

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AMONGST SEX OFFENDERS IN
LIMPOPO PROVINCE**

By

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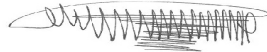
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DECLARATION

Unless if it is specifically indicated to the contrary, this study is a result of my own work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. This study is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the School of Applied Human Sciences (Psychology) at Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. None of the work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination at any other university.

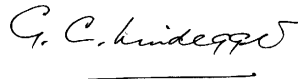
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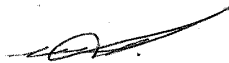
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DEDICATION

In memory of Mashebane, Reuben, James Nkgadima, Vincent Selepe and Romanus Kwaye

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

DCS	Department of Correctional Services
NPA	National Prosecuting Authority
SOCA	Sexual Offences and Community Affairs
WHO	World Health Organization
SAPS	South African Police Services
MEC	Member of Executive Council
LGBTI	Lesbian, Gay, Bi-sexual, Transsexual and Inter-Sexed Persons
The Constitution	The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996
Sexual Offences Act	Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007
STATSSA	Statistics South Africa
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence

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ABSTRACT

The construction of masculinity is vital in understanding the development of men since it has an influence on how a man perceives himself and on his behaviour. The high rape statistics have recently prompted an examination of the South African masculinity constructs and their implications of sexual violence against women. It is against this background that this study explored how sex offenders in the Correctional Centres construct masculinity, in relation to accounts of their sexual offences. Social Constructionism was selected as a conceptual lens of enquiry because it is believed that knowledge and truth are socially constructed. This approach was used to understand the role of social interaction and discourses in the constructions of masculinities.

Given the exploratory nature of this study, qualitative interviews were used to examine how sex offenders create meaning around their experiences. Data was drawn from five Correctional Centres in Limpopo Province and purposive sampling was used to select the participants. Nineteen (19) sex offenders were drawn through the saturation approach to participate in the study. Data was collected by means of the use of semi-structured interviews and open-ended questions with probes and prompts to elicit a detailed description of their experiences in relation to the objectives of the study. Discourse analysis was used to identify and analyse the available discourses that sex offenders drew from, to construct their masculinities and to account for their sex offences.

The findings of the study indicate that the construction of masculinities was informed by discourses of procreation, provision, initiation, sexuality and possession of assets. Since these men are placed in a confined environment with limited resources, it emerged that the participants use the available resources, such as their physical strength, toughness and perseverance to construct their masculinities. Furthermore, it was found that the participants use the blame discourse to account for their sexual offences. Most of them denied their offences. Instead, they blamed the victims and used discourses of unexplained sexual desires, sexual entitlement, absent mothers, provocative dress code and unfair laws to justify and account for their sexual offences.

Based on these findings, it is recommended that multisectoral interventions are adopted to enable men to resist unhealthy and violent discourses. The promise of multi-sectoral and long-

term interventions with sexual offenders is that discourses of sexual violence can be replaced with masculine discourses that advocate empathy, love, respect and tolerance of diversity.

Key words: *Masculinity, Sex Offenders, Limpopo province, Social Constructionism, Discourses*

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study explores how men, who have been convicted of sex offences in Limpopo Province, construct their masculinities. Construction of masculinity is vital in understanding the development of men since it has an influence on how a man perceives himself and his behaviour. Magodyo (2013) describes masculinity as a collective gender identity that is characterised by practices that men are encouraged to perform, in order to be regarded as men. From this perspective, the definition of a man is not biological or natural, but it is prescribed social positions that men are expected to ascribe to (Javaid, 2015). Therefore, as social beings, men are expected to position themselves against the social, fluid, and different prescribed norms.

Recently, South African masculinity constructs raised heated debates since some men have been implicated in sexual violence against women (Javaid, 2015; Jewkes, Nduna, Jama-Shai, & Dunkle, 2012; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Dunkle & Morrell, 2015). Women on the other hand, are positioned to tolerate this exploitation because “the dominant ideal of femininity embraces compliance and tolerance” of men’s dominance over them (Taylor, 2014). Consequently, they alter and shape their behaviour to fit into the dominant masculine discourses that are often believed to be ‘scientifically true’. For instance, they learn at a young age that to avoid being raped, they should not wear short skirts, they should not flirt with men, and they should not walk alone at night. If they do, they are often blamed for tempting men, whose sexual urges could not be controlled (Gordon & Collins, 2013).

1.2 Background of the Study

South Africa is well known for having the highest numbers of sexual violence cases (Jewkes et al., 2012; Watt, Kimani, Skinner, & Meade, 2016). According to Dartnall and Jewkes (2013), sexual violence is a human rights violation act that occurs within different races, classes and settings. In their world report on violence, Jewkes, Sen & Garcia-Moreno (2002), define it as ‘any sexual act, attempts to obtain a sexual act, or acts to traffic for sexual purposes, directed against a person using coercion, harassment or advances made by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work’ (p.149).

This is a broad term that describes any form of sexual violation. Sex offenders are convicted under different categories, namely, human trafficking for sexual purposes, sexual harassment and rape. Irrespective of the nature of the sexual violence, it was noted that the main concern in this regard is the 'non consent of another individual' which then makes the act one of 'coercion' (Rich, 2003). According to Ryan (1997, p.5) the process of offence is (1) against the victim's will, (2) without consent and (3) in an aggressive, exploitative, manipulative or threatening manner. In most cases, the gratification in this regard arises from controlling, and domination (Lawrance, van Rensburg, 2006).

Since sexual violence is a broad term, this study focused specifically on heterosexual rape. Rape in this regard is described as an act of non-consensual sexual penetration of the male sex organ into the vagina or anus of a woman (Booyesen, 2008). Although rape could be perpetuated by different people in different contexts, for the purposes of this study, focus is on sexual coercion by a male, older than 18 years to a female who is older than 18 years. The offender may be either an acquaintance or a stranger.

Reports from Statistics South Africa (2014) indicate a slight increase in the country's rape cases, which were 66 048 in 2004 and increased to 66 197 in 2013 in a population of 52 982 000. When compared to the other eight provinces in South Africa, Limpopo Province was ranked fifth in terms of the prevalence of rape cases. The other South African provinces with reported rape cases were: KwaZulu-Natal with 12 405, Gauteng 12 213, Eastern Cape 9 451, Western Cape 8 776 and Limpopo with 6 468 reported cases. Those with lower, yet still significant numbers of reported cases were: North West with 5 521, Free State with 5 252, Mpumalanga with 4 267 and the Northern Cape with 1 844 (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

In response to the high numbers of reported rape cases, South African citizens were involved in marches, and on the other hand, campaigns and several parliamentary debates about this matter were held. This public and political outrage resulted in rape being declared as a national priority crime. To combat rape, the government established dedicated sexual offences courts, allocated resources for the rehabilitation of sex offenders, developed anti-rape strategies and improved policies protecting the rights of women and children (Vetten, 2014). Despite all these measures, however, the rape statistics continued to escalate, at both provincial and national levels. For instance, the number of reported sexual crimes in Limpopo escalated from 4 460 in 2004 to 6 468 in 2013. The most affected areas in this province in 2013 were: Tzaneen (Mopani

District) with 555 cases, Thohoyandou (Vhembe District) with 527 incidents, Mokopane (Waterberg District) with 382 cases, Mankweng (Capricorn District) with 315 reported incidences and Seshego (Capricorn District) with 271 cases (Statistics South Africa, 2014).

Although South Africa has documented rape statistics, there is a concern that the figures are not reliable and valid. The concern is that the statistics from the South African Police Services (SAPS) are not reliable because they have not been audited by independent auditors. As a result, these statistics may be biased towards providing a “not so bad” picture of the country to the world (Areff, 2015).

Although recently the South African rape statistics were reported to have decreased, it is still assumed that there are many unreported cases, which makes it difficult to measure the real scale of the problem (Allroggen, Rassenhofer, Witt, Plener, Brähler & Fegert, 2016; South African Police Services, 2016). Despite the controversy around the statistics, the current numbers still attest to the fact that South Africa has a high prevalence of sexual violence (SAPS, 2016). Even though there is a high prevalence of rape in South Africa, the extent of the problem cannot be easily compared with that of other countries because the rape statistics are “determined by how sexual violence is measured, the definition used, the stigma, the shame associated with the act, the extent to which disclosure of abuse and assault is encouraged, the cultural beliefs and the role of women and children in the society” (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013, p.11). Since these variables are not described homogeneously, it is difficult to comment or come up with definite global statistics. On that basis, it is irresponsible for South Africa to be declared as the world’s “rape capital” (Gordon & Collins, 2013, p.93).

1.3 Motivation for the Study

The prevalence of sexual violence in South Africa is high and men have been found to be victims as well as offenders. This suggests that there could possibly be “a strong gendered link between masculinity and violence” (Fulu & Miedema, 2015; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Dunkle & Morrell, 2015, p.2). As a result, there is a call for the scrutiny of masculine ideals as it seems discourses on hegemonic masculinity maintain unequal hierarchies between males and females, which further perpetuate violence against females (Peralta & Tuttle, 2013). In support of this assumption, a study by Omar (2011) found a significant relationship between masculinity and violence since it appears that violence is one of the by-products of the social construction of masculinity.

The high prevalence of rape in South Africa has raised concerns about the safety of women (Gordon & Collins, 2013; Jewkes et al., 2012). It is because of this that rape and other forms of sexual violence need to be addressed more so that it has serious effects on the physical and psychological well-being of victims which eventually threaten their dignity and compromise their quality of life (De Vries, Eggers, Jinabhai, Meyer-Weitz, Sathiparsad & Taylor, 2014; Cerdas, Arroyo, Gómez, Holst, Angulo, Vergas, Espinoza & Leon, 2014). The physical consequences of rape may include acute injuries, sexually transmitted infections and unwanted pregnancies. Equally, on an emotional level, rape is associated with somatic disorders, anxiety, depression and other chronic illnesses (Abeid, Muganyizi, Massawe, Mpembeni, Darj, & Anexo, 2015; Amone-P'Olank, 2015). In order to improve the quality of life for rape victims in South Africa, the government in 2000 launched the first *Thuthuzela Centre* at GF Jooste Hospital in Manenberg, Cape Town. *Thuthuzela* is a Xhosa word, meaning “comfort” (Balagopal, 2013). These centres were designed to be one-stop facilities where multi-services are available. These services include emotional and legal support to the victims (National Prosecuting Authority, 2014). The Thuthuzela Project is spearheaded by Sexual Offences and Community Affairs (SOCA) in the National Prosecuting Authority (NPA). The government departments that are involved in this initiative are: Justice, Education, Health, Social Development, Correctional Services, Safety and Security, Local Government, SAPS, Home Affairs and other Civil Society Organisations (NPA, 2014). The centres were established in areas where there was a high prevalence of rape. They mostly operate within public hospitals that are linked to police stations and sexual offences courts.

I was encouraged to conduct this study because I was employed as a psychologist at Mankweng/Polokwane Hospital Complex from 2008-2010. Part of my job description was to offer counselling to clients who were referred to me from Mankweng *Thuthuzela Care Centre*. At that time, the centre was not well-resourced and so it relied heavily on the hospital's resources. The services of the Department of Psychology in the hospital complex included the assessment and counselling of rape victims. As a psychologist, I realised that the reported rape cases in the centre were escalating, despite the measures that were put in place by the government to support the victims. As a result, I thought that to address the rape problem, in South Africa, a different approach which explores the views of sex offenders on this matter was needed (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011; Lazarus, Tonsing, Ratele & Van Niekerk, 2011).

Although there are many studies on rape, their focus has chiefly been on the victims, and there appears to be little research about the sex offenders. According to Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle (2011), it is difficult to understand and reduce rape incidences if the focus is only on the victims, without an in-depth understanding of the sex offenders too. If preventative measures by government appear to have been ineffective, and rape perpetration in the country continues to escalate, then the focus of attention should shift towards the understanding of offenders (Peralta & Tuttle, 2013). It was against this background that I was encouraged to examine rape by exploring how sex offenders construct masculinity and how they account for the perpetration of rape.

My interest in this study was to explore the available masculine discourses that sexual offenders draw on to construct their own masculinities. Furthermore, I planned to explore the masculine positions which they took when they committed their sexual offences. To achieve this, I made use of Social Constructionism as the framework of my study. This approach was preferred because it explains how people use language and discourses to construct their reality. Furthermore, the framework was deemed relevant because it displays how masculine qualities are embedded within the social practices, symbols and discourses.

1.4 Aim of the Study

The aim of this study was to explore how sex offenders construct masculinity, and to understand sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity.

1.5 Objectives of the Study

- 1) To explore how sex offenders construct masculinity;
- 2) To understand sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity.

1.6 Research Questions

- 1) How do men convicted of sexual offence/s construct masculinity?
- 2) What masculine positions are/have been available to men convicted of sexual offences in the establishment and performance of their masculine identity?
- 3) What masculine positions do men take up when they report on their sexual offences?
- 4) What discourses do men use in accounting for their sexual offences?

1.7 Definition of Terms

Rape

According to the South Africa Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007, rape is when a person (“A”) unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of penetration with a complainant (“B”), without the consent of (“B”). In this study, rape and sex offence will be used interchangeably to refer to the penetration of a vagina by a penis without the victim’s consent.

Sex Offender

This is an individual who has been convicted of sexual offence in the criminal court of law (Davids, 2014). In this study, sexual offender refers to a male, convicted of raping females who are 18 years and older. This term is used instead of the term, “rapist”.

Correctional Centres

These are correctional facilities in the Republic of South Africa where individuals who have been sentenced are placed to be rehabilitated from their offensive behaviour. Here, they are put through several corrective and life skills programmes so that on their release they can be part of functional society (South African Correctional Services Act of 1998). In this study, this term will be used instead of the term, “prison”.

Internal Guide

This is an individual, assigned by the Department of Correctional Services to support, orientate and assist the researcher with the acquisition of the documents necessary for the research study.

Sexual Violence

Any sexual act, attempt to conduct a sexual act or acts to traffic anyone for sexual purposes. When executing this act, the person may use coercion or harassment to the victim in any setting, including but not limited to home and work (Jewkes, Sen & Garcia-Moreno, 2002).

African

The term “African” is used interchangeably with Black or Black African to refer to people of African descent/ancestry.

1.8 Mapping out the thesis

Chapter 1: Introduction

This introductory chapter outlines the aim and objectives of this study. It outlines the rationale for conducting the study and highlights the research questions upon which the study has been based. In its conclusion, the chapter outlines the summary of each chapter in the thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review (Construction of masculinity)

This section of the study gives a detailed review of the literature that is related to the construction of masculinity. Findings from previous research studies were interpreted and integrated with the objectives of this study, to better understand the construction of masculinity by sex offenders.

Chapter 3: Literature Review (Masculinity and sexual violence)

Previous literature on sexual violence and masculinity was reviewed in this chapter. Contemporary research and the work of sexual violence pioneers was critiqued and discussed to better understand the construction of masculinities in relation to sexual violence.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

This chapter focuses on Social Constructionism as a theoretical framework for this study. It outlines the history and the definition of Social Constructionism, and its application to the construction of masculinity and sexual violence.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

This chapter outlines how data was collected. It describes the procedures that were followed by the researcher to collect and analyse data. It also outlines how ethical research principles were adhered to in order to protect the rights of the participants. The structure of the chapters begins with an introduction, followed by a description of the research design; research instruments; sampling and sampling size; setting; procedure; methods of data analysis; limitations of the study; ethical considerations and conclusion.

Chapter 6: Presentation of Results (Construction of masculinity)

The findings related to the construction of masculinity are outlined in this chapter. These findings are presented under several discourses. Relevant quotations were used to support the statements under discussion.

Chapter 7: Presentation of Results (Masculinity and sexual violence)

This chapter presents the results on the discourses that sex offenders use to account for their sexual offences and the masculine positions they take up when committing sexual offences. In addition to the identified discourses, the participants' responses were used to illustrate their viewpoints and opinions.

Chapter 8: Discussion of Findings, Limitations, Recommendations and Conclusions

This chapter outlines the discussion of the findings in relation to the literature review and the Social Constructionism Theory. It is followed by the implications of the study for the body of knowledge with regards to parenting, schools, initiation, community development, media, legislation, and rehabilitation. Furthermore, the chapter outlines the strengths, limitations of the study, and the conclusion of the whole study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW: CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

2.1 Introduction

According to Pierotti, (2013, p.6), masculinities “are ways of enacting manhood that are based on socially constructed and shared expectations of what it means to be a man”. These shared expectations or ideals serve as mirrors, upon which men “police” themselves or others on whether they are still men or not (Gibbs, Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2014). Since these standards are set by societies and reconstructed through relationships, it can be argued that masculinity is not natural or universal. According to Connell (2000), there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere. Since masculinities cannot be shared, it is therefore better not to speak of masculinity, but rather of masculinities. Even though masculinity is not universal, it was found that in some instances, there is a considerable overlap between the constructs of masculinities in different contexts because of the influence of globalisation (Izugbara, 2015). As a result, it can happen that we have similar constructs in different areas.

According to De Viggiani (2003), societies endorse particular normative beliefs about masculine gender roles. Men and women endorse and internalise these gender roles and they eventually enact them. As they internalise these roles, men sometimes find themselves under pressure to enact these prescribed contextual ideals, because they serve as mental maps of the expectations of how a real man should behave. It is against this background that it can be argued that the construction of masculinities is influenced by the discursive resources that men have access to (Allen, 2005). Some of these discursive prescripts state that a man should take risks, endure pain, suppress emotions, be tough, be a provider, have multiple partners, be physically strong, be in control of women, be heterosexual, be sexually dominant, be financially stable and politically powerful (Green, Omar & Piotr, 2011). Even though these masculine discourses are contextual, they are considered to be fluid because they change over time. It is on this basis that individuals often look around for different repertoires to draw from in order to construct masculinities (Pierotti, 2013).

2.2 Masculinity and Masculine Positioning

Masculinities are enacted differently, hence they vary from one context to another. As a result of this dynamic process, men continuously find themselves re-positioning and re-negotiating their relationships in order to cope with ever-changing, contextual, masculine standards (Gibbs, Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2014; Trell, Van Hoven & Huigen, 2014;). To be able to understand how masculinity is enacted, it should be noted that its definition is guided by the following principles:

(a) Masculinity is performed

Masculinities are enacted on a shared understanding of how a real man should behave. Since men are expected to behave in a certain way, it may be argued that masculinity is performed. Real men are expected to “do” something. It is in their “doing” that men are gauged whether they are worthy or not.

(b) Masculinity is variable

Masculinity is constructed differently and varies across time and social context. Consequently, masculinity signifies different things to different men, at different ages, in different periods and different societies (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014, p.49). Since masculinities are socially constructed, it should be understood that they are not static. Hence, in some instances, discourses of masculinity may be associated with peace, whereas in some instances, they may be associated with violence.

(c) Masculinity is multiple

According to Pierotti (2013), there are multiple versions of masculinities that can exist within one social context because different men use different resources that are available to them to construct their masculinities. For instance, some men who are financially stable may use their financial stability as one of the discourses to construct their masculinities, whereas this would be different for offenders who are incarcerated.

In studying how men construct masculinities, the above three aspects have been taken into consideration; because they play a significant role in the formation of the masculine discourses. When men construct masculinities, they look around for masculine ideals that they can associate themselves with, so that they may eventually be able to position themselves. As they

explore several positions, men sometimes find themselves positioned in hegemonic, complicit, or marginalised masculine categories:

(a) Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemony is a concept that was coined by Antoni Gramsci, an Italian sociologist, to describe the power and the dominance of the bourgeoisie over the working class. The term was later used by Connell (1995) to describe how men dominate both women and other men. In Connell's (1995) context, hegemonic masculinity consists of practices that serve as a template upon which men measure their "manhood". This form of masculinity appreciates male domination over women (and other men) and functions in accordance with a patriarchal culture (Connell, 2002). Its main function is to support and maintain the legitimacy of patriarchal norms that sustain men's power and position men in higher ranks that subordinate women and other men (Connell, 1987). As compared to other masculinities, hegemonic masculinity is dominant, aggressive, superior and violent (Connell, 1995). Men who position themselves within the hegemonic masculine standards support gender inequalities, specifically those that promote domination over women and other men. As they construct their masculinities, some men draw on hegemonic discourses to silence or subordinate other masculinities (Magodyo, 2013). Although hegemonic masculinity in certain areas such as in the Maldives, has historically been associated with calmness and rationality, in most parts of the world it has been associated with aggression, violence and domination of women and other men. Hence, Demetriou (2001, p.341) describes it as a "hegemony over women and subordinate masculinities".

According to Fernández-Álvarez (2014), hegemonic masculinity is associated with being strong, successful, capable, reliable and in control. The template of hegemonic masculinity expects men to lack any qualities of femininity, and demonstrate by all means available, that a man is neither a woman, nor a baby nor a homosexual. Those who fail to display these characteristics and practices are often silenced, marginalised or rejected since they are associated with femininity (Masitha, 2012).

In summary, hegemonic standards are ideal masculine standards that have been used as a point of reference to describe a real man. Therefore, as they construct their masculinities, men position themselves by either complying with or resisting this hegemonic masculinity. Whatever the position they choose, it has an impact on how they behave and how they relate to women (Connell, 1987).

(b) Complicit Masculinity

According to Andersson (2008b, p.24), a position is “a standpoint from which the narrator is telling his or her story in relation to other people and the issue at hand”. This stance is not fixed; hence it is possible for individuals to re-position themselves, depending on the circumstances. As an ideal masculinity, most boys and men position themselves in relation to the versions of hegemonic masculinity. As they strive and sometimes find it difficult to fit into the total prescripts of hegemonic masculinity, men sometimes position themselves in other masculinities. For instance, some may prefer to position themselves into *complicit masculinity*. This is a masculine position which does not always comply with the dominant type, yet it still benefits individuals from certain prescribed norms of hegemonic masculinity. According to Connell (2005), *complicit masculinity* is enacted by men who benefit from the practices of hegemonic masculinity, even though they do not necessarily perform it. For instance, these men may be loving and caring in their relationships, but on the other hand, they do nothing to challenge the practices that dominate women and children because they too benefit from them.

(c) Marginalised /Subordinate Masculinity

Since hegemonic masculinity is not associated with femininity, those men who display feminine characters or behaviours are often sidelined and “thrown” into the pool of the marginalised and subordinated group. Individuals within the *marginalised masculinity* group are often accused of not conforming to the ideals of masculinity. As a result, they are perceived as “problems” (Lynch, Brouard & Visser, 2010, p.20). These individuals include homosexuals. According to Connell (2005), these individuals are either positioned at the bottom of the gender hierarchy among men, or are expelled from masculinity because they are associated with femininity. Homosexuals, however, are not the only subordinated and marginalised group in the masculine hierarchy. Other men who do not belong to the dominant group are also oppressed and marginalised. For instance, historically, under the South African apartheid system, Black, Coloureds and Indian men were positioned by White men as “boys” and “niggers” (Morrell, 1998). These men, from other races who were considered to be inferior were emasculated, because they felt that they were not men enough since they were oppressed, subordinated and marginalised by other men as a result of their racial classification. Even though these three races were oppressed by Whites; Coloureds and Indians were on a higher level of the hierarchy since they were treated much better by the Apartheid government than were Blacks.

2.3 Construction of Masculinities in Africa

The construction of masculinities in many African countries is marked by colonization, which weakened the power of men and the elders (Hodgson, 1999; McCullers, 2011). The traditional kings were overthrown and there was a considerable political change in the established system. Colonization was not easily or smoothly introduced or established, as it was resisted by the indigenous populations, often with violence and war. A real man was therefore expected to participate in wars, to defend his territory. It was during this time that violence was seen as another way of demonstrating masculinities. After the wars against the colonial powers, this war type masculinity was no longer considered as an ideal masculine character. However, violent masculinities were still respected and cheered through tribal battles and gangs (Glaser, 1998).

Even though masculinity was enacted differently from one context to another, with the advent of capitalist industrialisation it was noted that most African men valued financial stability since it enabled them to provide for their immediate and extended families. It is for this reason that many men from the rural part of South Africa moved to the cities to look for jobs in the mines. In the same way, other men from countries as far afield as Lesotho also crossed national borders to work in the mines in South Africa. Basotho men were also encouraged to work in the mines so that they could generate income and provide for their families. In addition to provision, like South African men, the real Mosotho man was encouraged to take risks. As a miner, he was not only a provider but it was also a way of testing one's "manhood" by exposing himself to high risks in a potentially deadly environment. Since mines exposed them to potentially dangerous situations and the possibility of frequent accidents, those who survived were regarded as "heroes" (Phohlo, 2011). Apart from men in Southern Africa, discourse of provision was also cited by Nigerian men. When interviewed, most men from Kaduna state in Nigeria reported that there is an association between work, marriage and manhood. For them, a real man is expected to work so that he may be able to marry, have children and provide for his family. Financial stability was emphasized in the life of a real man. It is for this reason that most unemployed men in this region feel emasculated since they are belittled by their wives and community members for their inability to provide (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Literature also confirms that in most parts of Africa, men subscribe to hegemonic masculinity and they are engaged in activities that promote patriarchy. Those who do not support patriarchy are sometimes ridiculed and branded as "female-men". To maintain their masculine position,

boys in Ghana, for instance, are trained to uphold dominant masculine discourses such as virility, strength, authority, power, leadership, the ability to offer protection and sustenance as well as the ability to bear physical and emotional pain (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007, p.54). Like Ghanaian men, most tribes in Nigeria also support patriarchy. For instance, Igbo men in Nigeria were taught to see themselves as the heads of their families and that they should always be respected by women. As the head of their families, they were taught to suppress their emotions, especially tearfulness because it was associated with femininity. No matter how emotionally hurt a man was, he was encouraged to suppress his tears because such an expression was seen as a weakness (Uchendu, 2007). To summarize the qualities of a real Igbo man, Chinua Achebe (1958) in his novel, 'Things Fall Apart' portrays Okwonkwo as a leader in his family and a decision-maker who takes risks to ensure that he does not fail as a man.

As they construct their masculinities, there have also been some common findings on the importance of procreation amongst African men in a variety of countries. For instance, men in Zimbabwe, Nigeria, Ghana, South Africa and Mozambique draw from the discourse of procreation to construct their masculinities (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005). According to Uchendu (2007), Yuroba men in Nigeria value fertility, hence they gauge the value of their penis on its ability to impregnate a woman. Ugandans share this belief, hence they disregard any man who does not have children, no matter how wealthy or educated he may be, as inferior.

Again, initiation school or the rite of passage was also found to be one of the discourses that African men draw from, to confirm their masculinity. An initiation school is seen as an important institution for Basotho and other South African men. Attendance of *Lebollo* (as it is called by Basotho men), is seen as an essential transition from boyhood to manhood. This transition is characterized by exposure to community traditions that emphasize how a real man should behave (Langa, 2012). It is believed that the process of *lebollo* tests endurance, strength and perseverance. For Basotho, it is also believed that *lebollo* prepares young men for the hard physical work in the mines. Just like Basotho men, some of the South African men still value initiation rites, hence within the Xhosa tribe, an individual who did not go to the 'bush' (initiation school) is still called a 'boy' even if he is wealthy or old (Magodyo, 2013).

When analyzing the African masculinities, Togarase (2013) highlights that both the traditional African cultures and Christianity reinforce the development of hegemonic masculinities

through their sayings and proverbs. For instance, these traditional proverbs and sayings are used in communities to silence other men and women. According to Togarese (2013), there is a Tswana proverb that says “*Ga di ke di etelelwa ke manamagadi*”. This proverb is also shared by the Pedi tribe in South Africa. It translates to mean that no woman should take a leadership position. This kind of proverb is one of those that disempowers women and promotes the dominance of men over women and children. This discourse continues to ensure men hold leadership roles such as that of traditional chieftaincy positions. On the other hand, Christianity is also seen as supporting hegemonic masculinity by emphasizing that men are the heads of families and wives should submit to their husbands (Holy Bible, Ephesians 4: 22). According to Togarasei (2013), these Christian verses are also responsible for the exploitation and abuse of women. He states that if we are to eradicate gender-based violence, we need to only highlight those Biblical texts that are life-affirming to both men and women.

Despite a vast diversity, literature has revealed that there are still some common and prevalent discourses that African men draw from to construct their masculinities. These include; procreation, financial stability and provision, rite of passage, violence and suppression of emotions.

2.4 Masculinities in South Africa

The construction of masculinity in South Africa is quite complex as it is centered around several factors including race, politics, socio-economic circumstances and various cultural discourses. The construction of masculinity in South Africa dates back to the political history of the country where the qualities of a real man were described through the lense of the European man. Any man who was non-European was seen as ‘other’. Indians and Coloureds in South Africa were sometimes generalized as “Blacks” since they were also non-Europeans. The racial classification of individuals was informed by the apartheid policy stipulated in the Population Act of 1950. It is within this policy that South Africans were classified racially, as either Whites, Black-African, Indian or Coloureds (Mthembu, 2015). It is according to this policy that Coloureds were described as a “mixed race’ that originally emanated from the White master and the Black slave woman. Hence being Coloured was associated with immorality, sexual impurity, illegitimacy, and dishonesty (Mthembu, 2015). Even though Coloureds were generally classified as Blacks, in terms of the racial hierarchy, they were placed above Blacks. They enjoyed more benefits. For instance, Coloureds were given preferential access to social security such as child support grants and disability grants, benefits that Blacks did not enjoy

(Salo, 2005). Black Africans were referred to as individuals of African ancestry whereas Indians were referred to Indian descendants who are based in South Africa. Whites were both of British descent and the Afrikaner White of Dutch descent. Based on these racial groupings, the construction of masculinities has always been complex in South Africa. However, the qualities of a real man were informed by the Western description of masculinity. Therefore, due to the socio-political context and apartheid system, the South African man has always found himself caught up in a web of defining his identity through the Western lens (Meyer, 2017). In all these years, South African men, particularly, Indians, Coloureds and Blacks have always used certain Western masculine discourses to construct their masculinities. To simplify the complexity of the South African masculinities, Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger and Hamlall (2013) identified three forms of masculinities in South Africa. They provided a general overview of South African masculinity as grouped into the African, White and Black masculinity.

