reign of terror" (Terr 1994), women in abusive relationships hid "news" of what was happening to them. Communicative solidarity is enabled by linguistic and narrative knowledge that is encouraged by situational encounters among those who have a stake in similar oppressions (Berman 1998) or who share socio-cultural isolation (Chernela 2003). The women in our study, whether isolated in abusive relationships or steeped in networks of family and friends, followed the narrative styles most familiar to them when telling their tales of rape survival. We emphasized the variation in their telling while also noting the influence of ongoing trauma on their capacity to present accounts of rape. This aspect of our analysis suggests some possible avenues for the refinement, if not the development, of therapeutic approaches to female assault and rape survival. Interventions should reaffirm therapeutic strategies that emphasize effective listening, based on speech styles

appropriate to the cultural experiences of the women in question. Variations in narrative constructions as well as an emphasis on facets of interactive speech and facets of gendered silence can provide the foundation for interventions that are "willing to listen" as well as to speak to the individual needs of women who survive rape and sexual assault.

When themes of trauma and women's narratives are combined, women's accounts of rape balance our understanding of how gender and culture mediate the experience as well as the expression of survived trauma. In one variant of trauma—namely, rape survival—narrative structures shaped the scripts women used to describe their experiences of coercion. Their tales of rape often left implicit what might constitute appropriate (female) consent for situations that fall outside the violent manifestation of inappropriate (male) behavior. Perpetrators validate unspoken beliefs about male privilege that position women as the expected recipients of sexual violence rather than as reciprocal participants in sexual relations in particular and in social interaction in general.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Interview data were collected through the Women's Life Experience Study (Mary P. Koss, Principal Investigator), funded by a research career development award from the National Institute of Mental Health, grants from the Violence and Traumatic Stress Studies Branch of the National Institute of Mental Health, and the Women's Health Office. We thank Julie Gurdin for coordinating the project; she conducted the interviews with Anglo women and transcribed several tapes from the Anglo and Cheyenne women. We greatly appreciate constructive comments from three reviewers and the journal editor for improving the analysis; any remaining shortcomings are our responsibility.

NOTES

1. Kalman Harris (2000) is one of the few who advocate that the study of rape should include men as well as women (she includes several cases of men).
2. Berman (1998) introduces her study of Javanese women's social subordination by discussing how norms for gender are replicated in

Indonesian films. She describes an occasion when Javanese women, provided an opportunity to report rapes, willingly came forward to tell personal stories that were subsequently published in local newspapers.

4. Slight differences exist in the ways that state statutes are worded and in footnoted choices of cases that are cited as a precedent for how the law has been, and should be, enforced. See State of Arizona (2000), State of California (1999), and State of Oklahoma (2002). For example, the legal age of consent for sex in Arizona is 15, and in Oklahoma it's 16. Abduction is a separate offense in Arizona, whereas it is part of the definition of rape in Oklahoma and California. "Utmost resistance" is emphasized more in Arizona statutes than in those on the books in Oklahoma or California.
5. This is the study credited by some feminists for first using the term "date rape" (Lees 1996:77–78 for one report). For a history and for evidentiary support for expansion of the concept of "rape," see Koss (cited in Warsaw 1994, 189–210), who describes the extensive college survey of over 6,500 women students sponsored by *Ms. Magazine*.
6. Selection was based on similarity of circumstances, except for cultural background. Since the Cheyenne and Mexicanas were primarily poor (many former/current welfare recipients), low-income Anglo women were chosen for inclusion in the sample to avoid confounding cultural influences with those of class.
7. One Oklahoma incident did not involve penetration or violence but it did involve sexual contact by fraud, as delineated by law in Oklahoma, and so was included in the sample. One incident for a Mexicana involved sex without penetration (Appendix) but did entail violence and so was included. A few women from all groups "came to [the] conclusion," in the course of narration, that they had been raped. There were 78 assaults reported by 62 women: one each for Mexicanas, 27 for 25 Cheyenne women, and 38 for the 24 Anglo women (nine Anglo women reported two or more). Although all groups reported additional sexual assaults before age 18 (a few of these were incest), Mexicanas emphasized assaults before they were age 18 (instructions for the study placed the cutoff age at 18/over). Fifteen Anglo women, three Cheyenne women, and four Mexicanas told of the additional sexual assault during their Life Story rather than as an "Incident Account" (second component).
8. Hard copies of transcripts (not computerized) were coded by the first author (KVB) with highlight-pens, from which a coding system was developed (similar to that of a data text management program).
9. There were nine transcribers for Anglo interviews and three transcribers for Cheyenne interviews.
10. For our composite, generalizations were synthesized from literature on Northern Cheyenne (MT) and Southern Cheyenne (OK). Both groups