According to Morrell, Jewkes et al. (2013), men who practice African masculinities were geographically located in rural areas and their masculine ideals were focused on the accumulation of livestock, taking care of the family and going to the initiation school. As a result, their ideals were mainly influenced by institutions such as the chieftainship, communal land tenure and customary laws.

The term “Black” was applied to all non-Europeans in South Africa such as Indians, Black-Africans and Coloureds. Black masculinity emerged as a result of urbanization. Black masculinity was represented by men who were geographically located in urban areas either foreceably, by the Group Areas Act of 1950 or by the availability of work opportunities. Before the liberation of South Africa, this group of individuals was also known to be liberation fighters. Since they were the lower rank of the masculine hierarchy, Black-Africans were aggressive in demonstrating their masculinities, as was seen by their engagement in the violent liberation struggle. According to Salo (2013), all men within the “Black” category were often referred to as “boys” by their White masters. As a way of reconstructing their masculinity, Black men fought for their status as “real men” so that they could also be treated as such. Unfortunately, as they strove for their independence, they used force and violence, which later became the trademark for the construction of Black masculinities. Before 1994 Blacks were not allowed to vote, and their political voice was not heard. As a result, the White men (British and Afrikaner) continued to dominate the Black men since they had a representative voice in

politics. The ideals of Black masculinity at that time were focused on political freedom. From 1912, Black-African men initiated their struggle towards political freedom with the formation of the African National Congress (ANC). It is in this regard that masculinity was demonstrated by militancy, aggression and violence (Morrell et al., 2013). The political struggle continued and intensified in the 1970s and 1980s and was characterized by violence. Those who were actively involved in opposing the government in open political discussions and acts of violence included; Nelson Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Govan Mbeki were always celebrated and regarded as heroes. Violent young men such as Tsietsi Mashinini, Oscar Mpeti and Peter Mokaba were also celebrated and called the 'young lions' because they opposed the Nationalist Government without fear (Morrell et al., 2013).

After the ANC won the elections in 1994, during their leadership, different Black political leaders in South Africa demonstrated different versions of political masculinities. For instance, the first Black president in South Africa, Mr. Nelson Mandela, challenged the violent masculinities and advocated a peaceful version of masculinity that encouraged equality, mutual respect, forgiveness and political tolerance. Unlike Mandela, former president Jacob Zuma (2009-2017) displayed the masculine ideals which were informed by the Zulu tradition. These ideals advocated heterosexism, patriarchy, violence and "glorified ideas of sexual entitlement such as polygamy and a conspicuous sexual success with women" (Morrell et al., 2013, p.17). Amongst other influential, political leaders in South Africa, Julius Malema's masculine ideals have been displayed by means of power, strength and violence. For instance, his ability to challenge the former presidents, Mr. Thabo Mbeki and Mr. Jacob Zuma as well as encouraging Black South Africans to seize land from the Whites without compensation can be seen as an enactment of hegemonic masculinity. Although his behaviour is challenged by most White South Africans, for the Black youth, his ability to confront sensitive issues without fear and his willingness to take risks, is seen as an enactment of hegemonic masculinity that they aspire to (Suttner, 2009).

Unlike the Black masculinities, White masculinities were regarded as supreme and overruled other masculinities. Despite their high position, White masculinities in South Africa have always been surrounded by controversy. For instance, British White masculinity was always superior and was a model that most of men strived for (Salo, 2013). Although the White Afrikaner was ranked below the British White, they were still viewed as having traits that Black men aspired for.

Apart from the racial groupings, it should be noted that masculinities in South Africa were also shaped by the following factors:

Although violence in South Africa can be traced back to the social matrix, the 2013/14 statistics by SAPS (2014) on contact crimes confirm that South Africa is a violent society. Since men are not born violent, it stands to reason that the social and historical contexts play a vital role in the process of 'making men'. Looking at the socialization process, it appears that boys in South Africa are exposed to and are 'taught too much violence', hence they see violence as a way of life (Fleming, Gruskin, Rojo, Dworkin, 2015; Collins, 2013). Prior to independence in 1994, Black South Africans used to challenge the then government by means of violence and independence was achieved as a result of such violence. It is on this basis that violence was seen as a "solution" to any political problem. As a result, violence was normalized by both the public and the law enforcement. The South African Police Services (SAPS) is often seen using force to manage social disruptions that are the result of the industrial and service delivery strikes. Generally, it would appear that violence in present-day South Africa is seen as an "effective" and an "accepted" means of "communication". The same attitude appears to be carried from the political level to that of relational engagements. For instance, in most cases failed negotiations are often followed by force, which is demonstrated when some men use violence and force and dominate women who do not positively respond to their sexual advances. To correct this pattern, it would, therefore mean that the South African children, particularly boys need to unlearn these ineffective and unhealthy communication skills (Collins, 2013).

In the family setting, it was also found that exposure to violence during childhood breeds violence in adulthood. For instance, Fleming et al. (2015) stated that men were likely to be violent if they had suffered emotional and physical violence as part of their gender socialization process. At a young age, most boys are taught and encouraged to fight. The boy who does not fight is often regarded as a "softie" or a "girl" and he is sometimes beaten and ridiculed by the other boys. As a way of coping with the stress emanating from this violent exposure, young adults and men often seen express themselves through substance abuse and/ or antisocial behaviors.

Sexuality also plays a vital role in the construction of masculinity in South Africa. It is within this context that a man is expected to be heterosexual. Even though homosexuality is legalised in South Africa, in most communities, it is not yet accepted since it is considered unAfrican.

Men within the homosexual circle are often classified as “women” (Moolman, 2015). Heterosexuality is seen as a demonstration of masculinity and its continuation is encouraged, even in an all-male environment such as at the Correctional Centres. Although sex is prohibited in the South African Correctional facilities, it happens. However, those who perform it do not necessarily regard themselves as homosexuals. Instead, their sexual relations are perceived as “heterosexual” (Gear, 2010).

A heterosexual man, as an individual is expected to have multiple sexual partners and to publicly demonstrate his masculinity. This view is supported by Gibbs, Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2014) who also found that most participants in their South African study were reported to have multiple partners in order to earn respect and affirmation from their peers, who eventually complement them as “real men”. Apart from displaying their multiple sexual relations in public, participants in other studies conducted in South Africa have also cited that they are in such relationships because they have an uncontrollable sexual drive (Buntu, 2012; Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013; Everitt-Penhale, 2013).

In addition to heterosexuality and multiple sexual relations, Buntu (2012) discovered that another masculine discourse in South Africa is that one should be able to provide for, protect and lead both the family and community. Even though these discourses are endorsed, unfortunately most Black South African men are unable to live up to them because of the political, economic and social marginalisation that stem from the previous colonial era and apartheid.

Furthermore, Gibbs, Sikweyiya, and Jewkes (2014), also found that masculinity in South Africa is measured by one’s financial independence, success and ability to meet the material needs of one’s wife and children. Those who cannot provide for their families are often considered as useless and they are not taken seriously by their communities because financial dependence is associated with femininity and weakness (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014; Jewkes et al., 2011). Due to this societal expectation, most men strive to be financially independent so that they can provide for their families and so that they can be respected by their communities. Unfortunately, due to the scarcity of jobs, many men find themselves unemployed. Since these men are unable to express their dominance over women by provision of a higher income, they use violence as an alternative resource to express their masculinity (Fulu & Miedema, 2015; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013).

Most South African men have been found to use cultural discourses to construct their masculinities and to justify some of their actions. For instance, to account for their multiple heterosexual relations, some of the men refer to a Pedi proverb that goes as follows: “*monna ke thaka o a naba*” (a man is like a plant therefore, he should be allowed to spread). Another Pedi proverb says: “*monna ke selepe, re a adimisana*” (a man is an axe, as a result, women can borrow him from each other) (Rakoma, 1995). As men engage in multiple heterosexual relations, women are expected to embrace their behaviour. Men are given the latitude to enjoy multiple relationships, just because they are men. Although these men are entitled to many sexual partners, they are expected to sexually satisfy the needs of their partners. Although this notion appears to benefit men, it can create pressure for those who have erectile problems. Those who are unable to satisfy their partners, are often shamed. To maintain their masculine status, such individuals often look for other means or resources such as financial power to restore their masculine power and confidence. Should there be no constructive resources available, some of these men resort to violence (Peralta & Tuttle, 2013).

In addition to these discourses, the construction of masculinities in South Africa is also informed by the discourse of initiation. According to Magodyo (2013) and Mhlahlo (2009), traditional initiation schools are sites where boys are transformed into men. Hence real men within the Black African community are expected to attend an initiation school. Those individuals who have not gone to these schools, are often ridiculed by their peers. In some cases, they are even barred from discussing family matters and from performing certain traditional rituals in the family or in their communities (Magodyo, 2013).

2.5 Construction of Masculinities in Correctional Centres

According to Ampofo and Boateng (2007), masculinities are socially constructed. As a result, they are fluid and are demonstrated differently in different contexts. According to De Viggiani (2003), masculinities in Correctional Centres arise from the Centre’s organisational and social fabric and they represent the societal masculinities. Although the offenders mimic the real world in these centres, they have limited resources to demonstrate their masculinities. As they construct their masculinities behind the restrictive walls of these centres, the harsh reality of masculinities in this regard is that one has to be strong, tough and should never do anything that is associated with femininity, or else one will be taken advantage of (De Viggiani, 2003). Since these masculinities are seen as an extension of hegemonic masculinity, real men in this

regard are expected to suppress their emotions and to protect their masculine territories even if it means one has to be involved in risky activities or belong to a gang. According to De Viggiani (2003, p.50), “masculinities in prisons are also arranged hierarchically according to structured divisions”. These divisions are determined by the nature of crime committed, personal appearance, the offender’s relation with influential staff and one’s contact with the outside world. For instance, in terms of crime, a highly ranked masculine level is that of individuals who have committed serious crimes such as murder and a weaker masculine rank consists of those individuals who committed crimes against weaker people such as women, old people and children (Gear, 2010).

As they construct masculinities in Correctional Centres, offenders use the limited available resources. In most cases, these available resources are aggression and violence. Hence, sexual violence at these centres is rife and vulnerable offenders (who are positioned as weak) often endure repeated beatings and rapes (Spear, 2011). For those who cannot defend themselves, they sometimes allow themselves to be “married” and become *wyfies* (wives). In exchange for sexual favours, the “husband” provides a *wyfie* with goodies, luxuries and protection from other violent offenders (Gear, 2010). *Wyfies* are not maltreated because they are under the care of their “husbands”. The group that suffers the most sexual violence is the sex slave. Unlike *wyfies*, sex slaves are offenders who have feminised identity and they get nothing for their sexual favours. In most cases, as a subordinated group, sex slaves are often forced to perform multiple sex acts in a day without any favour and they are sometimes sodomised by a line-up of inmates in a single session (Gear, 2010; Spear, 2011). Those who have power over these sex slaves are seen as the “real men”. Sometimes, even though individuals do not have the desire to rape, they are forced to do so because such domination is seen as an expression of masculinity.

Apart from violence, available masculine discourses in these Centres include perseverance as it is seen as a response to the abuse that offenders are often subjected to. According to De Viggiani (2003), the abuse is caused by officials at these centres or other inmates. To demonstrate one’s manhood, one is expected to persevere and try to avoid being seen as vulnerable or acting like a weakling. Vulnerability in this context is said to attract external attackers. Therefore, to avoid being subordinated, one has to be tough, strong and always ready to fight so as to protect one’s masculine position (De Viggiani, 2003).

In summary, the literature reveals that masculinities, in most parts of Africa, are characterised by hegemonic masculine norms that subordinate the weak and those who are associated with femininity. Furthermore, previous studies also reveal that to maintain their masculine position, those in captivity use limited resources (mainly violence) to dominate others as an enactment of hegemonic masculinity.

CHAPTER 3

LITERATURE REVIEW: MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

“Violence against women and girls continues unabated in every continent, country and culture. It takes a devastating toll on women’s lives, on their families, and on the society as a whole. Most societies prohibit such violence, yet the reality is that too often, it is covered up or tacitly condoned.”

Ban Ki Moon, UN Secretary General

3.1 Introduction

Sexual violence is one of the most common human rights violations that are prevalent in different races, both in peaceful and conflict settings (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). In most cases, this form of violence is perpetrated against women and children by strangers and acquaintances. Sexual violence in the form of rape may cause both physical and mental health problems (Decker, Miller, Illangasekare & Silverman, 2013; Breiding, Smith, Basile, Walters, Chen & Merrick, 2014). Psychologically, rape can cause post-traumatic stress disorder, depression and anxiety. On a physical level, rape may result in unwanted pregnancies, unsafe abortions, risk of contracting sexually transmitted diseases, external injuries and sometimes death (Kiss, Schraiber, Heise, Zimmerman, Gouveia & Watts, 2012; Mohammed & Hashish, 2015).

Apart from the medical implications, it was recently revealed that sexual violence also has financial implications on the economy of the country. For instance, to address this problem, South Africa spends an estimated amount of R28.4 billion to R42.4 billion for medical care, travel to medical facilities, doctors and hospitals, reproductive health costs (e.g. for termination of pregnancy), psychological treatment, shelter, funding of NGO’s, legal services and violence education programmes in schools (KPMG, 2014). This reality implies that if rape were to be eradicated, considerable amounts of funds would become available and be re-directed to other projects that could contribute to the development of the South African economy.

These funds could be useful in developing the economy of the country. South Africa as a developing country still has many other social and economic areas that need to be developed. The considerable amount of funds that are injected into sexual violence projects, should this problem is curbed and minimized, could be available to be re-directed to other socio-economic projects. For instance, it has been highlighted that South Africa is one of the countries in the

world, that has a high rate of HIV/AIDS which results in shattered families and a crippled economy. Therefore, projects related to this disease need a huge injection of funds. If sexual violence is eliminated, significant funds may be freed to benefit other human development and human health programmes. Apart from HIV/AIDS projects, other projects that benefit from the governmental financial boost are social development projects that intend to curb poverty and improve education. Development in these socio-economic areas will not only develop and improve the economy, but additional funds in these areas may improve the lifestyle of people in South Africa.

3.2 The Prevalence of Rape

Rape is defined as, “any sexual act against another person without that person’s consent. The violation may be accompanied by physical force or coercion” (Souto, Araujo, Xavier & Cavalcanti, 2015, p.1613). It is difficult to measure and compare the magnitude of sexual violence globally because the definition of rape varies from one country to another. However, despite such differences, it is highlighted that rape is a worldwide problem and if it is not addressed, the rights of women will continue to be violated.

According to the WHO (2012), more than 30% of women worldwide have experienced either physical or sexual violence (Ellsberg, Arango, Morton, Gennari, Klipesund, Contreras & Watts, 2014). In a study that covered 56 countries, Abrahams, Devries, Watts, Pallitto, Petzold, Shamu and Garcia-Moreno (2011) found that regions with the highest estimates of sexual violence cases are in the western part of Europe (58 estimates) and the eastern part of the sub-Saharan Africa (43 estimates). This information serves as a baseline to understand the magnitude of the problem. According to the statistics recorded by the United Nations Crime Stats (n/d), from 2004 to 2010, the top ten countries with the highest rape statistics are: South Africa (132.4), Botswana (92.9), Lesotho (82.7), Swaziland (77.5), Bermuda (67.3), Sweden (63.5), Suriname (45.2), Costa Rica (36.7), Nicaragua (31.6), Grenada (30.6). Five countries at the bottom of the list are Armenia (0.4), Azerbaijan (0.2), Mozambique (0.2), Egypt (0.1), and Liechtenstein (0.0). Although South Africa was ranked highest in the world, the accuracy of this outcome may be disputed on the basis that (a) As compared to other African states, Olayanju, Naguib, Nguyen, Bali and Vung (2013) indicated that South Africa is one of the few African countries that have conducted intensive studies on sexual violence, hence the information and statistics are available and accessible (b) the definition of rape differs from

one state to another; and (c) unlike in South Africa, marital rape in other African countries has not yet been criminalised.

Despite these discrepancies, South Africa has been ranked as the “capital of rape” and this implies that rape is rife in the country and there needs to be a multi-disciplinary form of intervention to address this problem. However, before the intervention, the magnitude of the problem and the causes of rape have to be identified so that appropriate intervention strategies can be implemented.

3.3 Prevalence of rape in South Africa

Although South Africa was reported to be one of the African states with a high prevalence of rape, its rape statistics have always been controversial. The Democratic Alliance at raised their concern that the rape statistics were not reliable and therefore not valid, as they had not been evaluated by an independent moderator. In addition, there has been concern about the accurate records of rape cases (Vetten, 2014). Prior to the introduction of the Sexual Offence Act in 2007, rape was reported separately, under indecent assault. It became difficult for the police to report rape after 2008 because they did not know which of the 59 sexual offences contained in the Acts of 1957 and 2007 needed to be included or excluded in their new rape statistics. As a result, it became difficult to track down the number of the rapes that were reported annually (Vetten, 2014). The rape statistics were also deemed unreliable because it is believed that the current official numbers do not necessarily represent the actual incidences since there are still many unreported cases. Barriers to reporting rape are considerable and include the fear of not being believed, fear of re-living the trauma through the legal processes, preferences for cultural means of resolving disputes, fear of ridicule by peers and fear of stigmatization (Vetten, 2014).

According to the SAPS Report (2014), the total number of contact crimes in South Africa between April 2013 and March 2014 was 612 367. Amongst these crimes, sexual offence crimes were ranked fourth, with a total of 62 649. The province with the highest prevalence of sexual offence cases was KwaZulu Natal with 11 875, followed by Gauteng with 11 021, Eastern Cape with 9 897, Western Cape with 8 062, Limpopo with 6 423, North West with 4 850, Free State with 4 814, Mpumalanga with 3 953 and the lowest was the Northern Cape with 1 754 (SAPS, 2014). Recent statistics reveal that there has been a decrease in rape statistics. For instance, the national rape statistics decreased from 32 161 in 2015 to 30 069 in 2016. The statistics also indicated a decrease in the 2015/16 and 2016/17 statistics. For instance, the Northern Cape statistics decreased from 976 to 832 (-14.8%), Limpopo province

from 2 909 to 2 535 (-12.9%), Free State from 2 348 to 2047 (-12.8%), Eastern Cape from 5 846 to 5183 (11.3%), Mpumalanga from 2 221 to 1993 (-10.3%), KwaZulu-Natal from 5 588 to 5545 (-4.3%), Western Cape from 3 606 to 3 546 (-1.7%), North West had 2 693 cases and decreased to 2 658 (-1.3%) and Gauteng province decreased from 5 974 to 5 930 (-0.7%) (SAPS, 2016). From these statistics, it appears there has been a decrease of rape incidences from 2014-2016/17. Even though these statistics are encouraging, it should be noted that they do not reflect the true extent of this problem since most rape cases are still not reported (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Therefore, to make South Africa a safe haven for all, the rape problem needs to be addressed with a view towards total eradication.

3.4 Construction of Masculinity and Sexual Violence

According to Pierotti (2013, p.5), “masculinities are ways of enacting manhood that are based on socially constructed and shared expectations of what it means to be a man”. Research has shown that the masculinity conception provides mental maps for action, based on expectations and evaluation of how man should behave. It becomes a concern when the discourses drawn to construct masculinities are used as a frame of reference to perpetuate sexual violence. Recently, there has been a call for the study of masculinity since it is implicated in sexual violence (Ratele, 2013). For instance, according to Decker, Miller, Illangasekare and Silverman (2013) some of the discourses that men use to account for their sex offences and exploitation of women include their sexual entitlement, dominance in sexual decision making and their preoccupation with the demonstration of (hetero) sexual performance. As they construct their masculinities, it was highlighted that men who subscribe to the patriarchal precepts often encourage the continuation of sexual dominance over women and inequality between men and women. In most cases, this inequality leads men to always prove themselves to be strong, tough and powerful. Those who do not have a healthy means to enact their power, resort to violence (Flemming et al., 2015).

As they construct their masculinities, it is argued that men sometimes use harmful hegemonic masculine discourses. For instance, some exhibit their masculinity “through the show of physical strength, bravery, risk taking and use of violence” (Gevers, Jama-Shai & Sikweyiya, 2013, p.16). It becomes a concern when some men demonstrate their masculinities by engaging themselves in public violence and resolving issues through physical force which may sometimes lead to casualties since weapons are likely to be used in the process. This concern was also raised especially when some men in private spheres demonstrate their masculinity by

dominating, controlling and exploiting their children and partners. It also becomes a concern when some of these men misuse their powers in the corporate world by exploiting and taking advantage of their junior female employees by demanding sexual favours (Gevers, Jama-Shai & Sikweyiya, 2013). In most cases, men who subscribe to the hegemonic precept that promote the maintenance of patriarchal practices such as domination and exploitation of women may be seen as being responsible for sexual violence. Even though some are not directly participating in sexual violence, they do not actively and openly address and oppose sexual violence against women. The following are some of the factors that need to be considered, to understand the construction of masculinity and sexual violence:

(a) Social Discourses and Sexual Violence

According to De Viggiani (2003), societies are engineers through whom normative beliefs of masculine gender roles are portrayed. In most cases, these norms are endorsed, internalized and enacted by men. According to Abramsky et al. (2014), gender violence is perpetuated by gender discourses that support the inequality between men and women. Sometimes these discourses support men's dominance and control over women. For instance, some of the patriarchal discourses create expectations about sexual entitlement for men and encourage women to be subservient and obedient to men. Therefore, the women's voices in relation to sexual matters is silenced (Abramsky et. al., 2014). Since some of these discourses promote dominance over women, women on the other hand are positioned to embrace such dominance and perceive it as normal. Horn, Puffer, Roesch and Lehmann (2014) discovered that 73% of women as compared to 57% of men believed that wife beating is acceptable, especially if the woman neglects her duties. In some instances, some communities have even normalised the beating of women for trivial issues such as burning food (WHO, 2012). These discourses might seem archaic but it was noted that they were still relevant in countries such as Sierra Leone, Liberia and within certain ethnic groups in South Africa. For instance, a woman is seen as her husband's property, therefore, she does not question any abuse meted out to her by her husband. Society has bestowed power over the man on the basis of his gender and societal discourses are made available for him to use them to enact his masculine dominance over a woman (Horn et al., 2014).

(b) Childhood Experiences and Sexual Violence

According to Ogilvie, Newman, Todd and Peck (2014), a relationship exists between attachment, security and offending. Their findings support Bowlby's attachment theory (1969),

which argues that the attachment of infants to their caregivers has a bearing on their relationships with others in their adulthood. It further states that when attachment figures around the infant provide a safe base through their physical and emotional presence, such a child is likely to feel protected and loved. As a result, he will mature and develop well and form secure attachments. This secure base is important because it serves as a source of comfort for this child in times of crisis, and as a modelling template of how people should behave and treat one another (Ogilvie et al., 2014). Unlike a child with a healthy secure base, “an unwanted child is likely to not only feel unwanted by his parents, but also believe that he is essentially unwanted by anyone” (Bowlby, 1973, p. 204). As a result, such children are likely to project hatred to others and fail to establish empathetic and healthy relationships. Most of them are found to be disruptive, aggressive, and antisocial as they are often engaged in violent offences (Ogilvie et al., 2014). In support of Bowlby’s theory (1973), Brassard, Darveau, Péloquin, Lussier and Shaver (2014) found that Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA), leads to attachment insecurities, poor anger management and the perpetration of Intimate Partner Violence (IPV). Fulu, Jewkes, Roselli and Garcia-Moreno (2013) also found that violent masculinities are most usually found amongst men who were exposed to violence in their own childhood. It is against this background that Jewkes, Flood and Lang (2015) indicate that boys who are exposed to abuse in their early childhood are likely to become aggressive and perpetuate violence in their adulthood.

In explaining the relation between a traumatic childhood and sexual violence in adulthood, Malamuth, Linz, Heavey, Barnes and Acker (1995) stated that traumatic childhood experiences have a strong bearing on incidences of adult sexual perpetration because these childhood experiences reduce the ability of the concerned individuals to form effective, loving relationships in adulthood. For instance, when they are in adult relationships, sex is not experienced as an intimate exercise that strengthens their emotional bond with their partners. Instead, it is seen as a purely physical exercise conducted for sexual fulfilment and gratification. Perpetrators of sexual violence who have had a traumatic childhood are violent because they lack empathy towards women. This is especially true if the childhood trauma was inflicted by a female figure. Using the psychoanalytic approach to understand this assumption, sexual violence perpetrators who were traumatized are seen as having impaired and disorganized attachment from their mothers due to parental absence and harsh parenting practices. Therefore, their violence towards other women is understood as the projection of their anger towards their mothers (Jewkes et al., 2011).

In support of the Developmental Psychopathology Theory, Levenson and Socia (2015) stated that child maltreatment creates a pathogenic character in adulthood. The authors believed that chronic exposure to abuse and trauma is associated with adult criminality, a notion which was also confirmed by Levenson, Willis and Prescott's findings (2015).

Unlike these previous findings and contrary to the victim-offender cycle hypothesis, in their study, Lambie and Johnston (2015) found that the majority of their participants (42/47) who were traumatised in childhood, did not engage in any form of sexual offence. Instead, their violent experiences discouraged them to be violent to others. These findings dispute the hypothesis that all victims of sexual offence later become offenders themselves. Victims who were empathetic in this study were found to have received support after their traumatic experiences. Therefore, a supportive and caring atmosphere, following the trauma is significant because it enables the trauma victims to develop effective coping strategies that can eventually help them to take a decision not to rape in their own adulthood. A warm and therapeutic exposure is important for the trauma victims because it ensures that they repeat the empathy that has been modelled for them, than to continue with the cycle of sexual abuse (Lambie & Johnston, 2015).

Having used the psychoanalysis approach to understand the relations between sexual violence and attachment, it would be an oversight not to critique this approach, since this study has made use of social constructionism as a theoretical framework. Contrary to the attachment theory, social constructionism argues that attachment is one of the social constructs. For instance, how the mother relates to her child in a Western community is an atomized version of the family arrangement that is contrary to African parenting (Losantos, Montoya, La Paz, Cruz, Loots, 2016). In the same vein, a sexual act does not have universal meaning too, since it too has been socially constructed. Social constructionists state that there is no essential, undifferentiated sexual impulse, sexual drive or lust which resides in the body. Instead, sexual impulse has been constructed by culture and history (Vance, 1989). If that is the case, the psychoanalyst's view on attachment should be understood with caution, bearing in mind that 'attachment' assumptions are socially constructed and the application of this theory may not be relevant in understanding sexual violence. Nevertheless, it was worth mentioning in this study in order for readers to gain a broader understanding of the concept of rape, by means of a different lense. However, emphasis should be made that from the lense of social constructionism, the notion between attachment and sexual violence is socially constructed, as a result, it should not be taken as an absolute truth.

(c) Religion and Sexual Violence

Masculinity is socially constructed. Amongst other social constructs, it should be highlighted that religion has a bearing on the development of healthy or unhealthy forms of masculinities in Africa. In order to understand the role of religion in the construction of masculinities on the African continent, we need to take into consideration, the role and the influence of the dominant religions on the continent. According to Chitando (2013), African masculinities are shaped by traditional beliefs, Christianity and Islam. To some extent, these religions contribute to the construction of dangerous masculinities since they promote patriarchy. The roots of their toxic masculinities were traced to the sacred writings, oral traditions, myths and inherited beliefs and practices (Chitando, 2013). For instance, from a Christian perspective, the *Holy Bible* in Ephesians 5: 22-23 (New King James Version), stated that wives should submit to their husbands and that men are the head of their families. This is an example of how religion seems to encourage men to dominate and silence the voice of women. In as much as they need to be understood in context, most men use this type of Biblical reference to sanction their dominance and abuse of women, who in most cases endure the pain of such abuse in fear of offending God.

Islam, like Christianity, also has constructs that promote patriarchy. For instance, the *Holy Qur'an* (vol. 1. p.165) encourages dominance of men over women by stating that "... *Wives have the same rights as the husbands have on them in accordance with the generally known principles. Of course, men are a degree above them in status . . .* (Sayyid Abul A'La Maududi, *the Meaning of the Qur'an*, vol. 1, p. 165) (Muhammed Marmaduke Pickthall, 1975). At first, this verse appears positive by stating that "Wives have the same rights as the husbands." However, the following part of the verse, silences women and gives men more power over women. Based on such a religious crux, men are believed to have been appointed by God to control and dominate over everything on earth, including women (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014). Men use these discourses in all spheres of life, including their marriages and in their work environment. In a marriage for instance, most men who follow such a religion believe that they are entitled to have sex with their wives. Therefore, if the wife declines their sexual advances, such a response is seen as insolent and disrespectful, which then legitimizes sexual violence by the husband. Men in this regard use violence as a way to re-establish both the gender order and respectability that has been sanctioned by the social and religious hierarchy. It is in this context that sexual violence is perceived as an attempt "to reclaim power and assert

status and position in relationships” (Gevers, Jama-Shai & Sikweyiya, 2013; Gibbs, Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2014, p. 6; Horn et al., 2014). Since male dominance and the exploitation of women is promoted by some of these religions, it makes it difficult for women to report cases of sexual violence for fear of stigma and “dishonour”. For instance, within the Muslim community, when rape incidences have been reported, the victims are likely to be killed by their families or community members for bringing them “dishonour” (Eisler, 2015, p. 9).

As in the case of established religions, African traditional beliefs too have traditions, customs and proverbs that silence women. For instance, A Pedi proverb states that *Monna ke hlogo ya lapa* (man is the head of the family). Therefore, a man is given the voice to have the final decision in all crucial matters of the family. Such discourses silence women by disregarding their opinions. Since religion has been found to play a role in developing toxic masculinities, the same religion can be used again to transform these toxic masculinities to healthy ones. For instance, we need to work together to deconstruct these outdated traditional proverbs by giving credit to all discourses that call upon men to be peaceful and tolerant of each other and women. By doing so, we will be entrenching in boys, responsible and life affirming masculinities. (Chitando, 2013).

(d) Culture and Sexual Violence

In some instances, some cultural discourses and practices play a role in perpetuating sexual violence by promoting inequality in favour of men and legitimising the exploitation of women. It is partly through culture that patriarchy, heterosexuality and dominance is condoned. In Ethiopia, for instance, there exists a tradition of bride-kidnapping, wherein “a young girl who is considered ready for marriage is seized by a man who will then rape her and she must then serve him for the rest of her life” (Buntu, 2012, p. 33). The Ethiopian practice is similar to that of *ukuthwala*, a custom that is practised in South Africa amongst the Xhosa tribe. In the case of *ukuthwala*, a young woman is “kidnapped” by a man and his friends with the aim of exerting pressure on the woman’s family to agree to marriage negotiations. In the past, this custom was considered to be a “peaceful” process since the woman was kept in the man’s family without any sexual violation. However, lately, the practice has been condemned because it is accompanied by severe brutality and the rape of the women who resist such practices (Buntu, 2012).

Other cultural practices that perpetuate violence include the encouragement of initiation graduates, by their tutors, to rape young women and widows to “cleanse” themselves (Maluleke, 2012). This cultural practice promotes violence against women, who once raped are abandoned and regarded as “filthy”. Since these schools are seen as sites to transform boys into responsible men, these violent practices are seen as undermining the principles of *ubuntu* (Maluleke, 2012). It is as a result of their violent practices that South African men are seen as individuals who have lost direction, in terms of the true traditional African culture. Based on their treatment of women, South African men have been considered ‘unAfrican’ when compared to other men from West Africa who are perceived as “more cultured” since their masculine qualities are in line with the principles of *ubuntu* (Buntu, 2012, p.111).

Some cultural practices, such as *lobola* (bride price) are condemned by activists since they are seen as perpetuating sexual violence against women. According to Jewkes et al. (2011), *lobola* (bride price) promotes sexual entitlement and it is sometimes used as a justification for marital rape. It is against this backdrop that marital rape has still not been criminalised in most African countries (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013). In the past, there were no reports of spousal rape because such matters were viewed as domestic and private. However, since states were mandated by international legal bodies to criminalise marital rape, there has been an increase of reports of these rapes (Messner, 2016). When one looks at the increased reports of marital rape, all those states that fail to criminalize marital rape, are seen as violating their obligations to protect “women’s rights to health, human dignity, humane treatment, privacy, effective judicial recourse, safety, physical and mental integrity, integrity of the person, sexual and reproductive choice and health” (Randall & Venkatesh, 2016, p.193). By so doing, these states are seen as undermining the efforts of the UN Declaration of the Elimination of Violence Against Women (DEVAW), the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR), International Criminal Law, the African Union (AU) and European Parliament Resolution on Violence Against Women of 1986, to protect the rights of all women, including those who are married (Randall & Venkatesh, 2016).

(e) Corrective Rape: When masculinity is threatened

Although South Africa claims to be a rainbow nation, it appears as if the country has retained from apartheid, elements of prejudice and discrimination even after its independence, which was achieved 24 years ago. Remnants of prejudice and discrimination have become visible,

through the intolerance of differences, ranging from race, ethnicity and sexual orientation. To cite a few incidences of intolerance, in News24 (2015), there were reports of “corrective rapes”, especially amongst Black, African lesbians in townships, which in some instances were accompanied by brutal killings. “Corrective rape” is described as a hate crime directed at lesbian woman, with the intention to “cure” their sexual leanings or force her to change her sexual orientation (Chabalala & Roelofse, 2015). The term “corrective rape” is based on the presumption that lesbian sexual orientation homosexuality is incorrect and should be “corrected” through rape.

“Corrective rape” emanates from the myth influenced by hetero-normativity, that homosexuality is unnatural, evil, un-African and those who practice it should be “corrected” and “cured” through heterosexual rape (Brown, 2012; Thorpe, 2013). Hetero-normativity arises from patriarchal societies that promote gender inequality. Most of the lesbians are raped in the Black townships where men in these areas still hold patriarchal norms that promote gender inequality. It is in these areas that homosexuality is seen as evil and unAfrican because it opposes the prevailing African culture that supports heterosexuality. Therefore, lesbians are raped because they are seen as a threat to African masculinity. Furthermore, they are raped in order to make them conform to the African culture and be ‘cured’ so that they can have ‘normal’ sexual desire for the opposite sex (Chabalala & Roelofse, 2015). As a result, “corrective rape” in the Black community is perceived as an appropriate means to “correct” homosexuals with a view to protect and preserve masculinity (Brown, 2012; Thorpe, 2013). Some men feel insulted by lesbians because their behaviour is interpreted as undermining men’s sexual ability. As a result, “corrective rape” is used to prove their potency. To justify “corrective rape”, some men see homosexuality as a mechanism that divides the societal oneness into “them and us”. Therefore, it aims to incorporate the “them” into “us” so that there is “we”. A strong message is sent to others in the community that ‘them and us’ is not tolerated, as a result, ‘them’ will be forced into ‘us’ so that there is ultimately the “we” society (Phiri, 2011).

Irrespective of its well-recognised and respected constitution, South Africa still does not have a clear legal framework for the prosecution of ‘corrective rape’. All cases of corrective rape are recorded and prosecuted under the category of general rape incidences; hence it is difficult to measure the magnitude and the seriousness of this problem. Instead, the existence and the seriousness of the problem is often flagged by the media. Such an example was the case of two lesbians, Sizakele Sigasa and Salome Massooa. They were raped and murdered in Soweto in

2007; Further incidence of lesbian abuse were those of Eudy Simelane, a former soccer player, who was gang raped and brutally murdered in Kwa-Thema, in 2009; Duduzile Zozo was gang raped and murdered, and in 2013; Sihle Skotshi, a former soccer player was brutally murdered in Cape Town in 2013 and a toothbrush was rammed into her vagina and Disebo Gift Makau was strangled and an open hosepipe was pushed down her throat (Germaner, 2014; Wheal, 2012).

In most cases, “corrective rape” incidences are accompanied by severe brutality. For instance, Noxolo Nogwaza (24) was murdered in 2011. Her head was deformed, her eyes were gouged out of their sockets, her brain split and her teeth scattered around her face. An empty bottle and used condoms were shoved up her genitals, parts of her body were stabbed with glass and a brick used to smash open her head. (Wheal, 2012). Unfortunately, the men who are perpetuating “corrective rape” still believe that a penis is a weapon to preserve patriarchy. Brutality related to corrective rape is seen as a way of subordinating women and alerting those who threaten male territory that they too are likely to be raped if they do not re-position themselves as women and turn “straight” (Thorpe, 2013, p.13).

Although homosexuals are recognised by the Act 108 of 1998, Section 9 (3-4) and the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), most of them still suffer in the hands of the judicial system. For instance, they are often abused verbally by the police and the nurses when they seek assistance. As a result, most victims suffer in silence since they are also not supported by their communities and families (Chabalala & Roeloste, 2015).

The rise of these brutal attacks and incidences of “corrective rape” eventually persuaded parliament to commission the Department of Justice and Constitutional Development (DOJ & CD) to draft a bill to specifically address this crime. Although a statement was announced in May 2011, nothing much has been done in this direction. Despite the reputable constitution of the country, it appears as if the Republic of South Africa has not done much to address the problem of “corrective rape”. The challenge in addressing this form of rape is that the country does not have a legislation that classifies this form of rape as a hate crime. As a result, it is difficult to develop appropriate punitive measures to deter this behaviour.

Progress in addressing “corrective rape” is also hindered by the negative attitudes of influential and public figures who have publically declared their disapproval of homosexuality (Wheal, 2012). For instance, the former president of South Africa, Jacob Zuma once condemned same

sex marriages in public but he later apologised. Robert Mugabe, (then president of Zimbabwe) shut down a book exhibition organised by the homosexual community in his country and further stated that “homosexuality degrades human dignity”. Kenyan president, Daniel Arap Moi publicly said that “homosexuality is against the African norms and traditions even in religion it is considered as a great sin...Kenya has no room for homosexuals and lesbians” (Wheal, 2012, p.20). The challenge in this regard is that if these influential leaders continue to utter these statements in public, despite the existence of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (Article 4), it will be difficult for their followers to think otherwise (Wheal, 2012). Considering the foregoing, it appears that most African countries embrace patriarchal discourses and use them to continue to dominate and exploit women and members of the LBGTI community.

(f) Legislation and Sexual Violence

The United Nations serves as a guide from where countries can draw on laws for human rights and ensure that these laws are implemented and maintained to further ensure their citizens’ stability and mental health. However, it was noted that legislation still exists in countries that do not protect rape victims. This is the case with *Zina*, in Article 145 of Sudan’s Criminal Act of 1991 (Sudan, 1994). *Zina* is the Islamic law in Sudan which claims that sexual intercourse between individuals who are not married, is unlawful. Rape is also described as *Zina* without consent. Unfortunately, the ruling and punishment for *Zina* is the same for both the offender and the victim (Tønnessen, 2014).

This is of great concern because punishment under this law exposes the victims of rape to both primary and secondary victimization. Firstly, they are victimised by the men who rape them, and secondly by the legal system that treats them as guilty parties (Tønnessen, 2014). In actual fact, Sudan does not have any legislation that deals specifically with rape; instead it relies on Islamic law. It is against this background that there has been a call for states to review laws, which do not conform to the guidelines of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the African Charter on Human and People’s Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Tønnessen, 2014). To eliminate rape, it has been suggested, that all countries should review the laws that are related to sexual offences and rape. For instance, it has been suggested that there should be international rape laws that govern all countries. In that way, it would be possible to impose serious and appropriate punitive measures on those countries that are not cooperative. For example, to eliminate rape globally, serious

punitive measures should be taken against the 127 countries that are still reluctant to criminalise marital rape (Dartnall & Jewkes, 2013).

(g) Virginitv and Sexual Violence

There has been a circulating myth which perpetuates sexual violence that states that having sexual intercourse with a virgin cures Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV). As a result, many children and young virgins have been raped by men who desperately need to be cured of the virus (Nkosi, 2013). Many of these virgins are often spotted during the traditional reed dance and virgin testing ceremonies which are held annually in South Africa. A Reed dance is a ceremony which celebrates and promote virginitv. During this ceremony, the virgins are expected to wear traditional gear and they present reeds and dance for the king. This ceremony was condemned by activists and political parties alike, as it exposes virgins to potential rapists (Nkosi, 2013).

(h) Masculinitv and Sexual Violence in a War Zone

According to Banwell (2014), rape has always been present in warfare throughout history. It was known as the 'spoils of war' until it was recently considered a war crime (Mpinga, Koya, Hasselgard-Rowe, Jeannot, Rehani & Chastonay, 2017). The varying forms of rape in the war zones are individual rape, gang rape, rape where victims are forced to rape each other, and rape through the insertion of an object into the woman's genitals (Banwell, 2014). Although the statistics of rape incidences in these zones has proved to be erratic and unreliable, such incidences still exist, as have been reported by the 2014 World Development Report on Conflict, Security and Development. It was reported that some of these incidences occurred during the war whereas others occur after the war, with different motives (Kitwe, 2014). In 1994, there were an estimated 250 000 rapes and in 2007 there were approximately 1.8 million rape cases reported across the globe (Kitwe, 2014). Recently, the Democratic Republic of Congo is regarded as the "rape capital" of war rapes since it was reported that the cases of war rape were "on a scale never seen before" (Banwell, 2014, p.49). John Holmes, the UN Secretary-General for Humanitarian Affairs also described the DRC rape incidences as brutal and the 'worst in the world' (Kelly, 2010, p.2).

The increase of rape cases in war zones and the unreliable statistics prompted the UN Secretary-General, Ban Ki-Moon to request reliable data on rape incidences during and after wars, and the motives for perpetration, so that a strategic plan for effective intervention could be designed

(Kitwe, 2014). The following factors were found to be the reasons for the justification of rape in war zones:

- *Rape as a weapon of war*

In a conflict or war zone, women are mostly affected since they are threatened from all sides. They are threatened by the war itself, by criminal groups who often take advantage of them by raping and kidnapping them, and by community and family members who might kill them or disown them once they find out that they were raped. Being a patriarchal society, women find themselves betrayed by the political, legal and cultural factors, which directly or indirectly perpetuate violence against them (Puttick, 2015).

As a weapon in war zones, rape is used to inflict psychological and physical pain on the civilians, particularly women and children (Smith, 2012). Rape in this regard is not a personal attack but rather a community attack, which intends to humiliate, dominate, control and terrorize the opponent (Kitwe, 2014; Puttick, 2015; Sjoberg, 2015; Smith, 2012). Women are often the target, in the sense that they are considered as caregivers, child bearers and community workers. In this way, rape is seen as an attack on the entire community (Banwell, 2014). This form of rape aims at paralysing the opponent. By doing so, the enemy undermines the target's masculine power, by showing that they are unable to protect their women. Since his territory has been invaded, the man in this regard is reduced to a lower masculine rank or he is "othered" because the acquisition of the female's body is equalled to the invasion of their physical territory and results in the military opponent being undermined. Consequently, the rape of the women is a symbol of victory over the opponent and a way of silencing the opponent's masculine power (Banwell, 2014; Boesten, 2015).

Rape in a war zone, is also used to destabilize and disintegrate the community, especially since virginity is prized. In such a context, the community may feel defeated by the enemy since they feel dishonoured by the opponent. As a result, to restore its honour, the ethnic group may ostracise or expel the victims of rape (Smith, 2012). In most cases, these victims do not have much support from their government. They feel helpless because their cases are not followed up on, since they are seen as victims of the unfortunate behaviour of soldiers and the perpetrators are often not brought to book (Kilimani, 2009). In some instances, these rapes are not even reported because the victims are afraid of being re-traumatised due to rejection and blame by their communities. As a result, the victims continue to bear psychological and

physical scars since they are sometimes left with unwanted pregnancies and diseases such as HIV/AIDS (Kitwe, 2014).

- *Rape as an incentive in the war zone*

During war, rape does not only serve as a weapon but rather as an incentive, especially for the victors of war. Therefore, a woman is considered as a prize or a war trophy. For instance, during the civil war in Rwanda, the country was poor and soldiers who participated in the war were rewarded by allowing them to loot from the enemy. Amongst the looted possessions, the Hutu soldiers were allowed to loot Tutsi women for sexual services. Since women were objectified, even the wives of these soldiers never objected the idea. These Tutsi women were, in some instances bought and sold amongst the soldiers because they were historically regarded as being more beautiful than the Hutu women and they were regarded as desirable yet unattainable (Kilimani, 2009; Smith, 2012). During the looting, these women were raped and sometimes killed. Others were gang-raped or traded amongst the Hutu soldiers as “wives” whose tasks were mainly to provide sexual services. It may be argued that the activities that occur in the war zones demonstrate the extension of the patriarchal patterns that encourage the objectification of women. It is in this regard that it may also be said that women in the war zones are objects that are used to demonstrate the masculine power of the victorious group.

As part of the incentives, some soldiers in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) also explained their rapes as an expression of frustration, as they had not been paid for their military services (Smith, 2012). Women in the DRC were raped because they were regarded as spoils of war who could be “enjoyed” by soldiers as a reward (Kitwe, 2014). In summary, the literature confirms that women are still exploited by men whose behaviour reflects patriarchal patterns which are dominant in many countries. In addition, the literature confirms that masculine power in many war zones is demonstrated through the exploitation of women.

(i) Socio-economic status and sexual violence

Amongst other factors, global economic depression has also contributed towards the shortage of jobs and a high rate of retrenchment in many African countries. In addition, some men in Africa are further challenged by gender equity policies in the work places that lower their chances of occupying high paying positions. On the other hand, as part of human development, women are educationally empowered and supported by equity policies; so that they stand a better chance for better corporate positions which enable them to earn better salaries as compared to men (Kelbert & Hossain, 2014). These developments seem to cause frustrations

amongst some men because they were socially influenced from childhood to the idea that men need to provide for their families. Unfortunately, when circumstances do not afford them an opportunity to do so, some of these men turn to violence against women as a compensatory resource to regain their idealised form of masculinity (Fulu & Miedema, 2015; Taylor, das Nair & Braham, 2013). In support of this view, Gibbs, Sikweyiya and Jewkes, (2014) and Sweetman (2013) indicated that men use both physical and sexual violence against their partners and sometimes provoke violence and instill fear in other men with the intention of regaining their lost pride and dignity due to their unfavourable financial status. Sexual violence in this regard is used as a mechanism to achieve unattainable masculine elements and to overcome feelings of disempowerment in other areas of one's life. For example, in the case where women have managed to achieve financial stability and independence, sexual violence is sometimes used by their partners to 'put them in their right position'. As a result, sexual violence in this regard seems to be used as an instrument to disempower women and forcefully subject them to forceful subordination because they are seen as threatening and challenging the patriarchal gender systems (Everitt-Penhale, 2013).

Even though rape has been identified as one of the challenges in South Africa, the literature demonstrates that there are many other causes of rape. Amongst other causes of rape, Vogelmann (1990), highlighted the offender's fears as another cause of rape. It is stated that these fears are centered around his virility, his courage, and his masculinity. As a result, some men are likely to assert power through coercion, and use dominant local masculine discourses to justify their actions. According to Vogelmann and Eagle (1991), these discourses are deeply entrenched in communities that are in favor of patriarchy. Hence it is often difficult to challenge them. Should these masculine discourses be challenged and alternative means not be available, it has been revealed that some men become emasculated and resort to violence to re-assert their masculine positions. (Loya, 2013; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013; Taylor, Das Nair & Braham, 2013).

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

4.1 Introduction

The researcher used Social Constructionism as a conceptual framework from which the study explored the role of social interaction, language and discourses in the development of masculine identities. This framework was used because it explicitly displays the processes people use to describe their world and account for their behaviours (Gergen, 1985).

4.2 Definition and the history of Social Constructionism

Social Constructionism is an approach that derives from different schools of thought. Hence, “there is no one school of social constructionism” (Lock & Strong, 2010, p.6). It has a multidisciplinary background and has been influenced by disciplines such as sociology, philosophy, linguistics, existential-phenomenological psychology, social history and hermeneutics (Owen, 1995).

According to Petersen (1998), this approach encompasses a range of perspectives, which suggests that human behaviour and beliefs are invented, shaped and constrained by society. This implies that people are social products. It is against this background that social constructionists object to the idea of the objective truth because they describe reality as being socially constructed through language, social discourses and interaction (Lyell, 1998). For social constructionists, the world is meaningless until people interact with those around them who provide the language to make sense of what is around (Gergen, 2009).

Social constructionists are focused on how people use discourse and language to describe and explain their world. To them, meaning is embedded in social interactions that are influenced by culture, time and context (Lock & Strong, 2010). For instance, Berger and Luckman (1966) stated that an individual is born into the world but is made to be a member of the society by being socialised into the “reality” through interaction and language. As he interacts with others, these significant others share their definition of reality, and this is often taken-for-granted as “reality”. Below are the basic tenets of social constructionism that demonstrate how reality is constructed, taking into consideration how sex offenders construct their masculinities and how they account for their sexual offences:

(a) A critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge

Social constructionists believe that scientific truth stems from the communities that generate facts from interpretation. Durrheim (1997, p.175) stated that, “there are no facts which are independent of interpretation”. It is against this background that there is a call to critically examine the world, as what exists in it is what is perceived to exist and not what is already out there (Burr, 1995). For social constructionists, masculine qualities do not result from natural attributes but they are rather constructed through collective social interaction. These qualities become social norms and the standards that men are expected to live by. Since these norms and standards are socially constructed, they are fluid, diverse, historical and contextual (Khan & Townsend, 2014). To ensure that men live within these masculine frameworks, gendered expectations are instilled into them, through social conversations and men are policed by other men, to conform. Those who do not, are often regarded as being less masculine and they are subsequently marginalized (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007).

(b) Knowledge is historically and culturally specific

Social constructionists believe that knowledge and the interpretation of the world is embedded within culture, which is historically influenced. This implies that the lenses that are used to interpret the world are constructed by cultural and social experiences (Freedman & Combs, 1996). Culture plays a major role in assisting people to continuously construct social information that they use from day-to-day and generation to generation. Although culture norms are not static, they influence the ideas and the way gender is constructed. Culture provides members of a community with a shared understanding of what it means to be a man and it provides the discourses which are used in the construction of masculinities (Mac an Ghail, 1996). Therefore, people constantly need to reflect on their cultural norms in order to understand gender issues (Beall & Sternberg, 1993; Hearn & Whitehead, 2006). Social constructionists maintain that people need to consider these “cultural specifications” because they play a major role in influencing people’s lives, including the perpetration of violence and how female victims construct “rules” to either accept or protect themselves against such violence (Gordon & Collins, 2013, p.103; Owen, 1995, p.386).

(c) Knowledge is sustained by social processes

From social constructionists' perspective, the understanding of the world is passed on and sustained through interaction with others. Knowledge is seen as being generated and sustained by human beings in interaction. These interactions involve communication and experiences. Because of these interactions, the "realities" that people live in are seen as the outcomes of the conversations in which they are engaged. Therefore, the meaning and explanation of the world is the outcome of the relationships with others, hence there is no talk of singular truth, since knowledge arises from within communities of knowers (Burr, 1995; Freedman & Combs, 1996; Gergen, 2009, p. 4). As they construct masculinities, boys and men draw upon the social discourses available to them from childhood to adulthood, to create standards by which men are expected to live. As they interact, they learn from each other and police each other, observing those who divert from the prescribed norms and standards (Luyt, 2002).

(d) Language and discourse analysis

According to Burr (1995), language is the defining feature of social constructionism because it is believed that reality is constructed through it (language). Social constructionists see language as a vehicle for the construction of being because they use it to construct their experiences, identity and personality. In that way, social constructionists emphasize that the construction of the world is founded upon language which enables us to understand meaning when we interact with other people. Since we use language to communicate and to share our experiences, it is believed that we exist in it (language) (Galbin, 2014). In that way, language shall continue to be used to construct and modify subjective reality. It is against this background that language is seen as performative because it produces knowledge and truth, which in turn affects our actions.

Since language is important in our social relations and in constructing reality, Burr (1995) stated that if we intend to understand the social world, we need to understand the linguistic space in which individuals move with other people. Therefore, to understand patterns of language in human experiences, social constructionists recommend that the analysts of language should use discourse analysis since this approach is considered as a "study of language in use" (Taylor, 2001, p.5). The significant role of discourse analysis in the analysis of talks is to investigate how people use language to express their version of reality within their discursive context. Discourse analysis was used in this study to understand how offenders construct their contextual discourses to negotiate and represent their own reality. In other

words, this study aimed at understanding the speaker's (offenders') version of their social reality (Adjei, 2013).

4.3 Social Constructionism and Identity Formation

Identity is about who we are. According to the social constructionists, the construction and development of identity emerged from the communities through interaction and other factors such as age, education, language, time, environment, culture and discourses (Burr, 1995). This implies that the "self" is a social artefact that develops through dominant societal discourses and cultural influences (Hoffman, 1992). This notion also implies that people are a reflection of their societies, because their identities are co-created and shaped in relation to others, using language and discourse (Ting-Toomey, 1989). It is against such a background that it may be said that identities are embedded in social relations. Since the construction of identities is influenced by these social factors, identities change constantly, hence they are considered to be dynamic and contextual (Andreouli, 2010; Bowker, 1998). To better understand masculine identity formation, it is important to explore the influence and the role of these societal factors:

(a) Gender as a Social Construct

Sex and gender are often used interchangeably. Sex refers to the biological nature of an individual which describes if one is a boy or a girl, whereas gender is the "psychological and cultural characteristics associated with the biological sex" (Taylor, Das Nair & Braham, 2013, p.776). These gender characteristics are socially constructed. Consequently, there is no universal definition of gender. To understand gender related issues, context should always be considered. Since the "meanings of masculinity are created, modified and put into action by individuals during the process of social interaction", it should always be borne in mind that due to different social contexts, masculinity is not a fixed entity, as a result, there is no singular standard for it (Khalaf, Low, Ghorbani & Khoei, 2013, p.2). Men in society continue to negotiate their positions in relation to these ever changing social processes.

(b) The Role of Language in Identity Formation

Language is one of the factors that is central to social constructionism. The importance of language originated from the father of semiotics, Ferdinand de Saussure who viewed it as the system of meaning (Allan, 2013). According to social constructionists, human beings understand the world and construct reality through their use and understanding of language. Although history and culture are important, language plays a vital role by serving as a central

vehicle to share mental pictures and experiences, which are paramount to the construction of truth and shared meaning (Atwood & Ruitz, 1993; Burr, 1995; Gergen 2009). Language is therefore not only used for the expression of thought, but also as an important tool that people use to create meaning, to construct identities and to understand and resolve societal problems (Kotzé, 1994; Andersson, 2008a). In addition, as they interact, men use language to share their masculine discourses.

(c) The Role of Discourse in Identity Formation

According to Andersson (2008b, p.23), identity is constructed by using “available meanings and discourses”. This assumes that identities do not originate from inside but that they are constructed from contextual discursive practices (Burr, 1995; Davies & Harré, 1999). Burr (1995, p.64) describes a discourse as “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements that in some way together produce a particular version of events”. These discourses are socially constructed and develop over time. As they develop, they are involved in a competition, contesting for recognition and they pose serious threats to one another. In their struggle for recognition, these discourses are negotiated, reworked and sometimes some become more influential and are more dominant than others (Andersson, 2008a; Burr, 1995).

These discourses create a framework from which individuals are guided on what is normal, deviant, right and wrong (Andersson, 2008b). They enable individuals to make meaning of their world, guide their behaviours, and influence how they relate with others in their context as well as how they form their identities (Luyt, 2002, p.29). As they develop their identities, these discourses establish the positions that men should assume. Position in this context is defined as, “the standpoint from which the narrator is telling his/her story in relation to other people and the issue at hand” (Andersson, 2008b, p.24). When constructing masculine identities, men take up masculine positions which are often seen as unequal (Connell, 2002). To explain this inequality, Connell introduced the term, *hegemonic masculinity* to explain masculine hierarchy. Connell’s (1995) hegemonic masculinity theory derives from the concept of hegemony, which was coined by the political theorist, Antonio Gramsci (1971), who developed it as part of his theory, to explain class relations. In his theory, he explains how the dominant classes constantly negotiated their positions through public consent without coercion. Connell (1995) used this concept to describe gender practices which legitimate patriarchal practices that oppress, subordinate and marginalize women and other men. Hegemonic masculinity is defined as the, “pattern of patriarchal practices that allow men’s dominance over

women to continue” and these practices often serve as a point of reference in the construction of masculine identity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.832; Kriel, 2003).

Furthermore, the “benefits” of this form of masculinity are oppression and violence; it silences women and subordinates other masculinities (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014; Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2013). This version of masculinity, prescribes how real men should behave, hence every man strives to fit in the hegemonic masculine template (Morrell et al., 2013). In their positioning, some men support and practise these strong patriarchal patterns, while some position themselves within the *complacent masculinity (accomplice masculinity)*, where they do not necessarily practise the “strong version” of hegemonic masculinity, yet they benefit from it without “questioning the justice of such privileges” (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p.832; Fernández-Álvarez, 2014). On the other hand, there are those who express themselves differently from the hegemonic practices, and often risk *subordination* since their characters are perceived as being feminine; as it is in the case of gays. In a patriarchal society, gays are often expelled from the hegemonic category and they are oppressed like women since they are regarded as being feminine (Connell, 1995).

When they construct their identities, boys and men observe “real men”. Out of the fear of being looked down on for not conforming to the standards of “real men”, they often try to resist feminine practices by positioning themselves within the masculine framework (Connell, 2002; Ratele, Fouten, Shefer, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007).

4.4 Social Constructionism and Masculinity

The word ‘masculine’ derives from the French word *masculine*, and the Latin *masculus*, both of which mean male (Petersen, 1998). Mac an Ghail (1996) describe masculinity as a set of distinctive practices, emerging from men’s positioning within a variety of social structures such as schools, family, church and work. This positioning is guided by how boys and men are expected to behave, how they are treated, how they dress, what they should succeed in and what attitudes and qualities they should have (Ampofo & Boateng, 2007). Since this positioning is contextual, masculine identity can take different shapes, depending on the context and era (Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

For social constructionists, masculine characteristics do not comprise of fixed bodily characteristics, but rather comprise of those characteristics that are seen as being influenced by culture, social interactions and expectations from social institutions such as schools, families and churches (Fernández-Álvarez, 2014). In a diverse context like South Africa, these qualities differ from one race to another and they also differ according to socio-economic levels, education and the environment (Morrell et al., 2013).

From childhood boys are culturally inculcated with expectations, beliefs and values that are designed to make them conform to a particular gender. Failure to conform to these norms exposes them to ridicule, punishment and discrimination (Brittan, 1989). To be accepted, these boys imitate, model and identify with those around them, such as male teachers, fathers, brothers and friends (Ricardo & Barker, 2008).