share land holdings; as speakers of Algonquian, their language differs minimally in vocabulary and pronunciation. Cheyenne say they are "hearted" to refer to common bonds between both groups (Strauss 1982). To establish tribal identity across two discontinuous states, two "sacred bundles" (i.e., Sacred Arrows in Oklahoma and Sacred Hat in Montana) are maintained by someone designated from each group (Strauss 1989). Also, individuals from each group may spend time in residence with relatives from both states.

11. Six women reported abduction and rape by "strangers" (three Cheyenne women were taken to an isolated area; two Anglo women were taken to another part of the city; one Mexicana was grabbed in a park). Four of these six incidents involved men whose ethnicity was identified as other than that of the woman raped. One reviewer astutely noted that women's descriptions may not match men's (actual) behavior during a sexual encounter. There may be intra-cultural variation as well as inter-ethnic differences for men who assault women of the same or different ethnicities. Our emphasis is on the way that the woman depicted the perpetrator(s) in their narratives.
12. Following observations made by Norrick (1998) under experimental conditions (taped interactions with consented families), Bletzer (2003) notes two cases where narrative interviews dealing with rural violence repeated primary story elements, when retold several months later (gunshot wound), for one, and several years apart for three tellings of the second (rape). See Schiffrin (2003) who describes replication of key points in a Holocaust narrative through four tellings, one to ten years apart.

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APPENDIX. EXCERPTS FROM NARRATIVES

EXAMPLE 1. Cheyenne.

01	BB*	When I was nineteen
02	BB*	I trusted [name] my step cousin
03	AA	cause he had always been nice to me
04	non	and um
05	AA	I don't know [clears throat]
06	AA	how this came about
07	BB*	but he asked me
08	BB*	if I wanted to go smoke a joint. (=)
09	BB*	So I did.
10	**	I went with him
11	non	and uh
12	**	we came back to the house
13	BB*	and I was fixin' to get out of the truck
14	BB*	and he grabbed me
15	BB*	and started takin' my pants off.
16	BB*	and then he done his thing
17	non	and um
18	BB*	I just got up
19	**	and went inside

EXAMPLE 2. Cheyenne.

01	non	Um,
02	**	he just grabbed me,
03	**	started kissin on me
04	BB*	and then he sort of kicked
05	BB*	forced himself upon me.
06	**	Had his ejaculation
07	**	and then got off.
08	**	and just left me there
09	BB*	and I was just layin' there,
10	BB*	cryin. (=)
11	**	So
12	+DD	and that was it.

Key:		
	BB*	Main Story-Line Events
	**	Durative-Descriptive Clause
	AA	Evaluative Clause
	non	Non-story-line clause

Example 1: (09 through 13) separation; (14–15) aggression as liminality; (16) act-completed; (18–19) departure.
Example 2: (02–03) implied separation; (04–05) aggression; (06–08) act-completed; (12) suspended conclusion, non-disclosure.

EXAMPLE 3. Anglo.

001	DD	We [inhales] were on a date with another couple.
003	DD	everything was fine,
005	EE	nothing out of the ordinary,
006	DD	no reason to think that there was going to be anything
007	DD	but a pleasant night of going to the lake
011	DD	nothing more than d-light petting type,
013	DD	having a good time with some friends.
015	**	he took an' says,
016	**	let's take a walk.
019	DD	who would think taking a walk would be something to be scared of.
020	**	Said
021	**	let's sit down on this cement slab.
022	DD	That's fine,
026	DD	sitting on a cement slab don't seem dangerous. (=)
028	**	the next thing I know he's taking and grabbing me
029	**	and starting to try and take my clothes off me.
030	**	And I'm taking and trying to clobber him.
031	DD	Only it ain't working.
034	EE	All of a sudden this guy who had two arms
035	EE	it seemed like he had twenty arms,
036	DD	and they were all everywhere else.
037	**	I was fighting him,
038	**	but yet he was still getting my clothes off me.
042	DD	an' and one minute I'm in my clothes
043	DD	and the next minute I'm not.
046	**	so I'm taking
047	**	rubbing my hands and arms and elbows and everything all over this concrete slab,
051	**	I'm trying to keep from being raped,
052	DD	only it isn't working.
053	DD	And the next thing I know,
054	**	he's taking and putting his penis in me
055	**	and I am having excruciating pain
056	DD	because I've never had sex before.
058	DD	and there was blood everywhere