4.5 Social Constructionism and Sexual Violence

According to Fleming and Kruger (2013), sexual violence still forms one of the global challenges that undermines and violates the women's rights. Although sexual crimes are under-reported, statistics indicate that women are still subjected to physical and psychological violence. According to the social constructionists, these violent acts are legitimized by discourses that promote inequality between males and females in social status and power (Baobaid, 2006). Jewkes et al. (2011) state that, if people would like to prevent and address issues of violence against women, they should shift their focus from the victims to the perpetrators. It is therefore necessary to examine how men construct masculinity and how this construction of their masculinity influences sexual violence.

When explaining the causes of violence against women, Brittan (1989, p.12) stated that human sexuality and aggressiveness "are not an expression of impulses rooted in a biological substratum but are saturated within meaning". According to the author, if the biological explanation was used to account for rape, all men would rape and the statistics of rape would be high over the whole world. The author stated that if rape statistics differ historically and contextually, therefore, the biological explanation of rape is ruled out (Brittan, 1989).

On the other hand, Reidy, Berke, Gentile and Zeichner (2014) dispute biological factors and instead associate rape with the masculine gender socialisation. It is believed that those men who strongly adhere to masculine norms are likely to participate in sexual violence because the

hegemonic masculine constructs are associated with the problematic attitudes and behaviours such as violence and abuse of women (Morrell et al., 2013; Reidy et al., 2014).

Furthermore, men who strongly believe in masculine norms are likely to be violent, especially if they fail to live according to the ideal masculine expectations. As a result, they develop discrepancy stress, which is explained as “a form of stress that occurs when one fails to live up to the ideal manhood derived from societal mandates of masculine gender roles”. This stress triggers aggression, which leads the individual to act aggressively in order to conform to the masculine norms (Reidy et al., 2014, p.160).

(a) Culture and Sexual Violence

According to social constructionists, as human beings, people use their cultural and social discourses to interpret the world. Therefore, culture specifics play a major role in influencing lives (Freedman & Combs, 1996; Gordon & Collins, 2013). From a social constructionist point of view, it could be argued that specific cultural norms and traditions in societies are understood to influence how power is exercised and realized by men. Since most societies have patriarchal traditions that afford men greater social power, they in turn associate power and violence with masculinity. Therefore, sexual violence could be understood as the result of the manipulation of tradition, culture and religion. For instance, some men who practise violence often see nothing wrong with their behaviour since they see themselves as exercising their rights, which were authorized by the patriarchal supremacy within their cultures (Connell, 1995).

Within certain cultures, boys are taught and socialised to identify with masculine constructs that are often associated with power, control, aggressiveness, competitiveness, dominance, strength and courage (UNIFEM, n.d). As they learn the male roles in a patriarchal society, they also come to an understanding that real men are those who realize bodily domination over victims in a heterosexual encounter (Messerschmidt, 2000). That is why when they grow, some of them use women’s bodies for sexual pleasure and they do not feel ashamed because they are not condemned by the society (Brittan, 1989).

In certain cultural contexts, as boys grow, they are taught to consider the penis as an instrument of power which could be used as a weapon to subdue a woman (Brittan, 1989). It is in these patriarchal societies that aggression and violence are a distinct characteristic of hegemonic masculinity (Silberschmidt, 2001). It is therefore not surprising that the rate of sexual violence

in these societies escalates because it is in this regard that the masculine violence is legitimised (Ward, Polaschek & Beech, 2006).

(b) Societal Attitudes and Sexual Violence

In addition to cultural factors, Jewkes and Abraham's (2002) identified societal attitudes as one of the factors that plays a role in encouraging sexual offence. For instance, parents, families and society have not put social pressure on men and boys, to discourage them from perpetrating rape. Instead, the onus of preventing rape is placed on women, and should rape occur, women are often blamed for provoking the crime. As a result, society is indirectly seen as perpetuating sexual violence. Wood, Lambert and Jewkes (2007) found that some women are alleged to have 'invited' rape because of their conduct, which is seen as breaking the accepted boundaries of female behaviour. Hence girls and women are expected to shoulder the burden of blame and responsibility for any sexual assault upon them. For instance, in South Africa, during the Zuma rape trial, his supporters, including women, blamed and insulted the female victim. Zuma's supporters, who outnumbered the rape activists burnt the victim's A4 size photographs and chanted, "burn the bitch" outside the courtroom (Graham, 2013, p.29). Due to societal attitudes towards rape victims, women and children try to act within the expected social boundaries and not provoke men and ensure that they protect themselves from being victims. However, it must be noted that these attitudes differ from one cultural context to another (Wall, 2014).

In addition, the society's negative attitudes towards victims seem to have been extended to the justice system which is seen as not doing enough in apprehending and deterring the perpetrators' behaviour through severe punishment (Fleming & Kruger, 2013). Therefore, the victims perceive their painful experiences as being trivialized. As a result, these societal attitudes are interpreted by these victims as condoning and justifying sexual crime (Gordon & Collins, 2013).

4.6 Criticism of Social Constructionism

Despite its popularity, Social Constructionism is not without criticism. According to Burr (2003, p.82), "Social Constructionism seems to lead to the claim that nothing exists except as it exists in discourse,". Therefore, there is nothing outside the text. This lens seems to deny that there is an external reality to our lives since everything seems to be the effect of language. Social constructionists believe that if discourses are significant in forming objects which we

speak, therefore, language creates all the objects of our consciousness “whether these are material, physical things, like buildings, trees and computers or abstract things like intelligence, friendship and happiness” (p.88). Even though social constructionists believe in the power of discourse and language, this stance has been criticized for failing to acknowledge that reality still exists beyond discourse. Their stance is challenged on the basis that it ignores that physical things exist independently of our thoughts and talk. For instance, rape is real, regardless of how it is represented through language (Burr, 2003). Therefore, ignoring the existence of rape undermines the real traumatic experiences of victims.

Furthermore, social constructionists are criticized for turning a blind eye to the significance of *biological* influences of the behaviour of individuals. For instance, they view knowledge and truth as being constructed within the society through language and interaction. Social constructionists dispute the biomedical reality in the sense that they view discovery of diseases as “social events” rather than having an objective reality (Andrews, 2012, p.3). However, they are unable to account for the explanation of desires, wants, hopes and fantasies of a person which are seen as stances that give a clearer account of why people position themselves in ways that are sometimes disadvantageous for them. For instance, even though a woman might be aware that some men use discourses of patriarchy to account for gender based violence, social constructionism is unable to explain why the same woman who is abused by men is sexually attracted to them. Contrary to the social constructionists, the biomedical account for this complex behavior is the response of the individual’s bodily or their biological urges and needs.

With their focus on discourses, social constructionists are criticized for reducing human beings to text (Burr, 1995). Since they describe an individual as a social being within the social structure, they are criticized for not acknowledging a human being as an independent individual. Instead, for them, an individual is seen as having no control over himself, no power to construct himself, no capacity to build his identity and no capacity to change his story since he has no power to change the society he lives in (Burr, 1995). As a result, man is chained by his society because his thoughts are framed by established societal discourses.

4.7 Conclusion

According to the social constructionism theory, there is no single universal truth. Instead, truth is created through social interactions. It is upon this basis that people should understand that through language and discourses, people are able to construct the truth that informs their lives

and experiences. Since their truth is not governed by the law of objectivity, the social constructionism theory directs that to understand sex offenders, there is a need to explore the truth and “reality” by focusing on the discourses using qualitative methods.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1 Introduction

This study drew on the principles and the assumptions of social constructionism to investigate how sex offenders construct masculinity. The investigation was conducted with the view to better understand how these constructs may account for rape practices, although the study does not explain any causality between these two variables.

This study explored: (1) How sex offenders construct their masculinity and (2) Sexual violence in relation to their construction of masculinity.

5.2 Design of the Study

According to Wellman, Kruger and Mitchel (2005), a research design is a plan according to which data is obtained. It describes the processes and procedures followed by the researcher when conducting the study. This study employed a qualitative research design. "The word *qualitative* implies an emphasis on the qualities of entities and on processes and meanings that are not experimentally examined or measured (if measured at all) in terms of quantity, amount, intensity, or frequency" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.8). A qualitative research design is an exploratory form of a scientific enquiry that focuses on the meaning that people award to their social world and the meaning they attach to their social behaviour (Boeije, 2010; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). I used this approach to explore how social experience is created and given meaning. This approach was preferred because it enabled me to receive firsthand information on the participants' experiences, leading to a better understanding of the phenomenon under study (Leedy & Ormrod, 2010). Such information could have not been achieved through the application of statistical or other quantifying procedures. Although the findings from qualitative research cannot be generalised due to the limited number of participants, this approach was preferred because (a) It allows the researcher to understand the perspective of individuals (b) It enables the researcher to look at the subjective experiences of people, and (c) It enables the researcher to understand the context in which individuals interact (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Kvale, 1996).

5.3 Location of the Study

The study was conducted in Limpopo Province, which is one of the nine provinces in the Republic of South Africa. It is the northern most province of the country and it is divided into five districts namely, Mopani, Waterberg, Capricorn, Vhembe and Sekhukhune. Its population is estimated at 5.8 million, of which 54.6% are women, 45.4% men and 39.4% are youth (Statistics South Africa, 2016). Although statistics of reported cases of sexual offences in this province have slightly decreased to 3 891 in 2017, these cases were reported to have increased from 4 460 in 2004 to 6 298 in 2013 (Statistics South Africa, 2014). The study drew its data from the Polokwane, Thohoyandou, Kutama Sinthumule, Makhado and Tzaneen Correctional Centres. Modimolle Correctional Centre was excluded from the study since it caters only for juveniles. As a result, the offenders in that centre did not fit into the parameters of the study.

5.4 Population of the Study

According to Bertram and Christiansen (2014, p.206), “population refers to all the people that would fit into the group that is being considered for a particular study”. The population of this study consisted of all sex offenders who were incarcerated in the five identified Correctional Centres located in Limpopo Province. When considering the population of this study, racial and ethnic groupings were not considered since hegemonic masculinity is pervasive across all races and ethnic groups in South Africa.

5.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

(a) Sampling

Sampling is described as a decision taken and the process followed by the researcher, to select a specific part of the population which is relevant for study (Miles, Huberman & Saldaña, 2014). I used the purposive sampling technique to select the sample for the study. This sampling technique is also called the criterion-based or judgemental sampling because the researcher selects the participants with a specific criterion in mind, using his expert judgement which is informed by the objectives of his study (Neuman, 2014). Judgement is exercised by the parameters and subject matter of the study. Since I was searching for rich information that could answer the research objectives. The advantage of purposive sampling with a specific group of sex offenders (who met the criteria for the study) was understood to be appropriate for providing such insight (Emmel, 2013, Ritchie, Lewis, Nicholls & Ormston, 2014). Even

though this approach is commendable for this purpose in qualitative research, it should be noted that its disadvantage is that the information generated from this group cannot be generalised on the basis of its quantity. However, even though the number is small, the depth of information related to the phenomenon in this study was valued and appreciated.

(b) Inclusion and Exclusion Criteria

Inclusion criteria are a set of predefined characteristics that the researcher uses to identify subjects who are suitable to be included in a research study. On the other hand, exclusion criteria consist of those predefined characteristics which the researcher uses to identify subjects who will not be included in the study (Salkind, 2010). The inclusion and exclusion criteria make up the selection process which rules the target population either in or out of a research study. To optimize the credibility of the study, I used the following characteristics for inclusion in the sample of the study:

- Males who were 18 years old and above and have been convicted of sexual offence, in particular, rape of women who were 18 years old and older. The reason for focusing only on these individuals was to rule out pedophiles and juveniles, whose different dynamics would have derailed the study from achieving its objectives.
- Males who were convicted of raping only women. Those men who had raped other men were excluded from the study.
- Male sex offenders who were available in the Correctional Centre for the duration of data collection. Those who were likely to be released or transferred to other Centres during the data collection period were excluded since all planned meetings with the participants were inter-related. Any interruption would have compromised the quality of the data.
- Male sex offenders who were fluent in Sepedi or English and/or used these languages as their first language either at home or at school.

(c) Sample size

The sample size is the number of individuals who are likely to participate in the study (Ritchie & Lewis, 2003). Since this was a qualitative study, I was not much concerned about the number of the participants but on the quality of the findings. Instead of a specific target number for the study, the sample size in this study was determined by the number of participants who contributed new information to the research. Hence information saturation approach was used.

This approach was preferred because it entailed the process of gathering data until no new information or theme emerged from the newly sampled units (Trotter, 2012). In this regard, new participants were continually brought into the study until the information gathered was replicated and considered redundant (Bowen, 2008). Data was only considered to be redundant when I noticed that the same themes were being repeated and no new themes emerged from the interviews (Marshall, Cardon, Poddar & Fontenot, 2013). To stop the interviews, I analysed the redundancy by continuously assessing if the previous interview material did not make further contributions or provide additional insights. After having identified any redundancy, I continued with the interviews until the 4th participant before interviews were stopped. To be able to identify repetition of themes, data analysis was carried out continuously after each interview session for the day (Cleary, Horsfall & Hayter, 2014).

19 sex offenders were considered as participants for the study. Although this number is small, it is still considered as a recommendable and manageable sample size in qualitative studies (Ritchie, Lewis, Elam, Rosalind & Rahim, 2014).

5.6 Data collection instrument

A research instrument is a measuring tool or device that is designed to obtain data on a topic of interest from the participants (Salkind, 2010). In this regard, a research schedule was used as a guide to direct the interviews. Forrester (2010a) describes a research schedule as a list of research questions that serves as a guide that the researcher uses during the research interviews. The research schedule was selected because it enabled me to gather sufficient information while at the same time ensuring relevancy to the objectives of the study.

5.7 Interviews

The most widely used qualitative research sources are interviews, observations and review of documents (Locke, Silverman & Spirduso, 2010). This study drew its data from interviews. According to Bertram and Christiansen (2014), a research interview is a focused conversation between the researcher and the research participant. Unlike an everyday conversation, in research, the conversation is guided by questions that the researcher has designed in order to understand particular phenomenon. Interviews were chosen because this study is explorative in nature. The advantages of using interviews in a qualitative study is that the researcher is present to clarify certain questions on the spot and the researcher is able to use probes to obtain

detailed information (Bertram & Christiansen, 2014). Since the study focuses on the life histories of the vulnerable group, face-to-face interviews were preferred to protect the privacy of the interviewees. During the interviews, the research schedule was used as a guide to obtain information related to the topic, research questions and objectives. The research schedule was used to enable me to generate detailed and significant information from the participant's narratives by allowing them to narrate their experiences yet at the same time using specific questions, to keep them focused on the research objectives (De Vos et al., 2011; Forrester, 2010a).

Questions on the research schedule were open-ended. Open ended questions are unstructured questions in which possible answers are not suggested since the participants are given the freedom to respond in their own words (Turner, 2010). The advantage of using questions of this nature is that they allow participants to provide their opinions. Open-ended questions were preferred for this study to elicit narrative-rich data on the phenomenon under study, in a naturalistic form (Mathews, Jewkes & Abrahams, 2011). Prompts and probes were also used to encourage the interviewees to elaborate on the matter at hand and in order to fill in the identified gaps. According to Rubin and Rubin (2012, p.118), probes are "questions, comments, or gestures used by the interviewer to help manage the conversation" and prompts are sub-questions which were asked, to help the interviewees to understand the question in cases they found it hard to respond to the initial question (Forrester, 2010b). A predicted disadvantage of open-ended questions was over reporting. To avoid this, I often encouraged the participants to stick to the questions that were asked. This statement might seem to be contradictory to the aim of open-ended questioning. When interviewees were asked to limit their responses to the questions asked, the aim was not to limit the narratives of the participants but rather to guard against excess information on crimes that were committed and had not been reported, since this would have led me to report such incidences to the police. Participants were made aware of this limitation yet they were still encouraged to elaborate on their other experiences.

5.8 Data collection

(a) Gaining entry to the research site

Before the study was conducted, permission was obtained from the College Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. Further permission for entry to the Correctional Centres

was obtained from the Department of Correctional Services. After permission was granted by the Research Ethics Committee in the Department of Correctional Services, an Internal Guide from the National Office was appointed. The Internal Guide is an official from the Department of Correctional Services who is assigned to support, orientate and assist the researcher with the acquisition of the necessary documents relevant for their research study. On a national level, the role of the Internal Guide was to make arrangements for me inform all the relevant Heads of the identified centres about my intentions to conduct the study. The correspondence also included the request to the Heads of the Centres to provide the necessary support to me during the process of data collection. Although permission was granted by the National Office, it was necessary for me to further negotiate access at every individual institution. Before I could visit the centres, I ensured that I obtained permission from the Provincial Commissioner. On arrival to the centre, the Heads had already been informed of the study and one Internal Guide from each centre was assigned to assist me. The role of the Internal Guide was to explain and clarify the rules and regulations in the department and at the centre. The Internal Guide also orientated me to the correctional centre environment, arranged office space, assisted with the acquisition of documents necessary for the study, liaised with other internal officials to release the participants to the office and escorted the participants to the interview room.

(b) Data collection process

- *Research setting*

The study was conducted in the identified Correctional Centres in Limpopo Province. These centres were all male correctional facilities where offenders are rehabilitated and developed through vocational and educational programmes after they have been sentenced. Four of these centres (Polokwane, Tzaneen, Makhado and Thohoyandou) are owned by the state and one, Kutama Sinthumule, is a private institution. In these institutions, security was very tight and certain protocols had to be followed during data collection. Office space with maximum security were prepared for the research meetings. For security reasons, the interviews were conducted in full view of the Internal Guide, but out of their immediate listening range.

- *Recruitment channels*

Recruitment in research is described as the process of inviting the potential participants to take part in a research study (Ritchie et al., 2014). The first step was to gain access to the potential participants through the application for permission to the National office of the Department of

Correctional Services. The application was reviewed by the Ethics Board of the Department of Correctional Services and permission was granted. In the permission letter, all the processes to gain entry to the centres were explained. After receiving the letter, further permission was granted by the Area Commissioners who endorsed permission to access the centres through the centres' Heads.

The first visits to the centres were planned to make arrangements with the Heads, to further request permission and explain the 'operational plan' on how the study would be conducted. During the meeting with the centres' Heads, I explained the objectives of the study and the criteria that would be used to select individuals who were eligible to participate in the study. This information was provided so that the Internal Guide could identify potential participants from their database or the offenders' register. Initially, it was planned that the member of the local registered Faith Based Organisation (FBO), with visitation rights would assist in identifying individuals who met the criteria for the study. Since this is secure and confidential information, it was found that only the centre's officials were allowed access to the database. As a result, this plan was abandoned. Instead, with the assistance of the Internal Guide, such information was accessed. After the potential participants were identified from the register, the researcher was given the list.

Initially, it was planned that, after the identification of the potential participants, the NGO/FBO member would approach the identified potential participants individually, and invite them to participate and give them information sheets. For security reasons this plan was not possible to implement because neither the researcher nor any non-staff member was allowed to call potential participants from their cells to an interview room. Only the departmental officials were allowed to go beyond the restricted sections of the centre. Therefore, the Internal Guide called the identified participants from their cells and escorted them to the interview room. To some extent, this process could be seen as "coercive". However, to address this limitation and to ensure that participants participated freely and were not coerced, upon arrival in the interview room, the purpose of the study was explained in detail and it was emphasised that their participation in the study was voluntary. Three of the identified offenders refused to participate. Two of them requested to be paid for their participation and one was not willing to participate because he indicated that he did not want to share his experience. As a result, the three were excluded. To protect these individuals from any form of victimisation, their failure to participate was not reported to any official.

On arrival at the centre for the second meeting, I was offered office space. Identified potential participants were called in, individually, for the interview. During this meeting, the purpose of the study was explained. Initially, it was planned that the offenders would be given the Information Sheet so that they could go through the contents at their leisure time and indicate their willingness to participate in the study at the bottom of the sheet. However, most of the participants indicated that they could not read. Therefore, during the first interview, the information was read and explained to them. There were a few who reported that they were able to read, however, they still preferred the contents of the information sheet to be explained rather than being read to them. As a result, I decided to read and explain the contents of the Information Sheet to the participants, although the option for the information sheet to be read was still open. Having explained the purpose of the study, the participants were given time to think about the contents of the information sheet and to inform me about their willingness to participate at the next meeting. Apart from clarifying the purpose of the study, this session was also aimed at establishing rapport with the participants.

The third visit began with a brief explanation of the purpose of the study once again. Thereafter, the participants were requested to indicate their willingness to participate. Those who were willing to participate were asked to give verbal consent and the researcher signed the consent forms on their behalf, to protect their identities. This meeting focused on the first objective of the study, which explored how they constructed masculinity. The core focus of the interview was on the development of the participants' own masculine identity, from childhood to adulthood using the life history approach. This approach was used to enable the researcher to understand the masculine positions which were available to the sex offenders in the establishment and their performance of masculine identity.

The final meeting focused on the second objective of the study, which dealt specifically with the understanding of sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity. Relational history was used to understand the discourses men use to account for their sexual offences and to further understand the masculine positions that these men take up, in committing sexual offences.

Each session with the participants was concluded with member checking and debriefing. Member checking is a technique often used in qualitative research to ensure the credibility of the study by checking the accuracy of the data captured with the participants (Lincoln & Guba, 2000). Member checking in this study was done to check if the interviewer's notes

corresponded with the information the interviewee had provided (Henning, 2004). The interviewees were given a chance to elaborate on their stories, especially if there were misinterpretations before they could give approval (Wicks & Whiteford, 2006).

Debriefing was also conducted to allow participants to discuss their feelings in relation to the study, to ask questions, give comments and raise concerns related to the study. The purpose of this exercise was to minimise the possible emotional harm that might have been caused during the interviews “in spite of all precautions that may have been taken” (Boonzaier, 2008; De Vos et al., 2011: p.122; Hearn, 1998). In conclusion, as good ethical practice, I thanked participants for their contribution at the end of the interviews.

During the interviews, conversations were recorded on an audio tape, to ensure that data was captured without disrupting the attention of the participant. Permission to record them was requested and the consent form (Appendix E) was signed. I signed it on their behalf after they gave me verbal consent. Notes were taken, occasionally as a back-up plan, in case the “recording equipment failed” (Cresswell, 2009, p.183). Audio recording was preferred because it assisted me with actual details of the phenomena under study. Another advantage of using an audio recorder in a qualitative study is that it can be replayed and transcripts generated can be improved. Furthermore, raw data from the tapes can be accessed by the scientific community for further analysis (Silverman, 2011).

Interviews were conducted in Sepedi and English. As a result, the services of an independent language expert were used to translate the Information Sheet and consent forms from English into Sepedi and again back translated into the original language.

5.9 Trustworthiness and Rigour

Trustworthiness is important in qualitative research since it assures the credibility of the study. The credibility of the study demonstrates the steps and the efforts that the researcher took, to ensure that data was appropriately and ethically collected, analysed and reported. It is in this regard that I made every effort to demonstrate that the entire research process was worthy and authentic (Carlson, 2010).

To ensure the validity of the study, the researcher in quantitative research often uses scientifically validated instruments. However, in qualitative research, the responsibility is rested upon the researcher, to demonstrate the trustworthiness of the study (Carlson, 2010). According to Houghton, Casey, Shaw and Murphy (2013), qualitative researchers have to

demonstrate trustworthiness by taking into consideration the credibility, dependability, confirmability and transferability of their studies, as indicated below:

(a) Credibility

Houghton et al. (2013) describe credibility in qualitative research as the value and the believability of the findings. It is the confidence that could be placed in the truth of the findings on whether the data was accurately collected (Sikolia et al., 2013). I have used the following strategies to promote confidence in the findings (Shenton, 2004):

- *Prolonged engagement in the field/research site*

Shenton (2004) encourages researchers to make preliminary visits to the research site to familiarise themselves with their cultures. Anney (2014) also states that by visiting the sites, the researchers get an opportunity to immerse themselves into the participants' world and this helps them to gain insight into the context, thereby minimizing the distortion of information. In addition to the knowledge of the context, the "researcher's extended time in the field increased the trust of the respondents and provided a greater understanding of the participants' culture and context" (Anney, 2014, p. 276). Once rapport was established, the participants were more willing to share their experiences.

To promote the credibility of the study, each centre was visited four times. On the first visit, I contacted Heads of the Centres. During this visit, the 'operational plan'; was explained and outlined." It was during this visit that the Heads were also able to explain to me how the centres operated and they also explained their rules and regulations. These visits assisted me to understand the context and to adjust the initial plan, to suit the requirements of the centre without compromising the rights of the participants and purpose of the study. The remaining three visits involved meetings with the participants. This extended time on the research site enabled me to better understand the context and to establish rapport with the participants. Although these extended visits were helpful in increasing the credibility of the study, there was the danger that several visits could affect one's professional judgment. As a result, this potential danger was dealt with by ensuring that one operated within the scope of research ethics by strict adherence to the following ethical principles:

- *Ensuring honesty*

To increase the credibility of the study, Shenton (2004) stated that the researcher should give the participants an opportunity to refuse to participate in the study. As part of ethical conduct,

I was transparent from the beginning of the study indicating that participation was voluntary. In addition, they were informed, there was no right or wrong answer and that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any point. This information was explained during the first meeting with the participants to ensure that only those who were genuinely willing to participate would do so, and that they were equally free to choose to refuse to participate (Shenton, 2004). Furthermore, to ensure that the information given to me was given freely, I declared my independent status and explained that I am neither an official of the Correctional Centres nor a representative of the judiciary.

- *Interactive questioning*

To promote the credibility of the study, I used interactive questioning in order to uncover the deliberate lies that the participants were likely to tell. Shenton (2004) describes interactive questioning as a rephrased question, where the researcher turns to previously discussed matters in different ways. As a result, inconsistent information received from an interactive questioning was discarded.

- *Frequent debriefing and scrutiny of the research project*

According to Anney (2014), it is recommended that the researcher should seek support from academic supervisors and other professionals who are willing to provide scholarly guidance. Such guidance helps the researcher to recognise and address flaws and biases and thus improve the quality of the enquiry. In this regard, I arranged frequent consultations for the scrutiny of the research work and there were also debriefing sessions with the academic supervisor. The supervisors's input assisted me with ideas which served as a guide to eliminate bias and to ensure that the study stayed on track.

- *Reflexivity*

To increase the credibility of the study, Rubin and Rubin (2012, p.68) encourage reflexivity through transparency in the methods of data collection and analysis. Patnaik (2013, p.4) defines reflexivity as a constant awareness, assessment and reassessment by the researcher of the researcher's own contribution or influence on the research findings. Since the researcher in qualitative research is the "primary instrument" in data collection and analysis, to promote the credibility of the study, I ensured that I demonstrated how my values, experiences, interests and beliefs shaped the data collection and analysis of the study (Langa, 2012; Patnaik, 2013).

A journal that served as an audit trail was used to document and constantly check that my personal ideas, attitudes, thoughts and feelings did not influence the study. This process served as a self-reflection that allowed me to check and improve my blind spots as they were likely to contaminate the enquiry. I therefore spent a substantial time noting my observations, thoughts and interpretations after the meetings. Furthermore, to ensure that my personal feelings did not affect the data collection processes, consultations were also made with the academic supervisor and personal psychologist. Below is an outline of the reflexivity process:

- *Introspective reflexivity*

According to Patnaik (2013), introspective reflexivity involves consciousness of the self by the researcher in order to understand how one's own experiential location might have influenced the choice of subject, methodology and themes. As I was preparing myself to embark on this PhD journey, the field of rape had always been of interest as a possible choice of study. Despite my gender, I was determined to work with sex offenders, in order to listen to their voice. As a Clinical Psychologist in a public hospital, I had the opportunity to listen to the voice of victims during therapy sessions. Having heard the voice of these victims, I developed an interest in listening to the voice of the sex offenders. Although a study with male sex offenders was of research interest, at some point I wondered if my emotional positioning as an empathizer would not have a negative impact on my study. As a result, I was concerned if there would not be a contrast of my position as a therapist for the victims of sex offence and another as a researcher of male sex offenders. I was therefore concerned if the switching of "positions" would be possible. Having noted this potential weakness, I had to adjust and constantly reflect on my role, especially during the data collecting phase.

Since sex offenders are considered as vulnerable subjects, consequently the process of ethical approval was intensive. The misunderstanding between the Department of Correctional Services and the university delayed the approval of the data collection process by two years. This delay was understandably discouraging. However, my willingness to conduct this study and the emotional support I received from the supervisor kept me focused.

Although I was determined to conduct this study, I became anxious on my first day when I visited the first Correctional Centre. The centre's tight security increased awareness of possible danger to personal safety. On entering the office of the Centre's Head, my anxiety levels

escalated, especially when the rules for conducting a study in the centre were outlined. For instance, as a researcher, I was requested to dress “properly” every time I visited the centre. As the female officer explained that I should not wear tight, transparent and short clothes. I imagined how “dangerous” these sex offenders could be. With the background of listening to the traumatic narratives by victims, I was naturally nervous especially when the female officer indicated that since some of these offenders were serving long sentences, they had been denied sexual encounters, and could possibly use my image to masturbate. It was at this point that I positioned myself as a “prospective victim of imaginary rape”.

- *Methodological reflexivity*

Methodological reflexivity strives to ensure that standardised procedures have been followed where the study is conducted (Patnaik, 2013). Therefore, reflexivity in this regard identifies and examines the ethical, social and political considerations that govern the field of enquiry.

(i) Gender

According to Gentles, Jack, Nicholas and McKibbin (2014), gender is one of various sources of social differences with the potential to influence an enquiry. Although initially I never thought that gender could somehow influence my ideas, however, I was reminded of my gender position when one of the participants refused to respond to a question on issues around initiation schools, citing that he would not discuss issues of men with a woman. Despite my position as a female researcher, the participant in this regard positioned himself as a man at a superior level and he placed me at a feminine position, that was not worthy discussing masculine issues. Despite this gender positioning, I was not deterred to proceed with the enquiry. The willingness of other participants to participate and contribute to the body of knowledge encouraged me to continue.

(ii) Outsider position

Even though the participants had already been sentenced, as an outsider, I thought that it would be difficult for them to share their experiences. As was anticipated, there were some offenders who were not interested in participating in the study citing that they were afraid that their discussions might negatively affect their chances of getting parole. Others did not want to participate because they regarded the research as a fruitless exercise because they would not get money or a certificate that they could submit to the Parole Board to motivate for parole. Despite this, 19 sex offenders agreed to participate in the study.

Almost all of the participants addressed me as *suster* (sister, in Afrikaans), suggesting that I was embraced and welcomed into their “family”, and that they were comfortable sharing their experiences. Although it was commendable that they felt comfortable around me, one unsettling dilemma when conducting this kind of study as indicated by Andersson (2008a) and Cowburn (2005) is that one has to always ensure that the participants do not discuss crimes that were not known to the police because this would put the researcher in a compromised position of having to report such incidences to the police. To ensure that I was not entangled in this ethical dilemma, at the beginning of our meetings, I explained this limitation. Despite this possible obstacle, the participants were still willing to share their experiences.

The researcher’s background as a therapist had both a positive and negative influence on the study. On a positive, the participants felt comfortable, understood and not judged; a few told me that I was a “good listener”. However, the downside of my empathetic skill in this context was that some of the participants became attached to me and wished I could stay longer even though the number of meetings that were outlined from the beginning of the data collection process had come to an end. All those who raised this concern were referred to the centre’s social worker so that they could be assisted to work on their “separation anxieties”, but they all refused. When asked about their refusal to accept counselling, they all positioned themselves as “real men” who did not need counselling, since it was perceived as un-masculine. Amongst their reasons, some indicated that “*It is not a big deal*”, “*I am not a pre-school child*”, “*Why? This is not really that serious*”.

Although they called me *suster*, there were a few participants who attempted to ‘chat me up’. In that regard, I had to constantly remind them about my purpose and my professional ethics as a researcher. After such an explanation, they stopped. However, I experienced an ethical dilemma, of whether to continue with these participants or not, since I did not wish to see transference and counter transference issues contaminating the study. However, I proceeded when I noted that the that the participants stopped with their attempts to ‘chat me up’ and we began to focus on the study. For a smooth data collection process, ethical boundaries were established.

One other ethical dilemma that emerged from this data collection process was that initially in the research proposal I indicated that I would give the participants consent forms to read at

their leisure time so that they would be able to make an informed decision of whether to participate in the study or not. Most of the participants did not want them since they indicated that they could not read. Also, it would not have been possible to implement this plan due to security reasons. To mitigate this risk, I ensured that I read and explained the information sheet and the consent form during our first meeting. Only one participant requested to read the documents. He was given an opportunity to do so, in the meeting. To assess if he understood the contents, he was asked questions related to the contents of the documents. There were others who could read, but they still preferred that the documents were read and explained to them. As there were some changes from the initial plan concerning the forms, at first, as a novice researcher, I was frustrated since I did not wish to breach the research ethical rules. However, I realized that some flexibility was essential to achieve the objectives of the study. As this data process unfolded, frustrations were noted in the journal and at some point it was stated in the notes that, *“Things are really different in the field. As we plan on how we are going to do our research in our proposals, things are different here. You just have to go with the flow, to nail it”* (Journal, 18 November 2015). This statement implies that as one plans on how to execute the data collection during the proposal stage of the study, one should be flexible since the research field may also dictate a different means of maneuvering during the data collection stage.

- *Member checking*

According to Carlson (2010), member checking is an opportunity given to participants to check or approve the researcher’s interpretation of the data they have provided. In this regard I took time to go back to the participants to give them information on the transcripts so that they could verify the accuracy of the data before they approved its use in the study. In this study, data was analysed continuously. According to Shenton (2004), procedures of member checking are: providing the participants with hard copies, electronic copies, listening to the audiotapes with the researcher or having the researcher read the transcript out loud to the participants. Due to their low level of literacy, most of the participants preferred that the transcripts be read out to them before they could approve them. It was only after their approval was the data “authorised” to be analysed.

5.10 Transferability

According to Anney (2014, p.277), transferability “refers to the degree to which the results of the qualitative research can be transferred to other contexts with other respondents”. This concept is equivalent to generalisability, wherein the study’s findings can be generalized to a population and/or other settings (Lewis, Ritchie, Ormston & Morrell, 2014). Although Anney (2014) and Sikolia et al., (2013) stated that transferability in qualitative research can be enhanced through the description of clear and detailed methods of enquiry and by using purposive sampling, Shenton (2004) argued that this element is problematic in a qualitative study because the enquiries are made within a particular context, using a small number of participants. Based on that argument, the researcher declares generalisability of the findings in this study as a limitation due to its explorative nature which focused only on 19 participants from five Correctional Centres in the Limpopo Province. As a result, findings of this study cannot be generalized to sex offenders in other parts of the country or the rest of the world.

5.11 Dependability

Bitsch (2005, p.86) described dependability as “the stability of findings over time”. Dependability is equivalent to reliability in quantitative research. In quantitative research, researchers employ various techniques to demonstrate how their work, if repeated in the same context, using the same methods and same participants could yield the same results (Shenton, 2004). It is easy to establish reliability of a study in quantitative research because researchers use reliable and valid scientific instruments to collect data. There have been serious concerns about reliability in qualitative research because it is believed that this form of research is dynamic and that in the process, a phenomenon under study is likely to be affected by the inevitable impact of the context. As a result, it is argued that these “studies can never be repeated nor would there be any value in attempting to do so” (Lewis et al., 2014, p.355). However, Silverman (2014) stated that although it is difficult to satisfy the reliability criteria in qualitative research, the researcher may attempt to achieve this by making the research process transparent through describing the research strategies and the data analysis methods in a “sufficiently detailed manner in the research report” (p.84). To be transparent, an audit trail was conducted in this study. An audit trail is when the “researcher accounts for all the research decisions taken and activities done, to show how data was collected, recorded and analyzed” (Anney, 2014, p.278). As a result, in the methodology chapter of this thesis, a detailed report on the decisions that were taken to collect data was given. Furthermore, the acceptable

qualitative operational processes which were followed in the process of data gathering were also explained.

5.12 Confirmability

Anney (2014, p.279) describes confirmability as the “degree to which the results of an enquiry could be confirmed or corroborated by other researchers”. In this regard, the researcher has to demonstrate that the findings are actual results of the participants’ experiences and ideas and not the imaginations and the preferences of the researcher (Anney, 2014; Shenton, 2004). To ensure that I was always on track, I used the reflexive journal to keep an audit trail by documenting my own experiences, ethical dilemmas and conflicts. Furthermore, all ethical dilemmas which were influenced by my personal experiences and could have possibly caused bias in the study were outlined in the journal and they were further addressed during consultations with the supervisor.

5.13 Data Analysis

De Vos et al. (2002, p.339) described data analysis as a process of “bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data”. In this study, discourse analysis was used to analyse data. This method of data analysis was selected because the aim of the study was to broadly explore the discourses that sex offenders drew from, to construct their masculinities, and to account for their sex offences. According to Burr (1995, p.64), *discourse* refers to “a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements that in some way together produce a particular version of events.” In other words, discourses are statements that provide meaning for understanding the world and they are produced through our social interactions and maintained through social institutions such as religion, family, community etc. (van Dijk (2001).

Discourse analysis was preferred to explore the available or dominant discourses that sex offenders drew from to construct their masculinities and to account for their sexual offences. In other words, the study explored how sex offenders positioned themselves in relation to these dominant discourses. Since language plays a major role in forming meanings and discourses, discourse analysis was preferred because it analyses what people do through language (Willig, 2008). Furthermore, this method was preferred because it is one of the methods of analysis that

attempts to understand behaviour through language since language is seen as constituting meaning that is socially derived.

According to Forrester (2010a), there are different versions of discourse analysis, which, whilst sharing a social constructionism epistemology, have a different approach to the analysis of the talk or the text. Although discourse analysis was used to analyze data in this study, the method adopted was not strictly aligned to a particular theoretical stance. In the analysis, the author was guided by broad tenets of social constructionism through the use of Thematic Analysis procedure. In that way, discourse analysis in this regard was approached from a *macro level* that focused chiefly on the broader scope of analyzing discourses than focusing on the linguistic analysis of the talks of participants. According to van Dijk (1988), discourse analysis at the *micro level* focuses on syntax, semantics and pragmatics. Fairclough (1989) asserts that at the *micro level*, discourse analysis focuses on how the articulation of the text, linguistic features and devices depict the idea. Therefore, analysis at this level focuses on the critical analysis of the linguistic and semiotic features which include the analysis of semantic, grammatical, vocabulary, phonological and graphological and semiotic relations (Fairclough, 2003).

According to the *macro level approach (the focus for this study)*, the analysis centres around the overall forms of discourse, the meanings of the whole paragraphs or sections of written discourse and the speech act accomplished by the whole text. That is, the analysis is focused on discerning broader ideological patterns in the data. The intention to derive ‘analytical themes’ from the data was seen as a procedural way to approximate macro level meaning units which, the author asserts, is linked to ideological tropes regarding participants accounts of their masculinities; their present and past realities on being positioned as sex offenders and accounts of life projects going forward. In order to derive primary meaning units, guidelines by Braun & Clarke (2006), and Willig (2008) were interfaced to analyze data as indicated below:

(a) Familiarizing oneself with the data (reading through data)

Familiarization of the data started with the audio-recorded data. As a back-up plan, the information was transferred from the audio device to the computer. This information was stored in files designated for each centre. The familiarization process was intensified during the transcription process. Once the data had been transferred to the computer, I began to acquaint myself with the ‘reading of data’ by listening and re-listening to the contents of the participants’ stories on the audio recorder. During the data ‘reading’, notes were taken and ideas marked which were used extensively during the coding process.

The aim of ‘reading the data’ was to obtain a general sense of the information gathered and to reflect on its overall meaning. Familiarization with the data was aimed at acquiring a general understanding of what the participants were saying. By so doing, I familiarized myself with the depth and the breadth of the content of the data *corpus*.

(b) Transcription of verbal data

Once the data had been ‘read’ (listened to) it was transcribed verbatim from the audiotape. Transcription is a process whereby the researcher types and writes the sound file into a word document which will later be read and analyzed alongside, reading the tape recorder (Forrester, 2010b). In a similar note, Bird (2005, p.227) describes the process of the transcription of data as “a key phase of data analysis within interpretative qualitative methodology” because it enables the researcher to be further familiarized with the data in depth and to understand it thoroughly. To achieve this, attention was paid to the content with the intention of understanding “what is the text saying” (Willig, 2008, p.99). For the purpose of accuracy and to ensure that the transcription process did not lose meaning and the content of the original interviews, I continuously checked the transcripts against the original audio recordings as well as the field notes for confirmation.

(c) Generating codes

Having read the transcript repeatedly, I identified and selected material for coding. According to Creswell (2009, p.187) “coding is the process of organizing the material into chunks or segments of text before bringing meaning to information. It involves taking text data gathered during data collection, segmenting sentences (or paragraphs) into categories, and labelling those categories with a term”. Instead of having the predetermined codes, codes were developed only on the basis of the emerging relevant information collected from participants (Creswell, 2009). The manual system was used to generate these codes. Emerging codes were recoded and arranged in one column. Another column was drawn with a definition code and the line numbers in which the code was found in the transcript. In the end, these codes were matched up with the data extracts from the whole data *corpus*.

(d) Searching for themes

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), this is a process whereby different codes are sorted into potential themes. Having identified a long list of different codes, I analyzed the codes to see how they could be combined to form a theme. This process was done through mind mapping,

taking into consideration the relation between the codes and the themes. Since it was too early to discard any code at this stage, those codes which did not belong anywhere were temporarily ‘thrown’ into the miscellaneous theme, so that they could be considered at a later stage.

(e) Reviewing themes

Since the themes were generated at this stage, existing themes were refined. Those which were similar were merged and those which did not have sufficient data to support them were discarded. Thereafter, I started with the validation of individual themes by aligning them to the extracts.

(f) Defining and naming themes

At this stage, the themes already had working titles. These were then refined so that they could then be used as final themes.

(g) Identification of discourses

After the themes had been named and defined, literature was reviewed in order to identify the broader discourses that aligned to the particular theme. For instance, I highlighted a dominant theme (e.g. fathering and fatherhood), which I associated with a discourse on masculinity (e.g. procreation, physical presence, emotional presence and provision). In similar manner, I identified those themes that participants drew from, to account for their sexual offences and linked these analytical units to broader discourses.

(h) Reviewing discourses

Discourses at this stage were refined. Those which were similar were merged and those which did not have sufficient data to support them were discarded. Thereafter, I began with the validation of discourses in relation to the data set, by checking if indeed the extracts accurately fit that particular discourse.

(i) Subjectivity

At the stage of Willig’s (2008) ‘subjectivity’, discourses identified from other steps were finalized and displayed together under several themes to show how particular ways-of-being in the world and ways-of-seeing the world are brought into being (Willig, 2008).

(j) Report writing

In the final stage, I put together in a concise, coherent and logical manner the account of data collected. The write up was done, taking into account themes, discourses and supportive extracts. The final report was presented in a chapter titled, “Presentation of results”.

5.14 Ethical Considerations

According to Silverman (2014), qualitative research should adhere to ethical principles in order to ensure that the dignity and the safety of the participants and the researcher are maintained. The WHO (2007) describes ethics in research as moral codes that provide rules and standards for the researchers. Such rules in qualitative research are aimed at promoting voluntary participation, protecting research participants, limiting risks to participants and ensuring that participants are not exposed to physical and psychological harm (Silverman, 2014).

To protect the participants and to ensure that they did not feel coerced into participating in the study, I ensured that I adhere to the guidelines on Ethical and Safety Recommendations for Research on the Perpetration of Sexual Violence (Jewkes, Dartnall & Sikweyiya, 2012). Furthermore, I also adhered to ethical principles prescribed by WHO (2007), the University of KwaZulu-Natal and those designed by the Department of Correctional Services, as indicated below:

(a) Voluntary informed consent

According to Emanuel, Wendler and Grady (2000, p.2703), an informed consent process involves “the provision of information to participants about; the purpose of research, its procedures, potential risks, benefits and alternatives, so that the individual understands this information and makes a voluntary decision whether to continue to participate in research or not”. The main objective of this process is to ensure that the research is conducted openly without any deception on the participants (Silverman, 2011). To adhere to this ethical principle, I took into consideration the following factors:

- *Disclosure*

As part of consent, I provided information on the study to the participants to ensure that they had a thorough knowledge and understanding of what they were consenting to. The information about the study was verbally explained at the first meeting with the participants and it was further explained at the second meeting, before their consent was given. This verbal

explanation aimed to provide clarity about the study for the benefit of those who could and could not read. In this regard, I explained the purpose of the study, the nature of questions to be asked, the risks that might be involved, the steps to be taken in order to mitigate such risks, the benefits of the study, the precautions that would be taken to protect the participants' confidentiality and their rights. When providing this information, the participants were also given a chance to ask questions for clarifications (WHO, 2007).

- *Understanding*

The process of voluntary informed consent is incomplete and unfair if the participants do not understand the information given. To ensure that the participants fully understood what they were consenting to, the information sheet and the consent forms were explained in the language they understood (i.e. Sepedi). For one foreign national, English was used. He was fluent in English and he reported that he had used it as a first language at school in Zimbabwe. Therefore, no services of a translator were used during the interviews because the participant had a great command and understanding of English. However, to ensure that the trustworthiness of the study was achieved, I went back to him for member checking so that he could both assess and approve if the transcripts were a true reflection of what he told me. The other participant who was born in Mozambique was bilingual because his father is a South African (Pedi tribe), as a result he had a great command in both Sepedi and English, However, he preferred to be interviewed in Sepedi. To ensure the trustworthiness of the study, I used the same procedure that had been used for the Zimbabwean national.

To enable participants to think about whether they should participate or not, the contents of the information sheet were verbally explained and the participants were requested to think about their willingness to participate before the research interviews were conducted. At the second meeting with the participants, the information sheet was explained again before the verbal consent was given. To assess their understanding of the content of the Information Sheet and the consent forms, I asked the participants "to repeat in their own words why they thought the interview was being done, what they thought would be gained from it, what they had agreed to, what the risks might be and what would happen if they refused to participate" (WHO, 2007; p.23). Further deliberations and explanations were made especially if I noticed that there was any misunderstanding.

- *Voluntariness*

Since the study was conducted in the Correctional Centres, to ensure that the participants did not feel coerced into participation, I explained their right to refuse to participate, to discontinue, or to refuse to respond to certain questions without fear of negative consequences.

- *Competence*

According to De Vos et al. (2011, p.117), participants in research should be “legally and psychologically competent to give consent”. The participants in this study were considered to be legally competent to give consent to participate in the study since they were above 18 years of age (Children’s Act 38 of 2005). Again, the participants were also considered to have the mental capacity to give consent because they were tried and convicted under the Criminal Procedure Act 51 of 1977 (78). As such, it is understood that a full psychological screening was conducted before conviction and incarceration.

(b) Privacy

Privacy in research is described as a control of access by others (researcher) to self (participant) (Schlosser, 2008). The participant has the right to privacy. It is therefore expected that researchers should protect the participants’ privacy. This protection should be done during the recruitment and data collection stage. To ensure that this right was not violated, the following factors were taken into consideration:

- (i) Interviews were conducted in a room/ office away from other offenders. As informed by the Department of Correctional Services and Ethical Recommendations’s guidelines by the Medical Research Council (Jewkes, Dartnall & Sikweyiya, 2012) these interviews were conducted within the eyesight of the Internal Guide, but out of his earshot.
- (ii) To further protect their privacy, during the interviews, it was explained to the participants that they were at liberty to ignore and gloss over questions which they thought might violate their privacy or those which they were not comfortable to answer.
- (iii) During the recruitment stage, to alleviate fears that their privacy might have been invaded by the researcher who accessed their information without their knowledge, all the processes which were followed were explained and the scope of information which was accessed for the purpose of the study was explained to them.

(c) Confidentiality and anonymity

Confidentiality in research is especially focused on how data is collected, stored and shared without exposing private information to the public and thus causing emotional damage to the participants (Liamputtong, 2007; WHO, 2007). To ensure that confidentiality was maintained in this study, the following principles were adhered to:

- *Storing of data*

In this study, confidentiality was maintained by reviewing audio information in a safe and private environment (at the home of the researcher). Data was transferred to a personal computer, which was protected by a personal password. Field notes were also stored in a locked cabinet which could only be accessed by the researcher. To prevent the accessibility of data long after the study had been completed, electronic data will be deleted permanently from the personal computer, field notes will be shredded and audio tapes will be incinerated after 5 years.

- *Sharing of information and anonymity*

To maintain anonymity, I ensured that the interview schedule did not require participants to disclose their biographical information. To further conceal their identity, I signed the participants' Consent Forms after I received verbal consent from them. Furthermore, names were concealed in the presentation of the data and the same method will still be used during the dissemination of the results in any academic forum.

Since I was using interviews to collect data, there was a possibility that this method of data collection might alleviate anxiety and reduce defensiveness. It was also possible that in such instances, there may be an over-reporting and disclosure of information related to other sexually coercive behaviours of participants that were not prosecuted. Should such information be disclosed, I was required by law, to report such cases (unreported cases of sexual violence) (Cowburn, 2005). To avoid the ethical dilemma that might have arisen from this situation, I informed the participants during the initial interview meeting about the limitations of confidentiality in this study. I explained that the main limitation to confidentiality in this study was that if the participant divulged coercive and illegal sexual behaviours that had not been reported to the police and they *identify* specific victims and offenders, I was obliged to pass on this information to the police. In addition, I guarded against intensive probing that could have elicited information on unprosecuted sexual offences.

Despite the limitations cited, I continued to reassure the participants that the information provided during the interviews would not be subpoenaed to be used as evidence in court since the judicial processes regarding their prosecution were already completed.

(d) Support of research participants

According to Liamputtong (2007), researchers have the responsibility to ensure that the participants are not negatively affected physically, emotionally and socially by participating in the research study. De Vos et al. (2011) stated that in most cases, qualitative research may cause emotional harm but physical harm could also not be ruled out. The authors stated that researchers should ensure that they avoid emotional harm even though it is often more “difficult to predict and to determine than physical harm” (p.115). To avoid emotional harm during the interviews, I ensured that questions were asked “sensitively, in a supportive and non-judgemental manner” (WHO, 2003, p.5).

Since the study on life histories may produce painful memories which may cause mental discomfort for the participants, prior to the data collection, I made arrangements with the social workers stationed in the Correctional Centres to offer counselling. These arrangements were made so that those participants who were likely to present with symptoms of distress would be offered counselling. However, no such cases were reported or observed. Participants were encouraged to notify their social workers in the centres, should such symptoms arise after the study had been completed.

(e) Safety and support of the researcher

According to Mathews (2009), conducting interviews in Correctional Centres may pose a potential, physical and emotional risk to the researcher. For safety purposes, interviews were conducted within the parameters of the Internal Guide, as stated in the Correctional Services Act no.111 of 1998.

To cope with any secondary trauma that resulted from the traumatic narratives of the participants, I attended debriefing sessions with my psychologist. During the process of data collection, frequent consultations were held with the academic supervisor for on-going academic and emotional support (Cowburn, 2005).

(f) Honesty

To avoid any form of deception, I was open and honest to the participants through the entire process, from the beginning to the end of the data collection sessions. Expectations were clarified from the beginning and the research sheet was clearly explained to the participants.

5.15 Conclusion

This chapter provided a detailed outline of how data was collected and analysed. It further explained that the qualitative approach had been selected and used as the preferred research design to reach the objectives of the study. Furthermore, the chapter outlined where the study was conducted, the recruitment process, the instrument and the method used to collect data. The chapter also explained how data was analysed. Most importantly, the chapter highlighted the ethical procedures that had been followed to protect the rights of participants and to ensure that the credibility of the study was not compromised. The following chapter outlines the presentation of the research findings.

CHAPTER 6

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS: CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the interviews that were conducted with the sex offenders incarcerated in five Correctional Centres in Limpopo Province (Makhado, Tzaneen, Polokwane, Kutama Sinthumule, and Thohoyandou). All the participants were incarcerated for the charges of rape (sexual offence) as outlined by the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act 32 of 2007.

The presentation of results is divided into two parts. This chapter presents the results related to the first objective and the following chapter presents the results related to the second objective. The first objective of the study explores how sex offenders construct masculinity.

6.2 Constructions of masculinity by sex offenders

The researcher's interviews with 19 participants whose ages ranged from 18 to 55 produced various accounts of how sex offenders constructed masculinities. The findings revealed that the participants used local discourses to regulate and to judge themselves as well as others against what is deemed to be an acceptable version of masculinity. These masculine discourses served as 'guidelines' of how individuals should behave so that they would be accepted as 'real men' in their communities. During the interviews with the participants, the following themes emerged:

Table 1: Emergent themes

6.2.1. Discourses of fathering and fatherhood
6.2.2. Discourses of possession
6.2.3. Discourses of physical strength, toughness and perseverance
6.2.4. Discourses of initiation
6.2.5. Discourses of heroism
6.2.6. Discourses of sexuality

6.2.7. Discourses of respect

6.2.1 Discourses of fathering and fatherhood

Table 6.1. below presents the sub-themes that emerged when the researcher analysed the responses of 19 interviewed participants. Statements were extracted from the participants' responses to validate the sub-themes.

Table 6.1: Sub-themes and motivating statements

Sub-themes	Examples of statements from the responses
Discourses of fathering (procreation)	<i>To be honest, what is important is what the man releases... Is it not the children we need in the house? The size (of the penis) does not matter. You might have the big one but hurt your wife. Yet the one with a small penis is able to release fertile sperms that can impregnate a woman (Participant 18).</i>
Discourses of fatherhood (physical presence)	<i>I grew up well. The problem is that I grew up without knowing my father. I don't know my identity because I don't know my father. That is the main thing. I asked my mother but she did not tell me. This stressed me bit by bit. I lacked a father figure and this stressed me. I asked my mother and she still refused to tell me even now. This matter stresses me (Participant 2).</i>
Discourse of fatherhood (emotional presence)	<i>Fathers must provide and give support to their families and their children. When they are in pain, he should give emotional support (Participant 7).</i>

Sub-themes	Examples of statements from the responses
Discourse of fatherhood (provision)	<i>He should provide for the needs of the children...Real man must work hard to be able to provide for his family</i> (Participant 10).

(a) *Discourse of fathering (procreation)*

In their narratives, participants drew on the discourses of fathering to construct masculinity. According to them, fathering was about one’s ability to procreate. An individual is expected to be able to impregnate a woman. For them, an individual is able to “father” only if he has biologically contributed to the conception of a child. Therefore, infertility is seen as a masculine failure. The following quotations illustrate the point:

*To be honest, what is important is **what the man releases**... Is it not the children we need in the house? The size does not matter. You might have the big one but hurt your wife. **Yet the one with a small penis is able to release fertile sperms that can impregnate a woman*** (Participant 18).

*Real man should have a wife and children...if a man does not have a child, whose father is he? **He should have a child** so that we can say that he is so and so’s father. If he does not have a child, we will call him by his name until he has a child. Then we will call him by his child’s name* (Participant 8).

The findings reveal that the participants value the importance of procreation. Participant 8 belongs to the Pedi ethnic group. This ethnic group is dominant in Limpopo Province, in the northern part of South Africa. In his narratives, the participant drew on Pedi discourses to describe the importance of procreation in the life of a Pedi man. Men and women within the Pedi community are socialised to call elders by their child’s name, in particular, their first born. According to the participant 8, men should be called by their children’s name, because it symbolises an “adult masculinity” and it affirms one’s ability to procreate. It is within this cultural group that an individual is viewed as a real man only when he has a child. The findings suggest that sexual pleasure and the size of the man’s penis do not matter. The best way to demonstrate masculinity is by means of procreation. Therefore, fathering, is equated with procreation. This finding is consistent with Uchendu’s (2007) study which revealed that men in Nigeria too value the importance of procreation. The power of the penis is only seen in its

ability to procreate. These local discourses on fathering pressurise men to have children so that they may also 'fit' into and comply with the masculine culture. Therefore, those who do not have children by choice or default are seen as deviating from the masculine culture. The following quotation illustrates this point:

Participant: Aaah... You should have a house, wife and children.

Researcher: If you are married, have a house but do not have children, should we still not consider you to be a real man?

*Participant: It depends on who is it that cannot produce. If the problem is with a woman, then you must get another woman. If you cannot impregnate the other woman, then you have a problem. **Since you cannot have children, you are not a man** (Participant 13).*

Participant 13 was also a Pedi. From his narrative, it became evident that a man was entitled to marry another woman or *Hlatswadirope* (a younger sister to the wife) to bear children on behalf of his first wife if she struggled to have children. Blame for infertility is often ascribed to the women because it is believed that all men are fertile. Although men are not blamed, masculinity is "tested" and threatened because should the man fail to impregnate a woman, he is likely to be categorised with the 'other'. As they strive to be positioned as real men, these findings revealed that men have been put under severe pressure to have children. It is unlikely that under any circumstances one would decide not to have children because those who fail to father any child are seen as deviating from hegemonic masculinity. This view was supported by Burton (2014).

(b) Discourses of fatherhood

In their narratives, the participants described fatherhood as "doings". They described fatherhood as the responsibilities which the biological father has to perform in the lives of his children. They are prescribed fatherly duties and those who are unable to perform them are seen as having failed in fatherhood. Masculinity is associated with how well the father plays his role as the father.

- *Fatherhood is a physical presence*

The findings of this study revealed that masculinity and masculine identity are rooted in the experience of being fathered. As they shared their childhood experiences, most of the participants revealed that they were raised in an environment of absent fathers. In their

narratives, death, divorce and separation of their unmarried parents were mentioned as the main causes for the absence of their fathers. Most of them were raised by their mothers, grandparents, or relatives. The following quotations illustrate this point:

I was raised by my mother, my father passed away when I was still very young (Participant 10).

My parents both died in an accident in 1990. I am the only child. I was raised by my aunt (Participant 17).

My father left us. He said that he would come back but he did not (Participant 13).

Even though they were raised by their mothers and their male relatives who were positioned as their social fathers, the participants were socialised to value the importance of the father's presence in the life of the child. Most of them believe that such a presence is significant because it has a strong bearing on the construction of the child's masculine identity. Some of these participants described their experiences of growing up without their fathers as painful and stressful. They raised this concern because they believed that masculine identity was rooted in the child's identification with his father or paternal lineage. Since the father-child relationship is important in their construction of the masculine identity, one participant mentioned that his stress intensified, especially when his efforts to trace his father were not successful. He needed to develop a strong relationship with his father because such a relationship could have reassured him that he belonged to a paternal clan that was strongly related to his masculine identity. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*I grew up well. The problem is that I grew up without knowing my father. **I don't know my identity because I don't know my father.** That is the main thing. I asked my mother but she did not tell me. **This stressed me bit by bit. I lacked father figure and this stressed me.** I asked my mother and she still refuses to tell me even now. This matter stresses me (Participant 2).*

Even though he "grew up well", the participant mentioned that the absence of his father caused him concern because not knowing his father meant that he did not know his identity, which, as a man is acquired through the use of his paternal surname. According to most participants, fatherhood is about both the physical presence of the father who instills the cultural values in the child, that he has to transfer to the next generation. Their presence also involves the presence of the paternal ancestors in the upbringing of the child which also has a strong bearing on the child's construction of identity. These findings suggest that the participants drew on the

local discourses of fatherhood that emphasised the importance of the presence of father in the life of the child, to construct masculinity. Consequently, the relationship with one's father is the "main thing" in one's life. In support of this view, Freeks (2011, p.13) stated that in Africa, fatherhood and "fathering has much more to do with kinship than medically established paternity". Masculinity is associated with the identity that is embedded in one's relation to his father and clan. Hence, most of the participants believed that those individuals without fathers were likely to feel incomplete. Some of the participants were of the opinion that the absence of a father was to blame for their behavioural problems. The following quotation illustrates this point:

When I grew up, ... I started drinking alcohol and taking drugs. I think this was caused by the stress of my father. I did not get guidance and counselling (Participant 2).