059	EE	and I feel like somebody has like a ts-a steamroller has ran over me
064	**	I screamed hollered and asked for help from the other couple
065	DD	and they thought it was a big laugh
066	**	and they both set up there
067	**	and they laughed about it.
069	DD	But, after he had had his pleasure
071	DD	he decided that,
072	DD	okay, it was fine,
073	DD	let, let, let you breathe a little
074	DD	and then to take and do it a second time. (=)
077	**	But finally he decides
079	**	let's go back to the car.
081	**	I'm putting my clothes finally back together,
082	DD	thank God he didn't tear 'em or tear 'em up so bad that you really
089	DD	I could still wear it. ==
090	**	And we were going home and we,
092	**	we go straight up the road and into this ditch.
095	DD	Can't get the car out of the ditch.
096	DD	Tried pushin' and pullin' it and everything
099	DD	can't get it out,
112	**	So we walk back up the ranger's station.
117	**	But they helped us pull the car out of the ditch,
118	DD	got us back on the road
119	**	and they take me home.
121	**	snuck into my sister's house,
122	DD	so that she would not know that what had happened.
123	**	I took my clothes
124	**	and I hid 'em under the mattress of the bed,
125	DD	'cause I sure didn't want to admit to my sister
126	DD	that I was stupid at nineteen to take and get myself raped. ==
133	DD	So I was just waitin' for her to leave
134	DD	so I could get up,
135	DD	put my clothes in the washer and wash my clothes.
136	DD	There was no evidence of what had happened.
137	DD	[Inhales, coughs] But I had these scratches on my hands and stuff
138	DD	that I had to account for.
139	**	So I took an' I said that we'd uh, gone off in a ditch
140	**	and that we were ha- you know, we was trying to get the car back on,
144	**	I scratched and scraped myself.

145	EE	So my sister never knew that anything had happened.
146	**	I washed my clothes. ==
147	**	I pretended for the longest time that nothing had happened [coughs].

NOTE: Further aspects of the incident are described in an additional 80 clauses that tell how the young man who raped her was killed in an automobile accident. Five years later, she told her sister about this incident of rape at the lake (revealed in her Life Story).

Key:	**	Main Story-Line Event
	DD	Durative-Descriptive Clause
	EE	Explicit Evaluator
	==	Sections or separate stories
	-	Incomplete word, interrupted speech

EXAMPLE 4. Mexicana.

01	non	*Bueno*, {Well,}
02	**	*tenía un amigo* {I had a friend}
03	DD	*que fue mi novio*. {who was my boyfriend.}
06	**	*pero yo nada más me daba besos con él* {but I did nothing more than kiss him}
08	DD	*porque el tenía otra novia* {because he had a girlfriend}
12	DD	*después me lo encontré una vez*, {after, there was one time I met him}
13	**	*me llevó a mi casa en su carro*, {he took me to my house [mi casa] in his car}
14	DD	*antes de llegar a su casa*, {before arriving at his house [means "my house"]}
15	**	*trató*, {he tried}
16	**	*me jaloneó*, {he pulled-grabbed me}
17	**	*me empujó*, {he pushed me}
18	DD	*era muy alto*, {he was very tall}
19	**	*se subió arriba de mi* {he climbed atop me}
20	**	*y yo no quería tener relaciones sexuales* {I didn't want to have sexual relations}
21	EE	*porque yo nunca había tenido* {because I had never had [sex]}
23	**	*entonces él me jaló* {then he pulled me}
24	**	*y rompió mi short* {and ripped my shorts}
25	**	*y ahí puso su pene* {and there he put his penis}
26	**	*y trató de metérmelo*, {and tried to put it inside me}
27	DD	*pero no me dejé*, {but I wouldn't let that happen to me}

31 DD *pero fue una experiencia muy amarga* {but it was a truly bitter experience}
32 EE *porque me asusté mucho*. {because he terrified me greatly}

Key: ** Main Story-Line Event
DD Durative-Descriptive Clause
EE Explicit Evaluator