As he accounts for his behavioural problems, the participant pointed out that he blamed his alcohol and drugs abuse on his father's physical absence. The participant mentioned that his inability to have a relationship with his father caused him to have emotional problems that eventually led him to his involvement in harmful masculine activities. In support of this finding, Siwella (2011) explained that boy children need their fathers to guide, encourage and reassure them. It is believed that a father's reassurance to a boy child builds his confidence. According to Eddy, Thomson-de Boor and Mphaka (2013), if the child does not receive this fatherly support he is likely to have behavioural problems. As they use the discourses of fatherhood to construct their masculine identities, the presence of the father is seen as playing a significant role in building the positive character of the child. Since the presence of the father is important in the life of the boy child, local campaigns were introduced to trace and reconcile fathers with their children through national TV programmes such as "*Khumbul'ekhaya*" and "*Utatakho*" (Eddy, Thomson-de Boor & Mphaka, 2013, p.21).

As they searched for guidance from father figures, some of the participants found solace from their male relatives who served as 'social' fathers. Apart from being present in the lives of the boys, findings revealed that these social fathers also played a significant role in introducing the boy child to masculine identities and masculine related activities. The following quotations illustrate the significant role of social fathers in guiding and supporting the boy children in the absence of their biological fathers:

Researcher: As you grew up, who taught you about manhood?

Participant: I was taught by this old man who was my neighbour. He used to guide me. Even when I had male related challenges such as a STI's, I used to contact him. He has since passed on (Participant 10).

...My neighbour. He used to guide me when I went astray. I did not take him seriously until I was arrested (Participant 2).

In the absence of their biological fathers, most social fathers are positioned to take up the fatherhood role. Their involvement confirms that fatherhood in Africa is not only rooted in the participation of biological fathers. Social fathers are also seen as playing a vital role in shaping and supporting boy children to develop their masculine identities. This active involvement of social fathers in the lives of boys is also reflected in some Pedi discourses, which state that, “*ngwana ga se wa šete ke wa kgoro*”, meaning that the sperm does not beget a child. These findings are consistent with the views of Ratele, Shefer, and Clowes, (2012) and Mkhize (2006) who also believe that the child belongs to the whole community. Hence, every man is obliged to be part of raising the children in the community, collectively. Even though social fathers play a significant role in the communities, their roles are limited because they cannot play the cultural roles that include connecting the boys to family ancestors, since they are sometimes not part of the clan. In other words, the relationship between the social fathers and the boys is on a more superficial level. Since their roles are limited, some of the participants felt that these fathers had no control over them. As a result, they did not really take their advice, since they did not see them as part of their family. Hence, when participant 2 was given guidance by a neighbour he did not take it seriously. It is against this background that in some instances, some participants preferred to listen to the voices of their peers instead. The reaction of participant 2 and 12 may be explained as defiance towards men who did not have full control over them. The absence of their fathers left a void of the father figure in their lives, and some of them resorted to peer deviant behaviors. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*At a later stage, **I joined another gang.** ... They introduced me to a crime where we used to steal money at the robots (traffic lights). We used to hit the window with a car plug. Then we would grab sunglasses such as “police”. We ran away and sold them. I liked this crime because it was simple and quick. I used to enjoy it. I did this crime for a long time until I was arrested. Because I was still young, I was taken to Diambo Prison in Krugersdorp. **My mother used to support me, but I wished we could have been raised in a loving environment where we would get constant guidance, I would not have ended up here** (Participant 12).*

The above extract indicates that alongside the moral guides received from their social fathers, most participants still preferred the version of their peers. This finding suggests that as

participants saw various versions of discourses of masculinity, the version espoused by their peers was preferred as a “better version” of masculinity. The voices of the social fathers were overshadowed by those of their peers which became the root of their masculine identity. Although the voices of social fathers were significant, the findings suggest that masculine identity is also rooted in relationships with other boys, where particular discourses of masculinity are accessed.

Based on these findings, it is concluded that the idealised version of masculinity is the presence of the biological father in the life of the child. Even though social fathers are important in the life of the boy, the biological father is still seen as the chief source of influence when the masculine identity of the boy child is established. The findings revealed that the physical presence of the biological father is deemed to be important because he is seen as the mediator between the ancestors and the boy. His presence is significant in establishing the identity of the boy. For instance, if the boy says he belongs to a certain clan, there has to be the biological father who connects him to the ancestors of that clan. In that way, he feels a sense of belonging. This is the reason the biological father is expected to be physically present in the life of a child. Again, the findings revealed that the presence of the biological father is important because he is seen as a moral guide a boy child should learn from. Apart from the biological father, the participants acknowledged the significance of the social fathers in instilling these social morals in them. However, for some, the role of the social father was still not deemed to be significant because the influence of these fathers were not crucial, since they were not the real, biological fathers. Since they did not have biological fathers, some of the participants preferred the voice of the peers and adopted aberrant behaviours which were informed by masculine discourses accessed through their peers. Having explored the roles of both the biological and the social father in the life of the boy child, it is concluded that the physical presence of the biological father is important in the life of the boy child because he provides moral guidance and legitimises his son’s sense of belonging through his paternal lineage. From these findings, in as much as the social father’s presence is significant, the presence of the biological father is of utmost importance in the construction of the masculine identity. Based on these findings, biological fathers are then encouraged to re-examine their positioning by being physically present and actively involved in the wellbeing of their children.

- *Fatherhood as emotional presence*

Although the physical presence of the father is important in the life of the boy child, findings revealed that the participants especially valued the emotional presence of their fathers. In the interviews, it was mentioned that one of the father's roles was to be emotionally present in the lives of their children. Apart from physical absence, fathers are positioned as "absent" even when they are physically present but emotionally absent. According to the participants, physical and emotional presence completes the "father's package". The following quotation illustrates this point:

Participant: When we were growing up, other kids were talking about their fathers and this hurt me because I did not have a father.

Researcher: What did you need from him? If he was around, what would you need from him?

*Participant: I wanted him to give me **support**. My mother struggled a lot. She got married but my stepfather did not play his role as expected. **He did not give me support too. He did not do things that men are supposed to do.***

Researcher: What is it that fathers are supposed to do?

*Participant: Fathers must provide and give support to their families and their children. **When they are in pain, he should give emotional support** (Participant 7).*

From the findings, it was revealed that the father is positioned as a significant male figure in the life of the boy child. Hence it is believed that the boy child needs both the physical and the emotional presence of his father. For instance, even though his stepfather was physically present, participant 7 highlighted the negative effect of his father's emotional absence. According to him, emotional support is central to fatherhood. Therefore, his stepfather's fatherhood was perceived as deficient because by not providing emotional support, the participant felt that his step-father did not "play his role as expected" and "he did not *do* the things that fathers are supposed *to do*". As a result, his stepfather's inability *to do* what other men were doing, demonstrated his failed fatherhood and masculinity because the participant learned from social norms that a man has to "support" his family. As they yearned for their father's emotional presence, some participants blamed their fathers for their behavioural problems. They believed that the emotional presence of their fathers could have prevented them from being in conflict with the law. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*... I wished we could have been raised in a **loving environment** where we would get constant guidance, I would have not been here... I was angry at him (father) because he should have spoken to me as a father and guided me to follow a correct path (Participant 12).*

Even though his father was physically present, in the above extract, the participant accounts for his criminal offence by blaming his father's lack of warmth, love and guidance. His response, suggests that if he had been raised in a "loving environment" where there was emotional support and consistent guidance he would not have been in conflict with the law. As indicated by participant 7, one of the things that the father is "supposed to do" is to be emotionally present for his children, especially when they experience challenges. This finding suggests that the emotional presence is equally important to the physical presence in the life of the boy child. In support of these findings, Beynon (2002) stated that boys are especially likely to be involved in crime if they do not have an emotionally supportive father and the paternal role model to emulate. Although it may be argued that these participants are emulating the behaviours of their fathers by turning to violence and crime, this notion may be challenged by the view that they seem to have insight into the characteristics of an ideal father. However, due to the absence of their fathers and their sense of belonging, they preferred the discourses of their peers. Since belonging forms part of masculinity, participants preferred discourses of their peers because they also wanted to belong "somewhere". Gangs in this context seemed to offer the "nest" and the sense of belonging that the participant sought.

- *Fatherhood is provision*

In addition to physical and emotional presence, these findings revealed that fatherhood is associated with provision. According to Makusha and Richter (2015, p.2) discourses of provision are taken more seriously in an African society because "financial provision is a deeply entrenched aspect of masculine identity". In their narratives, participants indicated that men in their communities are positioned as breadwinners. They are therefore socialised to have a stable source of income so that they can be able to provide for their families. The findings also indicate that young boys are also socialised to provide for their families, especially if there is no man in the household. It is for this reason that some of these boys abandoned their studies to look for jobs on farms so that they could provide for their families. The following quotations illustrate this point:

*I grew up in a poor family. **That is why I dropped out of school at a young age. I went to the farms to work... to take care of my siblings.** Sometimes she (participant's mother)*

used to call me requesting for money to buy food. I used to give her my bankcard until I got arrested in January 2010 (Participant 9).

I noticed that my mother was struggling because she was depending on the grant. In January 1999, I decided not to go to school. I then went to the farms and worked. I used to give money to my aunt so that she could give to my mother to take care of my siblings (Participant 8).

The findings reveal that men are socialised to provide, hence the families of the participants embraced the decisions of the boys to leave school at a young age to work. Those boys who insisted on going to school to pursue their careers whilst their families were financially struggling were sometimes teased by their peers for not being “men enough” to leave school to find jobs also in order to provide for their families. Most of these boys left school because they were pressurised by their peers and the dominant discourses to provide for their families. Like other men, the boy child in this context is positioned as a “father figure” in his household and he is expected to provide for his family. Since they were socialised to provide for their families, as they grew up; the participants subscribed to these discourses. They drew on them to describe successful fatherhood and masculinity. The following quotations illustrate the point:

*He should provide for the needs of the children. The woman will tell him what is needed in the house. He should give her money so that she could buy groceries ... **Real man must work hard to be able to provide for his family.** That is a man. His family should not ask for salt or mielie meal from neighbours. He should do things for himself and do not depend on others (Participant 10).*

*He should work hard and **have money so that there is food in the house. Otherwise, his wife will have an affair so that she could bring food in the house** (Participant 11).*

In their talks, the participants emphasised that a man should work hard. In that way, they believed that work forms part of the main component of masculinity that enabled a man to provide for his family. The man is expected to be industrious otherwise, he would not be able to fulfil his duty to provide for his family. Should the man fail to provide for his family, he would be seen as having failed in his fatherhood role. Participants emphasised that a man should secure his masculine position by providing for his family and avoid a role reversal (i.e. women providing for the family). They condemned role reversal and those men who allowed it to happen in their homes were “othered” and disrespected. These discourses of provision concurred with the view of Makusha, Ritcher and Chikovore (2013) who stated that fatherhood goes beyond men’s biological contribution, since it also includes providing for one’s family.

From these narratives, men who continue to procreate and yet are unable to provide for their children are criticised and placed on non-man positions.

Since men are expected to provide for their families, participants use this discourse to describe the role of a man in the family. They emphasised that a man should have the financial ability to execute his financial obligations. If not, he should not marry and he should avoid having children since his family would be a burden to the community and society at large. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*He should be able to provide for his family. Let us say in my case, I cannot get married now whilst I am not working. How am I going to support my family? **Should I do that, it is going to be a poor family. By doing that I will be breeding a family of poor people.** A man must provide (Participant 6).*

Most of the participants in this study despised poverty. As a result, men who have no means to provide for their families were discouraged from marrying. Instead, it was suggested that such men should concentrate on becoming skilled so that they would be able to secure manual jobs or open businesses in order to generate their income. The following quotations illustrate this point:

***You should be skilled. Work hard and maintain yourself...You must be skilled so that you are independent. You must work very hard.... You must support your family. You must never depend on others, even if you don't have much** (Participant 8).*

***You must use your hands and look for manual jobs. You won't suffer. You will have money to buy food** (Participant 5).*

In their narratives, it emerged that men must “do” something. It is by “doing” that the man will be able to survive and provide for his family. It is believed that by being able to “do” something, especially whilst they are still at the Correctional Centre, they are likely to stand a good chance of being employed when they are released. In this way, they may be able to fulfil their financial obligations. To ensure that they equip themselves with skills, some participants indicated that they had participated in the Skill Development Programmes and volunteered in other programmes at their centres. The following extracts illustrate:

I am proud of my sewing skills. I can sew clothes for myself. I learnt this from here. Even plumbing. I am good at it (Participant 14).

I learnt several manual skills at Sonderwater Prison so that I may be employed and work for my family (Participant 10).

As they talked about their experiences and their skills, different masculine versions emerged. Those who had volunteered and participated in the Skills Development Programmes offered at the centres positioned themselves as real men as compared to those who they labelled as “lazy men” due to their non-participation. A sense of pride was evident when Participant 14 came to the next meeting with the certificates he had obtained from his participation in the Skills Development Programmes offered at the centre. For him, the certificates proved his ability to work hard, as was expected from a real man. Furthermore, these achievements served as a testimony that as a man, he could survive beyond the limits that had been set for him, especially because he could improve his ability to generate money even though he is in captivity. In his opinion, these achievements gave him power over other men who were positioned as “lazy”. From his narratives, it was also evident that since he was unable to provide for his family, the participant drew on the discourse of power (an available discourse) to reaffirm his masculinity.

On the other hand, it was found that there were other men who had not participated in the Skills Development Programmes. Some were discouraged and did not see the value of empowering themselves through these programmes because they perceived themselves to be less of a man. For instance, one participant expressed his helplessness and failed masculinity because he was no longer able to provide for his children. He could not walk properly because the police had shot him during a robbery incident. Due to his medical condition, he saw himself as not a ‘real man’ because he was unable to do what other men were able to do. His helplessness has made him unwilling to participate in these Skills Development Programmes, resulting him to have a “deficient masculinity”. The following quotation illustrates the point:

*Which company can employ someone with a criminal record? You see, today I am on crutches because of policemen. ...With this crutches, where am I going to work? My children are still young. How am I going to take them to tertiary? Where would I get the money? **What kind of father will they say I am?** (Participant 11).*

Even though some of the participant looked forward to being released and hoped that because of the skills they had learned, they would be able to secure jobs and provide for their families, Participant 11 felt discouraged because his masculinity seemed to be bruised by his medical condition that was caused by another man. Apart from his inability to provide, the participant

perceived himself as having failed masculinity by succumbing to his physical injuries. He perceived himself as not being worthy of the status of a man because he had nothing to offer to his family. His narratives are contrary to those of participants 10 and 14, who drew on the available discourses to reposition themselves as men. Participant 11 instead positioned himself as less of a man by developing a sense of helplessness; moreover, he could not live up to the standard of hegemonic masculinity.

In addition to personal problems, economic hardships further demotivate and perpetuate negative self perception. Since men are expected to provide for their families, the current economic conditions make it difficult for most of them to live up to their expectations. For instance, some men in South Africa find themselves unemployed and unable to provide for their families (Eddy, Thomson-Boor & Mphaka, 2013). As a result, some participants reported that before they were convicted, they had already felt helpless since they could not live up to the masculine role expectation. Their helplessness was made worse when they were “othered”, marginalised and labelled by their families and their communities as “lazy”. The following quotation illustrates their despondency:

*According to my community, a real man should have his family. You are also expected to work hard for your family. If you are not working, **they will just say that you are too lazy and not a real man. Yes, a lazy man is not a real man** (Participant 19).*

Discourse of provision was emphasised and those men who were unemployed are often looked down upon, labelled and marginalized because because they did not live up to the perceived masculine standard. Since they could not provide, some of these participants felt emasculated. In some instances, their emasculation manifested itself through their involvement in crimes such as stealing to re-position themselves as men. The following quotations illustrate this point:

*I grew up in Limpopo. My family was very poor... **The situation at home affected me so much to an extent that I started stealing even though I was working. The money was not enough** (Participant 2).*

*I spent the money to buy things for my son and my girlfriend. I bought clothes and food for them. **She did not know that I was doing crime. I lied to her that I was doing temporary jobs** (Participant 17).*

*... I started to struggle to have things which were needed at school. I dropped from school. I then joined the local gang. **We robbed. I was previously arrested for robbing people their phones and sell them to buy food. I was forced to do crime to survive** (Participant 10).*

As a result of the discourse of provision, most participants reported that they could not afford to be humiliated, disrespected and marginalised on the basis of their inability to provide. As a result, they gave an account of their criminal activities by the imperative to provide for families. This finding concurs with that of Peralta and Tuttle (2013) whose study also revealed that some men engaged in unpleasant masculine behaviours so that they could compensate for their inability to provide. Even though they justified their criminal actions, these participants were condemned by other participants who on the contrary, believed that real men should be trustworthy despite their financial difficulties. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*...he should be honest. People must trust you. Even when you try to have money to maintain your family, **it should be in a lawful way. Otherwise you will continue to be here (in prison)*** (Participant 15).

As they described the qualities of a real man, participant 15 believed that in addition to provision, one should be honest and earn money in a legitimate way. Committing crime was seen as a drawback because one was likely to be re-incarcerated. Therefore, one is likely to lose both their own integrity and the trust of other community members. In his narratives, it was discovered that as the man loses his integrity, he is also likely to lose his relations with women who may be potential partners or wives. Therefore, as they “do something” for their families, men are encouraged to find legitimate jobs because women prefer men who have stable legitimate jobs. The following quotation illustrates this point:

...women do not like gangsters because they consider them to be unstable. They do not even want to have children with them because they think that these guys will be in prison and they will then be left with the responsibility of raising the children alone. Ladies in my township prefer men who have stable jobs (Participant 5).

In as much as men would like to “do” something for their families, on the other hand, women are seen as reinforcing discourses of financial independence as a desirable masculine quality by rejecting the notion of raising children alone, without the financial assistance of the biological fathers. They preferred to date men who are committed to legitimate jobs so that they would be able to provide for their (potential) families. Those men who “do something” for their families by belonging to notorious groups or gangsters are often not preferred by women. It is believed that these notorious men were a liability to their partners because they were mostly likely to be imprisoned and leave their partners to raise their children alone. These findings suggest that legitimate and secure financial independence has become a key component of fatherhood and masculinity. This was reflected in Munsch’s (2015) study, who

found that men's financial independence attracted women because they believed that men who were in legitimate jobs were responsible and they knew the purposes of their lives.

In conclusion, the findings of the present study revealed that the participants drew from the local discourses of fathering and fatherhood to construct their own masculinities. It was found that those individuals who were unable to be physically and emotionally present in the lives of their children demonstrated failed fathering and fatherhood positions. Such failures were seen as having negative impact on their children (participants), which led them to access unhealthy masculine discourses from their peers. These findings are consistent with Gennrich's view (2013) that positions fathers as figures of moral authority. In order to instil the moral values in their children, fathers are expected to be physically and emotionally present in the lives of their children.

Furthermore, it was discovered that most of the participants subscribed to the masculine ideal of "doing". Hence they cited fatherhood roles as working hard and providing for one's family. As they positioned themselves against these discourses, some participants experienced feelings of despair and despondency. They feared that their masculinity was threatened, especially when they were unable to provide for their children. To re-instate themselves in masculine positions, some participants indicated that it was important for individuals to empower themselves by engaging in Skills Development Programmes that were offered at the centre, so that upon their release they might increase their chances of being employed or start their own businesses so that they may be able to provide. On the other hand, it was discovered that even if fatherhood was centred on discourses of financial independence and provision, trustworthiness was also seen and an essential aspect of the masculine character. Having been socialised to be breadwinners, the findings reveal that the participants encouraged real men to hold legitimate stable jobs so that they would be able to provide for their families. Those who could not provide for their families were labelled and they were seen as failures in their fatherhood and masculine roles. To avoid being in this compromised position, some participants saw the value of self-empowerment by participating in Skills Development Programmes that would enable them to find jobs or open their own businesses upon their release. However, others resigned to their failed positions.

6.2.2 Discourses of possession

The findings revealed that most of the participants drew on discourses of possession to measure their masculine success. According to some of the participants, a man is expected to accumulate

assets. These assets were seen as a testimony of hard work. To account for their masculine success, participants talked with pride about their possessions; which ranged from ownership of land to houses. The following quotations illustrate this point:

*I managed to have money and **build a house** even though I do not have a wife. I moved out from my parent's home. **I managed to build a seven roomed house**. Even when I am released, I will be going to **my own house** (Participant 4).*

***I have my own house**. I built a seven-roomed house for my mother. My family was well-fed. I used to share what I had with other people (Participant 11).*

*...**he should have his own house even if it is a tinned house**. As long as he is no longer staying with his parents (Participant 5).*

***I bought a site**. I felt that I was a real man because I knew that I owned land. Now I have my own seven -roomed house (participant 3).*

*With my first payment, I built a house and bought furniture...I used to sleep in a one- roomed shack with my parents and siblings. **After building a house (for the family), I built my own house** (Participant 9).*

As they constructed their masculine successes, the participants positioned themselves as real men because they possessed assets. Land and houses were the most valuable assets recognised as being important, in the life of a man. For them, land signified wealth and a house signified an individual's freedom from parents and one's ability to protect their family. As they talked about their houses, those participants who owned houses positioned themselves as responsible men who were able to take care of their families. Since masculinity is measured by possession, those who did not possess anything, especially houses, were referred to as "boys" because they were still dependent on their parents for shelter.

Contrary to the participants who valued the possession of assets, there were two exceptions who thought masculinity was more about morality rather than the possession of assets. Unlike others, these individuals believed that masculine qualities should include good morals, education and generosity. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*In South Africa, people respect you if you have money, but in my country (Mozambique) they respect you only if you are responsible and **you are willing to share what you have with others**. **Your good behaviour is important than money** (Participant 8).*

Unlike most participants of South African origin, Participant 8, who was born in Mozambique, believed that one's character was more important than wealth and possession of assets. For

him, even if an individual was wealthy, as long as he did not have a good character and did not share his wealth with others, he was considered to be ‘poor’ and ‘immature’. From this narrative, it is understood that a man’s conduct and how he relates to others was more important than the possession of assets or any form of financial wealth. Based on these findings, it is understood that in addition to the possession of assets, for a minority of participants moral character is also associated with successful masculinity. The narratives of participant 8 imply that in his country, the possession of assets is of less value, especially if it is not accompanied by morality, compassion, and generosity.

The above findings reveal how masculinity is constructed using the discourse of possession. It revealed that the majority of participants subscribed to the discourses of possession. From their narratives, different versions of masculinities emerge in this regard, with some emphasis on the possession of assets and other emphasising on the importance of morality. These two versions confirm that reality is socially constructed and could therefore not be objective. It is against this background that we speak of “masculinities” rather than “masculinity” (Connell, 2000).

6.2.3 Discourses of physical strength, toughness, and perseverance

Table 6.2: Sub-themes and motivating statements

Sub-themes	Examples of motivating statements from the responses
(a) Discourses of physical strength and toughness	<i>Real man should be strong. He must persevere. For instance, it is tough here, but real men must be strong (Participant 17).</i>
(b) Discourses of perseverance	<i>When he faces challenges, he should persevere (Participant 16).</i> <i>Even if it is challenging, one should persevere, like a woman staying with the in-laws (Participant 7).</i>

(a) Discourses of physical strength and toughness

The participants drew on the discourse of physical strength to construct masculinity. As they described an ideal man, the participants expected a real man to have a well-built shape and a muscular upper torso. Most of them preferred this kind of body structure because they believed it was likely to intimidate potential threats, especially other men who are likely to take advantage of them. This finding is consistent with Uchendu's (2007) view, which also places importance on the association of masculinity with strength, toughness, perseverance and the suppression of emotions. It is for this reason that participants preferred a muscular physique because it symbolises a man's power. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*If you want to **attract beautiful girls, your body should be well built** ... With a small body, other men will **take advantage of you** (Participant 18).*

From their talks, it seems men were socialised at a young age to protect what belonged to them, including their women. As a result, they were encouraged to have strong and fit bodies to intimidate any possible threats, hence those who had small body frames were likely to be taken advantage of. From their narratives, it was discovered that participants associated physical strength with body composition, shape, and toughness. For them, strength signified fearlessness and courage. Hence a man who appears to be physically weak in prison is often taken advantage of and treated like a "wyfie" (wife) or *woman* by other offenders who are more masculine. In support of this view, Gear (2010) stated that since violence is seen as part of prison masculinities, to survive, men "police" each other's strength. Those who are seen as weak are often repositioned from masculinity to femininity. The weak ones are called *wyfies*, and they are treated as such. Based on these findings, it is concluded that men are conscious that their masculinity is always under constant threat; hence they are always on the look out to protect their masculine territory, even if it means that they use their bodies, to prevent themselves from being classified as weak or "non-men". Apart from being taken advantage of, findings revealed that men prefer well-built bodies to attract women since it is believed that women prefer such men because they too associate muscular bodies with strength and power.

(b) Discourses of perseverance

In addition to the physique, participants believed that men should be able to persevere. In their narratives, participants drew on local discourses where an individual was only regarded as a

man if he was able to endure tough challenges of life. Those who were unable to do so were positioned with women. In their talks, participants use their experience of perseverance in prison to position themselves as real men. The following quotation illustrates this point:

*Real man should be strong. He must persevere. For instance, **it is tough here (in prison), but real men must be strong** (Participant 17).*

To demonstrate their successful masculinities, some participants explained how they persevered in the centre. The prison or the Correctional Center was described as a ‘traumatic environment’ where perseverance is seen as a survival skill. The participants did not mention the traumatic incidences but most of them indicated that it was “tough”, suggesting that only “strong” men would survive. Those who were unable to endure were seen as weak; hence, they were positioned with women.

In addition to their traumatic experiences in the Centres, some of the participants shared their childhood stories to demonstrate their ability to persevere, thereby positioning themselves as real men because of their ability to survive their childhood trauma. In their stories, most of the participants shared their painful childhood experiences that included abuse (physical, sexual and emotional), neglect and rejection. One participant explained how he had endured a number of life challenges. Based on his painful experiences, he positioned himself as a real man and he labelled other men as *mommy’s boys*. He describes *mommy’s boys* as weak ‘men’ who always rely on others for support, particularly their mothers. Unlike *mommy’s boys*, he stated that real men should demonstrate their ability to survive the challenges alone, as was illustrated in his talk below:

*After the death of my mother, I walked from Zimbabwe, worked temporary jobs and then I saved money and opened a spaza shop. This journey was difficult but it taught me to be a real man. **As I was looking for jobs, I was abused and robbed but I did not give up. Most guys would not survive what I went through. Most are mommy’s boys. You see, it is tough in here, but I persevere** (Participant 19).*

*...even if it is challenging, **one should persevere, like a woman staying with the in-laws** (Participant 7).*

When narrating about his traumatic life experience, Participant 19 emphasised that it was only a real man who would have been able to endure and survive what he had experienced. He drew on discourses of men as strong beings that were capable of enduring painful experiences. He

used his experience to silence other masculinities by placing other men in an illegitimate masculine position of less than a man.

Although real men were expected to be strong and to always display masculine characters, it was surprising that they were also encouraged to persevere “like women”. When asked about this conflicting reference to women on a masculine discourse, the participant indicated that even though they were often regarded as weak, women possessed a ‘strong’ quality of perseverance. He indicated that most African women were good at enduring and persevering unbearable challenges especially when their in-laws maltreated them. Like these married women, real men were also expected to endure these hardships in silence. In support of this view, Barret (1996, p.137) stated that men should endure hardships, and that if they succeed, they would be considered to have passed the “baptism by fire”, that is likened to the initiation of a boy into manhood.

In conclusion, these findings revealed that the discourse of perseverance was a defining feature of masculinity. These findings were supported by Burton (2014), Masitha (2012) and Khalaf et al. (2013) who described successful masculinity as one’s ability to demonstrate military characteristics that include perseverance.

6.2.4 Discourse of initiation

The findings revealed that participants used the discourse of the traditional initiation to describe a real man. From the interviews, it was discovered that most of them were orientated to believe that the traditional initiation school was the institution that assisted individuals to construct successful masculinities. *Koma*, (an initiation school as named in Sepedi) as a rite of passage, was cited by participants as an institution that differentiated the boys from the men. During the interviews, as I explored on this discourse, the following sub-themes on initiation schools emerged:

Table 6.3: Sub-themes and motivating statements

Sub-themes	Examples of motivating statements from the responses
<i>(a) Discourses of initiation as becoming a man</i>	<p><i>...he should go to an initiation school. As long as he did not go to an initiation school, he is not a real man (Participant 4).</i></p> <p><i>In my village you should go to an initiation school before you can be called a man (Participant 6).</i></p>
<i>(b) Initiation as learning discourses about women</i>	<p><i>They taught us to treat them (women) like eggs because they are fragile. Women are not to be abused and not to be hurt... I am not supposed to hurt her (Participant 11).</i></p>
<i>(c) Discourses of initiation as emotional control learned in initiation school</i>	<p><i>A man who went to the mountain, even if he was provoked, he was not quick to act. You don't react, you pro- act. You do the planning before action. You needed to stay calm even if you were provoked. This showed maturity (Participant 11).</i></p>

(a) Discourses of initiation as becoming a man

When asked about their understanding of what a man was, in their responses, most participants' understanding of manhood was associated with an initiation school or *koma*. Most of them drew on cultural discourses of traditional initiation schools to describe the ideal qualities of a real man. Firstly, they believed that an individual fitted into the cultural masculine success only if he had attended the traditional initiation school. Those who were circumcised in hospitals were excluded, hence they were called 'boys' even though they were older. The following quotations illustrate this point:

...he should go to an initiation school. As long as he did not go to an initiation school, he was not a real man (Participant 4).

Real man should have gone to the initiation school. If he comes from the hospital for circumcision, he is not a real man. Even if he could be educated, he is not a real man (Participant 19).

In my village you should go to an initiation school before you can be called a man (Participant 6).

In their narratives, the participants believed that *koma* was an institution which transformed boys into men. Therefore, anyone who had not attended the traditional initiation school was still being referred to as a “boy”, irrespective of his educational background or social standing. Those who were circumcised in the hospital were also called “boys”, because it was understood that they had not gone through the harsh traditional training of becoming a man. It is in this regard that the discourses of hardship and endurance were used to differentiate men from boys. Those individuals, who were exposed to hardships and harsh weather conditions when they were at the initiation schools, were referred to as “men”. In support of this view, Mhlahlo (2009) stated that those individuals who went to the traditional initiation schools were often welcomed with joy in their communities because it was believed that they had endured the excruciating pain of circumcision that tested and transformed them from boys into men. For these men, the pains and the hardships they had to endure in these schools was what differentiated them from boys. The following quotation illustrates this point:

...when we get there for 2 months, we are naked and we are not given anything to drink. We just eat dry porridge... (Participant 14).

As they further talked about the harsh experiences in these schools, the participants used the discourse of hardship, deprivation of food and water to account for their masculine success. According to Sitole (2007), Mhlahlo (2009) and Magodyo (2013) these hardships were indicators of endurance that affirmed their masculine success. These findings suggested that for an individual to be embraced in the community as having achieved the traditional masculinity, he should have gone through the traditional initiation school and endured all the hardships they were exposed to. These discourses subjected other men who were circumcised in the hospital to the lowest position of being ‘boys’ since they had not been exposed to the pains and hardships of real manhood.

(b) Initiation as learning discourses about women

During the interviews, it was discovered that the cultural discourses of how to treat a woman were inculcated to initiates. As they grew, they used these discourses as references in their interaction with women. The following extracts illustrate the point:

They taught us to treat them (women) like eggs because they are fragile. Women are not to be abused and not to be hurt... I am not supposed to hurt her (Participant 11).

*They taught us to take care of women. We should communicate well with women rather than beating them. **Women are weak** (Participant 15).*

*They emphasise that man should go to the initiation school. That is also where we are taught many things. **They even tell us that we should not beat women.** When you are angry, you are taught to control it. We are also taught to work hard and sweat. In our tradition, man must sweat. **No woman is expected to beat women because they (women) are fragile.** If you get angry to the point of beating a woman, you rather use a belt and nothing strong and hard. But beating is totally out of Venda tradition. Should you beat a woman, you will be taken to the Chief and you will be tried in those traditional courts, and you are likely to be beaten by other men there (Participant 6).*

The findings revealed that initiation schools were sites for the construction of masculinity through a discourse of women who were seen as fragile and weak. Some of the participants drew on the discourses of caring and treating women with respect, whereas others believed that even though they cared for women, they were entitled to “correct” them through beatings especially if these women did not follow their instructions. Even though they were taught not to beat women some participants still positioned themselves to be in control of women. From their narratives, there seems to be contradictory views on how a woman should be treated. For instance, in his statement, Participant 6 indicated that it was not within the Vhavhenda tradition that a woman should be beaten, however, men were still permitted to beat their women with a belt especially if they did not follow the instructions of their husbands. Having been taught at these schools, it seems most participants appeared to draw reference from these unhealthy discourses to interact with women. Again, these contradictory versions seem to confuse the initiates. Hence, some seem to subscribe to the violent discourses whereas others reject them. The following extracts illustrate the point:

*...Aaaah. That is nothing. I am from there. It (the school) does not really teach us much on manhood issues. **They just teach us vulgar words and insults. We are just taught to insult women.** There is nothing good there... We are just taught insults and vulgar words (Participant 10).*

Participant: Even the rules there? (Laughing).... They say “Thimbi khovho di mavha zwivhili vhana vha vhili. Nga nthu ndi dzende nga fhasi ndi dombo” (When having sex, man’s testicles should be on top and the vagina is at the bottom).

Researcher: What does it mean?

Participant: It means on top are testicles and below is a vagina. You see, these are insults for women.

Researcher: What is the meaning of this?

Participant: You see, they actually make us to hate women. They make us to disrespect women. We are always taught that a woman should be below a man. When I say hey, she must go down (Participant 10).

Even though they attended these schools, some participants were concerned that they did not gain much of moral value. As they disputed and negated these teachings, some of the participants reported that they were taught discourses of power, authority, disrespect, oppression, and dominion over women. It is from their talks that it was discovered that the content of the ‘curriculum’ in these schools subscribed to patriarchal discourses. For instance, testicles were seen as the symbol of power that should always be on top of the vagina during sexual intercourse. Symbolically, man is given power to control the woman. These findings suggest that men were placed in a position of power whereas women were expected to adopt a submissive role in all areas of life. In his talk when he says, “*when I say hey, she must go down*”, the participant seemed to embrace and drew on the discourses of hegemonic masculinity in his interaction with women. These findings are in accordance with Chadwick’s study (2007) wherein masculinity was defined in opposition to women who were mainly constructed as subordinates. These findings suggest that *koma* is an institution where discourses of patriarchy are reinforced and men draw on them to construct masculinities and to account for their dominance over women. In most cases, these discourses are embraced by communities and reinforced through proverbs and idioms to silence women. For instance, the Ghanaian proverb states that *when it is morning, the hen allows the cock to announce it even though they both know that it is morning* (Masitha, 2012). Proverbs such as this position the man to be in control of a woman. As a result, a man’s words and opinions are positioned to be more important than those of a woman. In that way, these cultural discourses continue to promote patriarchy by subscribing to the hegemonic masculine discourses.

In conclusion, the findings of this study revealed that the traditional circumcision schools are sites where boys are transformed to be men through traditional means. Hence, those men who

did not attend these schools are ‘othered’ and sometimes they are marginalized. Furthermore, the findings revealed that these sites hold the patriarchal discourses that position men to dominate and control women, and some participants draw on these discourses to account for their exploitation and violence against women.

(c) Discourses of initiation as emotional control learned in initiation school

From the interviews, it was discovered that as part of the “curriculum”, initiates were initiated into the discourse of emotional control. It is in this regard that they were taught to be in control of their emotions. The ability to control one’s emotions is seen as an indication of masculine maturity. As a result, real men are expected to be calm in the midst of challenges so that they could be able to resolve their problems through rational discussions. The following quotations illustrate the point:

*Real man should live peacefully with others. He should respect others. He must respect himself. **If you fight with other people, you are a fool. ... You should control your anger and be patient.** I still remember there was this other inmate who slapped me in front of the police officers. I wanted to hit him back but I remembered what they taught me about patience at the initiation school. I did not retaliate. He felt bad, he apologized, and even requested to be transferred (Participant 7).*

*A man who went to the mountain, even if he is provoked, **he is not quick to act.** You don’t react, you pro-act. **You do the planning before action. You need to stay calm even if you are provoked.** This shows maturity (Participant 11).*

*I should not be emotional when I address issues because this might lead to anger, which might eventually make me to do bad things... **I should use my mind than emotions to address issues... Man should not allow himself to be controlled by emotions, instead, we must think about the consequences before we act** (Participant 12).*

The above quotes illustrate that in their talks, participants described that an ideal man should be able to control his anger. At the initiation sites, initiates were taught to be peacemakers. It was considered improper for a man to be violent. Violence was associated with impulsivity, femininity and immaturity. Therefore, men were discouraged from demonstrating any behaviour that particularly linked them to femininity, including the inability to control one’s anger or emotions. The ability to control one’s anger was seen as a demonstration of masculinity that was constructed in opposition to femininity and those who managed to uphold this instruction were considered as real men. As he talked about his experience of being slapped by another inmate, Participant 7 positioned himself as a real man since he had managed to

control his anger, even in the face of provocation. From their narratives, some of the participants drew on these discourses to gauge how mature an individual was. If an individual responded calmly to provocation, he was then positioned as a real man. Emotional control was used as a yardstick to distinguish boys from real men.

Emergence of competing versions of masculinities in relation to initiation

Even though most of the participants viewed initiation schools as cultural sites that aimed to transform boys into be men, findings revealed that there were some participants who had lost confidence in these schools. During the interviews, several competing versions of masculinities emerged from different discourses upon which the participants constructed masculinities. Some participants had attended these schools yet they had no interest in sending their own children there because they saw these sites as irrelevant (for their children) in the contemporary era. These participants opposed and rejected the patriarchal discourses that were reinforced at these schools. Instead, they saw their homes as sites that should instil in boys, the moral values that lead young boys to be responsible adults. The following quotations illustrate:

*...we normally get much teaching from the family members. They teach us to be respectful, especially to respect the elders. **As for the initiation school, I don't think there is much that we learn. That is why I won't let my children to go there.** They will rather go to hospital. The rest will be taught at home. For instance, I will teach them how to respect others. They should not even steal (Participant 18).*

*At an initiation school **they do not teach us about what a man should do.** We are taught that by our uncles, grannies and other people in our families. Again at home, they teach us how to be responsible and how to fix things at home such as roofing, cleaning the gutters and fixing the leaking roof. They teach us those things as we grow up (Participant 8).*

***That is why I say, there is no use going there.** The main thing is just to cut his penis. The family teach us to respect women and treat them with respect because a woman is like a glass, she breaks easily (Participant 2).*

The above quotations revealed the competing versions of several discourses that were responsible for shaping different masculine discourses. Some participants did not support the initiation schools on the basis that these sites are seen as promoting and reinforcing old, violent traditional versions of masculinities. Even though they considered themselves as men, these participants supported and embraced non-violent discourses that should be learnt from family members which would make these schools irrelevant. From their narratives, it was concluded that in as much as there were some participants who preferred to draw on power-based

hegemonic discourses learnt from the initiation schools to construct their masculinities, on the other hand, it was also noted that there were those who preferred the non-violent discourses learnt from family members.

Furthermore, controversy emerged in the findings related to dominant discourses of masculinity. For instance, one participant challenged the discourses that only considered men from initiation schools as real men. A concern about the relation between masculinity and financial independence was raised. The participant indicated that an individual cannot call himself a man when he was still financially dependent on his parents. According to him, as long as the individual was still financially dependent on his parents, he was still a “boy” even if he had attended the initiation school. For him, a real man should be financially independent. The following extract illustrates the point:

*I think that an initiation school plays a role on issues of manhood, but I think that **you cannot call yourself a real man whilst you are still depending on your parents**. You may graduate from initiation school but as long as you are still financially dependent, **you are still a boy**. Man should be financially independent. You see, if at the initiation school they tell you that you are a man but you still depend on your parents, then there is a contradiction. Real man must make his own decisions. You can't make decisions if you are still depending on your parents. You are therefore not a real man as yet (Participant 15).*

According to Participant 15, masculinity is associated with financial independence. This finding suggests that if the initiation school is about separating a boy symbolically from his mother, the detachment is expected to be whole. If an initiate is still attached to his mother or father through the “financial umbilical cord”, he is still considered to be a boy because real men are expected to be financially independent. As long as he is still financially dependent on his parents, he is still regarded as a “boy” because his voice is still suppressed. As such, he cannot participate in decision making activities that have financial implications. Since he has no financial muscle to influence such decisions, he is perceived as a “boy” because he has not yet reached “adult masculinity”.

Although these schools were seen as sites for transforming boys into men, other participants from Zimbabwe, Mozambique and a few from South Africa did not see the importance of these schools. The following quotations illustrate the point:

In my country, initiation school is meant for a particular clan. It is not for everyone. Maybe one could do it in the hospital (Participant 13).

You are still a man even if you did not go there. It is just that people use initiation school to discriminate others. This is totally wrong because our cultures differ... You know what is happening neh, it does not mean that when you have gone there, you are a better man. The difference between the one that went there and the one that did not go is that the other's penis is cut whereas the other it is not (Participant 18).

Other men say that only those who have gone there are real men. For me, I think that they are all men. Whether they come from the initiation school or not? (Participant 9).

Although Participant 18 attended the initiation school, he did not see the value of the schools except when that they are used as sites to promote discrimination by positioning other men (who did not attend initiation schools) to less masculine positions. Apart from promoting discrimination amongst men, these schools were also criticised for promoting moral decay since it is alleged that the initiates were often exposed to alcohol and drugs. The following quotation illustrates the point:

Participant: I was circumcised in the hospital. I don't know what they are doing there. I think that in the past these schools were playing an important part, but these days, upon graduation, they just go to NBS.

Researcher: What is NBS?

Participants: Nearest Bottle Store (Participant 1).

In support of these findings, Mabena (1999) and Magodyo's (2013) study, found that these schools have raised controversies in relation to their usefulness in the lives of boys, moreover, there are allegations of substance abuse in these sites. To prove that they were men, the participants in this study reported that the new graduates often joined old graduates who were already on substances. Upon their graduation, the new version of masculinities is built through the indulgence in alcohol and drugs which defeats the initial purpose of these schools. It is on this basis that these schools were seen as losing their original moral and cultural fibre because they used undesirable means to assert masculinities.

Based on these findings, it is concluded that most participants still draw on the discourses of the traditional initiation schools to construct their masculinities. These discourses are culturally endorsed and maintained. Hence, those men who do not subscribe to these cultural discourses are often marginalized and positioned to less masculine positions.

Researcher's positioning during data collection, with reference to initiation schools

Issues around initiation schools were described by some participants as sacred, hence they are meant to be kept secret. Their experiences were regarded as “men’s things”, hence one participant refused to respond to questions related to the initiation schools. Based on my experience during data collection, I need to acknowledge that my position as a woman might have affected or ‘moulded’ the talk of some participants. During the interviews, it was challenging to extract information on this topic as the participants were reluctant to provide information. For instance, when responding, one participant kept on saying that ‘*you are a woman you won’t understand. These are men’s stuff*’. Such talks made me feel discriminated against as a woman while I observed that at the same time, the participant was continually validating his position as a man. Even though my gender could have been a barrier to the collection of information in this area, much was learnt, however I would recommend that there should be further, in-depth studies, particularly in ‘The construction of masculinity and the traditional schools’. Perhaps such studies may yield different versions of discourses.

6.2.5 Discourse of heroism

The findings revealed that masculinity was also framed around the discourse of heroism. Some of the participants described heroism as a symbol of masculinity. In their talk, they described themselves through the characteristics of heroism. Below are some of the heroic discourses that they used to construct their masculinities:

Table 6.4: Sub-themes and motivating statements

Sub-themes	Examples of motivating statements from the responses
<i>(a) Discourses of risk-taking</i>	<i>I live next to the mines. There is corruption and many committees were disbanded because of the corruption. I investigated the corrupt committees and I made sure that something was being done, for the benefit of community members. Actually, I think I was plotted so that I could be arrested (Participant 4).</i>

Sub-themes	Examples of motivating statements from the responses
<i>(b) Discourses of protection</i>	<i>He (man) must protect and provide for his family, including himself. He should build a house and erect a fence to provide safety to his family. You know that there is too much crime these days (Participant 1).</i>
<i>(c) Discourses of self-defence</i>	<p><i>Participant: One day a teacher wanted to beat me. I refused and I told him that I was not his child. He slapped me and I hit him with a brick and the chair. I then ran away.</i></p> <p><i>Researcher: After this, did you feel like a real man?</i></p> <p><i>Participant: Yes, I defended myself. I cannot allow myself to be beaten by a man whereas I am a man too (Participant 14).</i></p>

(a) Discourses of risk taking

Some participants drew on the discourses of heroism to explain the relation between masculinity and their ‘heroic acts’. They described a hero as an individual who risked his life by challenging any unjust system for the benefit of his family and other community members. Heroism was associated with masculinity. Hence, it is believed that those who possess heroic characteristics are real men as compared to “ordinary” cowards. Some of these participants positioned themselves as real men because they were prepared to participate in high-risk activities. The following quotation explains:

*I live next to the mines. There is corruption and many committees were disbanded because of the corruption. I investigated the corrupt committees and I made sure that something was done, for the benefit of community members. Actually, **I think I was trapped so that I could be arrested** (Participant 4).*

As he talked about his involvement in risky activities, the participant affirmed his masculine position since it is believed that heroes are expected to soldier on and never give up despite the challenges they experience. Surrendering was associated with weakness, hence he stated that despite being betrayed by those he was fighting for, he continued to fight for justice. According to Wenzl (2004), heroes are often “rewarded” with suffering. Therefore, participant 4’s experience is not an isolated case since the response of his community members to his heroic act was expected. As part of his suffering, the participant stated that even if he was eventually arrested because of the betrayal, he was not intimidated by any life threatening circumstance because he was a man. Suffering and betrayal define his masculine identity. This participant draws on his past painful experience of suffering and betrayal to position himself as a real man who has transcended from a state of fragile unmasculinity to a heroic masculine position.

(b) Discourses of protection

Apart from fighting for other people, heroism in this study is also associated with the man’s ability to protect. Therefore, a man is expected to defend himself and to protect those he cares for. From their narratives, it was discovered that participants have been socialised from a young age to protect their siblings (especially the girls) from any kind of danger, even from other men. One was expected to protect one’s loved ones from any external attack by other individuals or protecting them from unfavourable weather conditions by building houses for them. The following quotations illustrate the point:

He (man) ...should build a house and erect a fence to provide safety to his family. You know that there is too much crime these days (Participant 1).

He should be a refuge for his family. He should be a protector and the shield for them (his family) (Participant 6).

As a shield for his family, a man is expected to prove his heroism by using his physical strength, wisdom and financial muscle to create a buffer zone to keep away any external threat from himself or his family. The same sentiment was shared by McKay (2014) who believed that as head of families, men are called to guard the perimeter between danger and safety for their loved ones. Since they were created to protect their families from predators, human enemies, and natural disasters, should the man fail in his role, he is likely to lose his masculine status.

To further demonstrate heroism, one participant reported that he managed to protect girls in his community from a young man who attempted to rape them. Although he was arrested for the

attempted murder at that time for shooting the perpetrator, he was proud of himself for his heroic act. It is from this experience that he reported that he earned more ‘respect’ from his community members who also regarded him as their hero. The following quotation illustrates the point:

There was a guy who used to torment people in my village. He used to mug them in the bushes. People were really afraid of him. The other day I was with my friend and we saw school children running back and I asked them what the problem was, they told me that someone was attacking them. I went to him. I found that he was stripping girls with the intention of raping them. I told him that he should stop. He refused and I shot him twice on the legs (Participant 12).

Despite his own sexual offence, the participant positioned himself as a “hero” for saving young girls in his community from being raped. Even though he was regarded as a ‘hero’ for his action, it is ironic that he was arrested for a similar offence that later re-positioned him as ‘non-heroic’ for taking advantage of the weak and the vulnerable. When asked about his conflicting positions, the participant acknowledged his crime and described his offence as emanating from “temptation”. He positioned himself as a “victim” of women who positioned themselves as temptresses. Even though he was convicted of sexual offence, he indicated that people should not concentrate on his offence but should focus instead on his heroic contribution to his community. He stated that his positive contribution to the community confirmed that he is not a “bad guy” after all. Having positioned himself as a “tempted offender” and a hero, the participant seemed to be trying to achieve a noble position of heroism but failed. As a result, to feel better, he re-positioned himself as a “victim”.

(c) Discourses of self-defence

Drawing on the discourses of protection, findings also revealed that self-defence was viewed as another way of demonstrating heroic masculinity. According to some participants, no man should look vulnerable and allow himself to be attacked by other men without defending himself. His body is his territory and no one should be allowed to invade it without a fight. The following quotations illustrate the point:

*Participant: One day a teacher wanted to beat me. I refused and I told him that I was not his child. **He slapped me and I hit him with a brick and the chair.** I then ran away.*

Researcher: After this, did you feel like a real man?

Participant: Yes, I defended myself. I cannot allow myself to be beaten by a man whereas I am a man, too (Participant 14).

In his talk, the participant used his account of violent self-defence to construct himself as a “hero”. No matter how dangerous and risky the situation might be, it is not a problem for a man to engage in violence to save himself from being placed in a non-masculine position by other men. Even though he was a boy, Participant 14 described himself as a “man too”, who had the responsibility to protect himself and not to display any deficient form of masculinity that was likely to place him in a non-masculine position. This finding suggests that in the face of any attack, despite the age, as a real man he was expected to use any means (including violence) to defend himself. Even though he was a schoolboy, participant 14 positioned himself as a man who should not succumb to the exploitation of other men, irrespective of their age. Since Participant 14 had attended initiation school, it would have been a disgrace for him to allow another man (irrespective of his age) to control him. Hence, he had to protect his position and authority as a real man.

Based on these findings, it is concluded that despite their convictions, the participants still constructed themselves as heroes on the basis of the risks they took to defend themselves and protect their loved ones. Furthermore, the findings revealed that the participants drew on the discourse of protection to describe the role of the man and his ability to execute his duties as a man. In support of these findings, Andersson (2008b) stated that as a hero, a man should demonstrate his courage and confront dangerous challenges in his life without fear, especially when he had to protect his territory. These findings revealed that even though they might be criticised by their communities for their criminal offences, participants on the other hand, continued to use their own heroic stories in an attempt to redeem themselves from their failed identities as criminals.

6.2.6 Discourses of sexuality

During the interviews, it was discovered that the discourse of compulsory heterosexual relationships was also used to construct masculine identity. As a result, most participants indicated that they were “pressurized” by their peers to be in heterosexual relationships because those who were not became the laughing stock, since they were seen not as being masculine. The following quotation illustrates this point:

As a boy at school, if you were not in a relationship, other boys would laugh at you.... Although I did it under pressure because they used to talk about their own girls, so I wanted to be like them and talk about mine (Participant 3).

The findings revealed that masculinity was constructed in the talk. Hence, participants talk of their heterosexual experiences. It is in their talk that they prove their masculine success. As a result, men demonstrate their masculinity through sharing their experiences. Those who did not talk were distinguished from others and positioned as the “other”. Talking about their heterosexual relationships was an indication that one can ‘do’. From my personal experience, in our local community, those who have nothing to talk about, regarding their heterosexual relationships when they are with their peers, are often described as “having been bitten by the rabbit” (*o lomile ke mmutla*), suggesting that one’s power as a man was “stolen by the rabbit”. Therefore, when they are together, boys and men ensure that they talk about their sexual relations and “conquests” so that they are known to be able to propose love to women and to maintain their relationships by sexually satisfying their partners. From their narratives, it appeared as if boys were socialised to talk about heterosexual relationships from a young age. It seems they were pressurised at a young age to learn about and engage in sexual relations so that they might also talk when they were with their peers.

As they grew up, it appeared most boys learned to talk about these sexual relations from the media, in particular, from the TV. After they had observed and learnt, they repeated what they had learnt, a step that would eventually enable them to share their experiences with other boys. The following quotations illustrate this point:

Participant: (laughing) *we used to call ourselves, mom, dad uncle, aunt. We used to have houses with cardboards, with separations of rooms. I was naughty because I used to be the father.*

Researcher: *And then?*

Participant: *I used to send the ‘kids’ to the shops so that I could remain behind with their ‘mother’. When they are gone, we (as “mom and dad”) used to practice what we saw on soopies. As a child, it was okay.*

Researcher: *Were the girls afraid or reluctant to do those things?*

Participant: *No, normally I used to ask her if she saw it on TV, if not I taught her, and she wouldn’t refuse (Participant 8).*

Apart from learning these roles from their peers, it seems media also plays a significant role in instilling heterosexual discourses. When they have learnt, they are expected to practice their sexual talk and behaviour. They practice and share with their friends, in their talks to affirm that they all indeed, behave in the same way. It is in their talk that the participants continue to teach and learn from each other on how to “do” sex in a skillful manner. When they are in relationships, they are expected to be skilled in their sexual encounters with their partners, which adds to their masculine ability. The following quotation illustrates the point:

He should have sex with his partner in a wonderful way. She must feel good. She will say ‘hai satan e e nkgohla monate (this devil scratch me nicely) (Participant 2).

To affirm his masculine success, the participant shared how his girl considered him a ‘proper’ man because of his sexual skill. They had been taught from a young age that satisfying a woman is instrumental for the construction of masculinities. Conversations about such experiences, reaffirmed their positions as real men. During the interviews there were various versions of discourses of sexuality. In this regard, participants believed that a man should be good in bed and should be able to sexually satisfy his woman. Of the 19, only two (2) participants talked about the male power that is embedded in the man’s penis. For them, a real man should have a big penis that was able to satisfy his partner. They believed that a man earns female respect from a woman through his big penis. Others were less concerned about the size of the penis since they believed that sexual conquest was more concerned with skill. As they talked about their sexual experiences, most of the participants described sexual skill as the length of duration of intercourse. They believed that the longer the duration of sexual intercourse, the more it enabled a woman to reach climax. For them, an individual is a real man if he is able to satisfy his partner sexually, even though their understanding how this was achieved were different. The following quotations illustrate these different views:

*You find that there is a guy with big penis but who lasts for 5 minutes when making love, and you find me having the small one yet lasting for 20 minutes or so, and I am able to **make my woman to reach orgasm** (Participant 11).*

*It is not about the size but the journey. **It is about who last the longest.** Some people think that it is about the size but I don’t think so (Participant 7).*

In their talk, most participants employed the discourse of sexual satisfaction in their construction of masculinity. The version of a big penis was dismissed by Participant 11 who

emphasised that it was sexual skill that enables a woman to reach orgasm. Since it is believed that women take longer to reach orgasm, it was considered a sexual “conquest” for a man if he enabled a woman achieve this. In the local community, men who do not take time to complete sexual intercourse are called *mekoko* (cocks) because when they mate, cocks are very quick. Unlike cocks, real men are expected to take a long time to perform sexual intercourse. Although there were two versions around discourses of sexuality, the main emphasis of both was on the ability of an individual to satisfy a woman, either by his big penis or by sexual skill. However, those who were unable to reach this goal by either way were “othered”.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that as they strived to reach the hegemonic standards, men used various discourses to explain what it takes to achieve masculine success. Even though they were in prison, by sharing their sexual successful stories, participants presented themselves in a positive light to ward off their unfortunate position in a prison. Although their masculine success was mainly about satisfying the woman sexually, the majority of these participants believed that this could be achieved by being sexually skilled and ensuring that the women they had sex with, reached orgasms. These different versions were confirmed by Chardwick’s (2007) who stated that indeed there were several hegemonic patterns of masculinities embedded in different social environments, which often give rise to multiple masculinities.

6.2.7 Discourses of respect

During the interviews, respect was cited as a distinctive quality of masculinity. Most participants indicated that as they grew up, they were socialised to respect community members and to live in harmony with them. Boys who deviated from this moral expectation were often marginalized by the elders, for breaking or defying their cultural values. The following extract illustrates this point:

Researcher: What is a real man according to the people in your community?

Participant: They consider your behaviour, the love and respect you give to other people.

Researcher: What about a violent man?

Participant: No, they respect a respectful person

Researcher: I thought township members respect those men who terrorize the community members and regard them as real men.

*Participant: No, it is not like that, instead they hate such guys. **They won't like you because you always scare them. When you do such things, even when you greet them on the streets, they won't greet you back** (Participant 12).*

The findings revealed different discourses of respect amongst men of different ages. The version of respect amongst the older people was that a man should respect everyone, especially their elders. Those individuals who did not show respect towards other people were often considered to be immature and not well trained. The reaction of the older people to the disrespectful individuals is often expressed through a negative attitude and lack of appreciation.

Unlike the elderly, the younger men seemed to have a great respect for violent men who terrorised other community members. It is within this age group that the successful masculinity was constructed through violence. The following quotations illustrate this point:

*In my case, members in my community used to call me "The Man" because I used to **beat people for fun and protected others**. Even when I was at the tavern, people **wanted to please me and buy alcohol for me**. Even now, people still call me "The Man". I don't want to be called "The Man" anymore because this reference reminds me of my past. I don't like this because it is associated with bad things I did (Participant 6).*

*A real man, according to my community is someone who **has money and wears nice clothes**. They respect those **notorious guys who take drugs and alcohol**. You must be **a tsotsi, to be recognized in the township**. You must also **date many girls**. Sometimes we propose because we want to prove a point. You must be able to change and have several girls. Township life is not good. Life in the township is not good as compared to suburb life. **For instance, I had a neighbour who was a tsotsi and wearing expensive clothes and driving expensive stolen cars**. Community members respected **him** (Participant 17).*

Participant 6 indicated that his peers used to call him "The Man" because he was always in control of his space and he used violence to dominate others. Some of those who were around him felt "safe" because he used to "protect" them. In his interaction with young men, most of them subscribed to violent masculine discourses because they supported and admired his violent behaviour as compared to the older men who advocated for respect and peace. Although he was previously amongst *tsotsi* groups, it may be assumed that his maturity or his desire to change made him to advocate the peaceful discourses of masculinity. When he was asked about the possibility of losing his status as "The man" in his community, his response was that he was not afraid because he had already been positioned in a high masculine rank, as a result, no

one would challenge him. This finding suggests that if one is positioned in a particular masculine rank, one is likely to maintain that position depending on the role they played to attain the successful masculinity. In conclusion, the findings revealed that respect was defined in two ways, with reverence to two age groups that is older men and *tsotsi* man. From their narratives, it was evident that most of the participants supported hegemonic values of *tsotsi*, however, a few men managed to overcome this without sacrificing their masculine status.

6.3 Conclusion

The above themes have provided an insight into how male sex offenders construct masculinities. Their different versions of the construction of masculinities gave us an understanding of their ideal masculine characters that differed from theirs. In their narratives, participants tried to find some redeeming features to indicate that they were good men so as to rescue their failed masculinities. However, they could not find much, except those characters that displayed their deficit masculinity in the morose conditions of prison life. The following chapter explore other discourses that the participants subscribed to, to give an account of their sexual offences.

CHAPTER 7

PRESENTATION OF RESULTS: MASCULINITY AND SEXUAL VIOLENCE

7.1 Introduction

This chapter outlines the second part of the presentation of results. The focus is on the second objective of the study that aims to understand sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity. The results indicated that there were several discourses that participants drew from to account for their sexual offences. Furthermore, the findings revealed that most of the participants still hold rape myths and hostile ideas about women. Throughout their responses, the participants positioned themselves as victims and women were blamed for bringing misfortune upon themselves. The following are the detailed discourses that the offenders drew from, to account for their sexual offences:

Discourses sex offenders use to account for their offences

7.2. Rape is constructed as a response to unexplained and overwhelming sexual desire.
7.3. Rape is constructed as a response to temptation.
7.4. Rape is justified as an act of revenge against women who are seen as hurting and abandoning men.
7.5. Rape is constructed as a means to demonstrate masculinity.
7.6. Marital rape is constructed as a display of sexual entitlement.
7.7. Men are constructed as victims of circumstances surrounding rape.

7.2 Rape is constructed as a response to unexplained and overwhelming sexual desire

(a) Men have uncontrollable sexual desires

To account for their sexual offences, most of the participants indicated that as men, they have an inborn and uncontrollable sexual desire. One (1) participant discussed his feelings of frustration and helplessness which emanated from his belief that his uncontrollable sexual desire had led to his multiple sexual offences. Since he described his sexual desires as

uncontrollable, Participant 18 sees imprisonment as a temporary solution to keep him from being involved in sexual crimes. The following extract illustrates this point:

*... I also had a problem of **uncontrollable desire for women**. I wish I could have shared this with others, maybe they could have advised me. I had this desire from childhood. I don't know what happened. I wanted to stop but I could not. With this recent case, it happened in town during the day. I had sexual thoughts that constantly came to me. I also have thought of stealing money. When I got the money, I used to buy alcohol and pay prostitutes. Sometimes I would not pay them, instead, I raped them. I was arrested several times...I can't even count. **I don't want this but I don't know how to stop it**. I don't even have dignity. I can't even live in harmony with community members. Eish. I don't know what to do. I am trying to stop this desire but it is difficult. I think when I am here I am better. By God's grace, I am better (Participant 18).*

Although the participant reported that he felt guilty after he had committed a sexual offence, unfortunately he was unable to stop his desire. He emphasised that other men may have uncontrollable sexual urges, but still thought that his case was extreme. To explain the extremity of his case, he believed that perhaps there could be a spiritual explanation for his behaviour. He thinks that perhaps one of his victims has bewitched him: “*Ja.... eish, I think one of my victims bewitched me. Look now, I cannot control this. Eish*”. The explanation for his behaviour in Pedi is that, to seek revenge from the sexual offender, the victim of sexual offence visits the witchdoctor to give her charms to make the perpetrator continue with the offences until his behaviour is uncontrollable and it embarrasses him. It is called “*Go fetelelwa*” (to have uncontrollable undesirable behaviour). If the participant's uncontrollable sexual desire resulted from this “traditional vengeance” as Participant 18 thinks, it therefore means that his “condition” only be resolved through spiritual intervention. The participant positioned himself as a victim of both his own biological urges and witchcraft.

As they continue to account for their sexual offences, most of the participants believed that men need sex because they cannot live without it. As a result, the participants positioned themselves as victims of nature or their biology. These findings were consistent with those of Everitt-Penhale's (2013), who found that male participants in her study also used the discourse of “uncontrollable sexual desire” to justify their sexual offences. In this study, when participants were asked about their difference between themselves and other men who were able to control their sexual urges, in their responses, some of the participants alluded that other men did not rape because they had multiple sexual relations to meet their sexual needs. Their responses suggested that all men are potential perpetrators of sexual offences, but they do not

all commit sexual crimes because they use different means to gratify their sexual urges. However, some of the participants were convicted of sexual offences even though they were in multiple relations. The following quotation illustrates the point:

In a week I would bring at least four girls at my place. Many parents did not want me to associate with their sons because they thought that I would be a bad influence on them. My mother also told me that if I brought many girls at home I would contract HIV and die. She used to call me “Tshibokodo” (he- goat) (Participant 16).

Although he was in multiple sexual relationships, Participant 16 still committed sexual offences because he explained that his sexual urges were uncontrollable to such an extent that his mother likened him to an uncontrollable he-goat (*Tshibokodo*). This finding is consistent with that of Gmeiner (2014) who also suggested that the discourse of the male sex drive, positions men, as if they are unable to make rational, intelligent or reasonable choices because of their biological desires. As they blame their biology, most of the participants also blamed adults in their circles for not teaching them better ways to respond to their sexual urges without violating the law. In this regard some blamed their fathers for not imparting morally accepted sexual skills unto them. For instance, participant 12 stated that: *“I was angry at him (his father) because he should have taught to me as a father and guided me to a correct path”*. Apart from having fathers who were not engaged in their children’s upbringing, some of the participants felt that they were even more disadvantaged because of the absence of their fathers from their lives. As a result, it was difficult for them to address their sexual desires in an appropriate way, especially since they had been raised by their mothers. As young men, participants highlighted that they did not seek advice from their mothers because it was culturally incorrect to discuss sexual matters with elders or women. The following quotations illustrate the point:

...in my culture, she is not supposed to teach me such things...It (culture) says one must respect adults. As a result, one should not discuss such things with adults. It shows disrespectfulness (Participant 3).

Eish, that part, I lacked support. My father used to work in Jo’burg and it was not easy to talk about these things with a woman (Participant 16).

With the lack of information and guidance on how to effectively address sexual desires, some of the participants found themselves having to rely on friends or had to figure out how it was done by themselves. With limited, correct information, most of the participants believed that

they were bound to make mistakes that were in conflict with the law. The following quotations illustrate the point:

To be honest, there is no one. When I was growing up, I used to observe my elders beating girls and having relationships with them by force. I thought that this is how it was done. For instance, if I proposed to her during the day and she refuses, I would trap her. When I met her somewhere, for instance in the tavern, I would have sex with her by force (Participant 4).

I was taught by a South African woman. When I came here, I was a virgin. This married woman proposed to me. I was 23 years old. She had 2 children. I slept with her. I did not tell her that I was a virgin, but I just put my penis inside her. That is how I learnt to have sex. No one taught me. Nature taught me. From there, I started to sleep around with other ladies (Participant 13).

When I was growing up, no one guided me in terms of man related issues. I just taught myself. That is why I got involved in rape cases. (participant 4).

As they accounted for their sexual offences, the participants positioned themselves as victims of fatherlessness. Absent fathers were blamed for not having oriented their boy children in sexual matters. Instead, these boy children had to navigate their own way through adulthood without any form of guidance. Their responses suggested that if they had been exposed to good role models and adults who taught them about sex, they could have dealt effectively with their sexual urges. From their responses, most of the participants acknowledged the existence of their uncontrollable sexual urges, but they were frustrated by the absence of advice on how best they could have managed these without falling foul of the law.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that the participants emphasised that men have uncontrollable sexual urges. To account for their sexual offences, they positioned themselves as victims of biology, witchcraft and absent fathers. As a result, they continued to blame their circumstance and other factors around them for their behaviour and crimes.

(b) Men are victims of rejection

Since they believed that they have uncontrollable sexual desires, the participants indicated that they became more frustrated and overwhelmed, especially if they found themselves without sexual partners. The following quotation illustrates the point:

During the time of rape, I was not having a girlfriend because the girls in my community did not want me because they said I was a thug. Their parents also discouraged them

to have relationship with me. In this case, I went to the victim for the phone but I was attracted to her, hence I raped her (Participant 10).

Some of the participants mentioned that since they had unexplained sexual desires, they expected women to understand their position and ensure that they met their sexual needs. They indicated that they became frustrated, especially if they were rejected because they had nowhere to “relieve themselves”. As a result, they were left with no other option but to commit sexual offences. Participant 10 indicated that if he had a girlfriend, he would not have committed the sexual offence. He explained that he had no other option but to commit the sexual offence because he was “too pressed”. He explained that did he not have sex for a long time because he did not have a partner and he was rejected by girls in his community. He justified his criminal act on the basis that he was rejected by ladies in his community when he tried to establish a sexual relationship with them. In his narratives, the participant placed the onus of the prevention of rape on women. According to him, women subject themselves to rape as long as they continue to reject men who intend to have sexual relations with them.

7.3 Rape is constructed as a response to temptation

The participants described themselves as having uncontrollable sexual desires and blamed women for not helping them to resolve this problem. Instead, women were seen as perpetuating the problem by wearing provocative clothes that were transparent, short, and tight, thereby tempting men to have sex with them. The following quotations illustrate this point:

Women today attract men with their clothes. Some of their clothes are short and transparent. Then when we propose to them they refuse, forgetting that we have feelings and we are tempted (Participant 4).

Why does she wear that mini skirt? She is trapping us with the mini skirt, so we will fall in for the trap deliberately and she will not do anything (Participant 8).

If a woman wears short dresses, men discuss her and say “o pakile” (she is fit) then they will wait for her and rape her because she aroused their sexual feelings (Participant 1).

I don't know because people are adopting a Western culture. According to the law, women must wear long clothes. Some men cannot control themselves if women are wearing short clothes. (Participant 3)

Dress code contributes to rape because some women go around half naked. African women were not taught to wear short and tight clothes that show all parts of their bodies. If we see such women, we become attracted and aroused. I am therefore

advising ladies to dress decently in a respectful way so that we may also be comfortable around them (Participant 9).

*Women should look at themselves in the mirror before they leave their houses. Let them check if they are decent enough to go outside. She should also think of other people. You see when they are home, they can wear short clothes. But if they get out of their yard, they must respect other people with their dress code. **They should also not wear short and tight clothes that reveal their body parts** (Participant 15).*

*I prefer women who wear long dresses. **Women must dress decently. If they wear short clothes, we associate them with prostitutes that should be raped.** As a woman, you must be decent (Participant 10).*

Let me tell you something, you qopa sqepzani (you wear miniskirt). When you are drunk, we start galeling (admiring). We go there for a quickie, hard drive or hit and run (Participant 7).

In their responses, most of the participants blamed women. Instead of having compassion towards rape victims, the majority of the participants blamed women for wearing “provocative clothes”, which some described as “unAfrican” and “not decent”. Since the participants believed that men have uncontrollable sexual desires, women were therefore seen as having a responsibility to dress decently to avoid being raped. According to some of the participants, a woman wearing short dresses or miniskirts was considered a “prostitute”, hence she deserved to be raped and “she will not do anything” because she was responsible for tempting men. Based on these findings, it appears that most of the participants still hold rape myths that blame women for dressing “inappropriately”. This finding concurs with those of Van der Bruggen and Grubb (2014) and Jewkes et al. (2011) which demonstrated that men who hold rape myths were likely to be involved in sexual violence and they were also likely to blame their victims for their sexual offences. These findings suggested that rape myths contributed towards perpetuating sexual violence; and those who held them (myths) continue to be a danger to society because they lack understanding and compassion for women.

Although many participants were of the view that men were tempted by the dress code, another different version emerged, where the dress code was rejected as a contributing factor of rape. The following quotations illustrate the point:

No. I don't think that by wearing shorts women are inviting rape. It is just that there are those who just rape without any reason. They do not know what they want. There are all different shapes. You see the Zulus like fat women. Those who rape cannot control themselves. Actually, I think that masturbation is just like the real thing. What you feel on your arm is the same as the real thing. (Participant 12).

I don't blame their dress code. They should wear what they like. They have different reasons why they wear short clothes. Sometimes it is because they would like us to see them; sometimes it is because it is really hot.

Researcher: What is it that women do that eventually makes them to be raped?

Participant: There is nothing that they are doing, it is just that in most cases, the problem is with the perpetrator's mind. Everything starts in the mind. The perpetrator starts by undressing the woman in his mind. Even now I can undress you in my mind.

Researcher: Have you already undressed me?

Participant: I can but I won't because I am no longer that part. In the past I used to do that and then I used that mental picture to masturbate.

Researcher: Do you think that this ability to undress a woman can eventually lead you to rape?

Participant: Yes, there is that possibility. It just depends on how you are able to control yourself as a man (Participant 4).

In their narratives, these participants held different views from those who blamed the dress code for tempting men to commit sexual offences. Instead, other factors were cited as responsible for perpetuating the sexual violence against women. For instance, according to Participant 4, men committed sexual offences because of their inability to control themselves. The views by Participants 4 and 12 give another version that even if women wore “provocative clothes”, men have a responsibility to control their sexual urges.

Apart from the dress code, drunk women were also seen as tempting men. Some of the participants stated that, even if they did not think about sex, when they saw a drunk woman who was at the tavern alone, they thought of taking advantage of her. It is for this reason that drunk women were seen as temptresses who were in the wrong places at the wrong time, hence they are seen as deserving of their sexual attack. The following quotations illustrate this point:

*.... Some women are raped because they find themselves in **wrong places like taverns**. When they are drunk, they become more vulnerable (Participant 11).*

Some ladies are raped because they find themselves drunk and when the tavern closes, we think that they need to go with us. That is why sometimes we find ourselves raping them (Participant 3).

From their narratives, the participants expected women to adhere to the prescribed social standards which emphasised that “socially moral” women should be safe at home after dark. According to Participants 11 and 3, taverns were places for men because these are dangerous places. Therefore, a woman is not expected to be drinking at taverns at night without any male companion. Those who found themselves at these places alone and drunk were seen as being sexually available and tempting, hence they were raped, especially if they had ignored sexual advances from men. Many participants indicated that they had no sympathy for such women since they were seen as being responsible for bringing misfortune upon themselves. These findings are consistent with Abbey’s (2002) view which stated that those women who drink alcohol in clubs are considered promiscuous, easier to seduce and are more willing to have sex with unknown men. It is therefore believed that when these women are raped, the sex offenders should not be blamed. To avoid rape and any form of sexual exploitation, the participants in this study believe that it is the responsibility of women to take care of themselves by avoiding places that are meant for men. Their narratives suggested that men have the permission of society to dominate every space, whereas women on the other hand should be taught to occupy a specific, limited space in the “man’s world”, failing which, they are likely to suffer the consequences of sexual violence.

Affirmation and reflexivity

Based on these findings, it appears as if women are socialised to “dress well” so that they may not be raped, thereby affirming the discourses that men use, to account for their rapes. At the Correctional Centre, I was informed about the rules, regulations and policies on how to conduct oneself within the premises. Amongst those rules, I was conscientised that I should dress “properly” since I would be interviewing sex offenders. I was encouraged to wear long dresses, skirts or trousers. I was warned not to wear tight and transparent clothes. In one Correctional Centre, I was also discouraged from wearing bright colours because this might attract the attention of the offenders. When I integrated the findings of this study and the departmental rules on dress code, I realised that most participants still held sexual myths, and women (female officers at the centres) were also socialised to succumb to the myths. Since they also seem to

position women as a potential temptress, amongst their rules and regulations, they emphasise the importance of appropriate dress code.

7.4 Rape is justified as an act of revenge against women who are seen as hurting and abandoning men

(a) Sex as a tool of vengeance

The findings revealed that in some instances, rape was used as a mechanism to hurt women who inflicted pain on men. It is in this regard that some of the participants saw themselves as victims of ruthless women who had hurt them emotionally and physically. Therefore, to avenge their pain, they engaged in rape. For instance, when they narrated their experiences, some of the participants indicated that some women took advantage and unsuspectingly robbed them of their money. It was mentioned that when they were in taverns, some women accepted alcohol offered from men and refused to “pay” them back. Some of the participants indicated that once a man had bought alcohol for a woman at the club or tavern, he was therefore entitled to have sex with her that evening as a form of repayment. Those women who did not honour the “contract” were often “punished” through rape because in this regard, sex was considered a “give and take transaction”, and those who breached the promise were punished. The following quotation illustrates the point:

In taverns we buy alcohol for these ladies so that we could sleep with them. When we buy alcohol for them, they should also agree to sleep with us. Most girls are raped because they do not fulfil their promises. For instance, after drinking our alcohol, they do not want to sleep with us. That is why then they are raped (Participant 4).

The findings in this regard revealed that once a man had bought alcohol for a woman, the woman was also expected to agree to have sex with him as a form of repayment. When they were asked if these expectations were clarified from the beginning, in their responses, the participants indicated that most women are aware of the implications of this gesture, but they intentionally ignored their responsibility of paying back by the provision of sex. Hence, they are raped. Some of the participants mentioned that they did not take it well, especially if the woman seemed to have an intention to dupe them. Such women were called *dikleva* (clever women).

It is in this regard that the participants positioned themselves as victims of “clever women”, who took advantage of them by accepting drinks that they had no intention of “paying” for. As

cited by participant 4, “*Re a ba reipa go ba ntšha boclever* (we rape them to remove their cleverness). As he explained, participant 4 stated that rape in this regard is used to punish “clever women” who undermine their partner’s masculinity. To prevent rape that is perpetuated by these circumstances, the participants suggested that women should decline any offer, any drink or favour from male strangers because there is “nothing for free”. These findings concur with previous studies (Stuart, McKimmie & Masser, 2016; Watt, Kimani, Skinner & Meade, 2016), where many victims were raped in clubs under the same pretext. Unfortunately, most of victims who were raped in these circumstances do not report the incidences to the police for fear of being judged or blamed for their misfortunes, especially if the incidence occurred in a tavern at night.

(b) Rape as a means to punish dishonest women

In the interviews, rape was cited as another means that is used by angry men to punish women. Some participants reported that some men used gang-rape to punish their partners who cheated on them. The woman in this regard is seen as dishonest and the boyfriend would then call his friends to assist him in punishing his girlfriend by raping her. Rape in this context is therefore used as a means of punishment for undermining, betraying and embarrassing the boyfriend. This finding supports those of Jewkes and Sikweyiya (2013), where some of their participants mentioned that females were often *streamlined* (gang-raped), especially if their boyfriends suspected that that the girlfriend was promiscuous. As a result, gang rape was used as a means of punishment since the promiscuous woman is seen as undermining her partner’s masculine status and emasculating him. Apart from punishing dishonest women, the findings revealed that amongst gang members, there were some of those who did not necessarily wish to be part of the *streamlining*, but they too were afraid of being undermined by their peers. Therefore, they participate in this criminal act to maintain their masculine position. The following quotation illustrates the point:

*I raped a 32 year old lady. By then, I was 31 years. She was my friend’s girlfriend. I was with my friend and another guy. **It was a gang-rape.** We were at her place and we were drinking alcohol. As we were drinking, my friend (her boyfriend) was having sex with the lady in the bedroom next to the lounge. There was a curtain in -between but we could see everything because it was transparent. When he finished, my friend called the other guy. He then raped her. We were also smoking dagga. **It was as if my friend and his girlfriend were having problems and my friend wanted to punish the lady.** When this other guy finished, I was told that it was my turn. I went in but I did not want to have sex with her. Because I was already stimulated, I “requested” to have sex with*

*her. She agreed because she was frightened. Later on she requested me to rescue her because her boyfriend was intending to rape her the whole night. I was also interested in having sex with her again because the sex was good. I planned a way to rescue her to my place. The other guy (who was not part of us) came and rescued her. When I followed them, I could not find them. It seems this other guy encouraged her to open the case against us. She indeed reported us to the police. The following day one of my friends (who was with us the previous night) told me that the police were looking for us. All these things happened even though my girlfriend was at home. After I was told that the police were looking for me, I tried to run away because the police were already looking for me with regard to a previous case of robbery. I tried to run away but I came back. I was afraid to go to jail because I was told that it was rough in prison. However, I eventually handed myself over to the police **In my case, I was influenced by others. If I did not do it I might have been laughed at, so peer pressure played a major role.***

R: If peers were not around, do you think you would have not been in this crime?

P: I definitely would not have been in this mess. If I was alone, I don't think I would have done this because I know how to propose to a female. If I wanted sex, I would have asked (Participant 6).

This finding revealed that even though they were members of the gang that punished an untrustworthy girlfriend, they too were positioned as victims because if they did not participate in such an activity, they be positioned as weak and un-masculine. Participation did not only symbolise unity with other males against a dishonest woman, but gang raping was also seen as another way of proving one's masculinity. Even though Participant 6 presented himself as sympathetic of the rape victim, he positioned himself too as a victim of peer pressure, who was forced to participate in order to prove his masculinity. These findings suggest that men are always under the watchful eye of their peers who constantly police them. Although he was in a dilemma, he preferred to maintain his masculine position irrespective of the legal implications of breaking the law. These findings further suggested that even though men had power over women, they were also victims of their own masculine positioning because they needed to conform to the masculine code.

(c) Rape as a means to express anger

Apart from punishing promiscuous girlfriends, the findings also revealed that rape was also used to avenge the pain that was caused by women. In this case, every woman is seen as a potential victim of rape because she represents other women who have caused pain in the life of the perpetrator. In this regard, rape was used as another means to express anger and to punish "bad" women. Therefore, no sympathy was shown towards women because they were seen as

responsible for planting the seed of anger and hatred in men. For instance, one participant reported that he had raped women because he was angry towards them for betraying him, including his mother who left him when he was still a baby. The following quotation illustrates the point:

*...you see, some things start with women. We then become angry...if you can check, in most cases, women are the cause. They are planting hatred in children. What I wanted to reveal is that many people have children without having planned for them. Women should plan and be responsible for their children. Many bad things could be avoided. The problem is that most women do not take the responsibility in raising their children. Like myself, I never saw my mother. She left me when I was three years old. I can't even recall how she looked like. Then I grew up struggling, then I find you and you welcome me. Just because of a little thing, you chase me away. **Some of us are committing crime because of anger...I hated women and I started hurting them.** This is how I started. Whenever we met, I attacked them. Some I assaulted them, some I robbed them of their belongings and some I even raped t until I was arrested...**my anger was towards women** (Participant 13).*

The findings revealed that women were seen as cruel and deserving of punishment. The participant positioned himself as the victim of uncaring and irresponsible women. He believed that his mother, who abandoned him when he was still a child caused his hatred of women. Although his anger subsided, it was triggered by other women who later betrayed and abandoned him. He reported that when he came to South Africa, one woman betrayed him, and another woman chased him away from her compound after she accused of him of stealing things he did not know anything about. It is for these reasons that he began to inflict pain on women. According to him, women are cruel and untrustworthy; therefore, they deserve to be punished. The participant's actions are further explained by Miller's (2014) description of an *anger-retaliatory rapist*, whose intention is to punish women through rape. This type of sex offender uses sex to degrade and humiliate women because they remind him of women who inflicted pain on him. Rape in this regard is therefore used as an expression of anger and bitterness towards women. The participant mentioned that he was angry towards women, he yearned for motherly love, hence he respected only the women who showed him compassion. The following quotation illustrates the point:

*I still remember one day I met two women in the bushes fetching wood. I wanted to attack them. One was intending to run away and the other came close to me. **She looked straight into my eyes and said "Ag shem ngwanaka" (Oh my child). You see that expression cooled me down. As a person, I deserved to call someone, Mama. Understand?***

Those words cooled me down and I did not attack them. Instead, they went home and brought me food and money. They did not even report me to the community members. They left me and I went away. The more people treat me well I cool down, but the more they are hard on me, they trigger that anger (Participant 13).

From his narratives, this participant blamed woman for inflicting pain on boy children and men; hence they deserve to be punished. His talk suggested that if children were brought up in a loving and caring family, with motherly love, they are likely to turn out to be better people who know the value of love and care, which they would in turn demonstrate to other people. These findings are in agreement with the psychoanalytic explanation of anger-retaliatory rape. According to Jewkes et al. (2011), rape in this regard emanates from impaired and disorganised attachment resulting from parental absence. It is argued that children who grow up in an environment without parental love and care are likely to display personality disorders associated with “lower empathy and a greater propensity for rape” (p.9). Empathy is seen as a protective factor against this kind of rape. Like Participant 13, individuals who did not experience empathy and love in their childhood, are likely to display disordered attachment that may lead them to have a difficulty in forming stable attachments and empathetic relationships (Jewkes et al., 2012). As a result, they are likely to commit sexual offences, sometimes with grievous bodily injuries.

In conclusion, based on these findings, it may be said that most participants use the “Just World” approach to justify their actions. This approach maintains that the world is a “fair place where individuals deserve what they get and get what they deserve” (Van der Bruggen & Grubb, 2014, p.524). Since women are seen as cruel and untrustworthy, they were therefore deserving of punishment in any form, including rape.

7.5 Rape is constructed as a means to demonstrate masculinity

The findings revealed that some of the participants did not appreciate women who undermined their masculinity. As they accounted for their sexual offences, the participants reported that they raped women who undermined their masculinity. They had used rape to reposition themselves as real men. The participants in this regard positioned themselves as sexually active and capable of meeting the sexual needs of women. However, these men were angered by those women who undermined them and challenge their sexual ability. According to these participants, they raped their victims to prove their sexual capability and their masculinity. The following quotations illustrate this:

She stayed the whole night at my place. At night she told me that I was a coward and I don't know how to have sex. I had sex with her just to prove that I know about these things (Participant 15).

Participant: *In my case, I raped my victim because I proposed to her several times and she refused. She told me that I wouldn't satisfy her. I told her that the day would come, when I would show her that I was not a boy... I raped her because I wanted to prove that I was not a child* (Participant 1).

From the above quotations, Participant 1 positioned himself as a man as opposed to a boy. Since his masculine status was challenged, he felt that he had to use sexual violence to negate his victim's utterance that he "won't satisfy her". It is from this statement that we can conclude that some men use extreme measures such as sexual violence to prove their worth as men, especially when their sexual ability is undermined. From his talk, Participant 1 viewed any talk that challenged his sexual ability as insulting and emasculating. Hence, he used rape to reposition himself as a man. From this finding, it appears as if the participant used extreme measures such as rape, to try to dissociate himself from boyhood, childhood or femininity. These harsh measures may have been selected because they better positioned individuals as real men, removed from any weak subject.

As they positioned themselves, the participants sometimes found themselves in a dilemma because when they tried to be gentle to their partners, their gentleness was associated with weakness. Therefore, they used rape as a means to prove that they were not weak. Even though they sometimes did not intend to harm women, they felt that they were forced to do so because if they did not use physical force, they would be "othered". Rape in this regard was used as a means to affirm their masculinity. For instance, participant 15 found himself in a dilemma where he wanted to have sex with his partner at the right time, but his non-violent behaviour was likened to weakness or cowardice. On the other hand, when he tried to respond to the needs of his partner, he was reported to the police for rape. He expressed his frustration by saying "*wa e gapa o molato, o a lesa o molato*" (Pedi proverb meaning that if someone does not act, he is blamed and if he acts he is also blamed). This frustration and dilemma was also cited by participant 1 who stated that he had to rape the victim because after she had undermined him, she refused to have sex with him. He therefore raped her to prove that he was a real man who could satisfy a woman sexually. In their responses, both participants claimed that they had to have sex with the women who undermined their sexual ability because if they did not do so, the women would have continued to undermine their masculinity. From their narratives, it

appears that men are in constant pressure to maintain their masculinity position, even if it means using violent means to do so.

7.6 Marital Rape is constructed as a display of sexual entitlement

During the interviews, it was discovered that most of the participants believed that they were entitled to have sexual intercourse with women, especially if they were in a relationship with or they were married to them. They believed that marital rape did not exist and that once a woman had agreed to be in a relationship, she must always be sexually available for her partner. Most of the participants believed that once the woman is in a relationship or married, her body belongs to her partner and she must be willing to give the man what is “rightfully his”. It is for this reason that most men did not understand marital rape because for them, having sex with a wife or a partner even without consent is “normal”. According to them, rape is when a stranger forces himself on a woman. However, if the very same act is performed by the husband, it should not be considered as rape. The following quotations illustrate the point:

Rape is when they force themselves on you on the street. In my house? I don't know what can that be? Rape only happens in the veld (Participant 2).

How can I rape a woman that I have children and grandchildren with? That is not rape (Participant 8).

From their quotations, some of the participants did not regard unconsented sex in marriage as rape. They positioned themselves as victims of wrongful arrest for practising what they considered to be ‘normal’. Some of those who were married, mentioned that they should have not been arrested because they had paid *lobola* (bride price) for their wives. Their responses suggested that since they had paid *lobola* for their wives, they were entitled to have sex with them because women were seen as assets. Similar views are shared in Andrikah's (2011) findings, wherein the majority of the participants considered married women as their “properties” whose role was to gratify their husbands' sexual desires. In support of this view, participant 8 suggested that by virtue of being legally married to his wife, he “owns” her body. Therefore, he was entitled to have sex with her even though it was against her wish. According to Sathiparsad (2006, p.223), such views illustrate the cultural construction of masculinity that legitimises male authority in the sexual domain, thereby objectifying women as sexual providers. Based on these findings, it was discovered that some participants still believed that

they had sexual entitlement of their wives and partners, hence these women were expected to be always sexually available for their husbands. Failure to “cooperate” was seen as provoking sexual violence, which was justified and considered as normal in a relationship. For these participants, rape only happens with strangers. It is against this background that the participants in this regard still viewed sexual demands as normal in marriages and relationships. Consequently, most of them deny their sexual offences.

To further challenge marital rape, some participants raised their concern about the legal definition of rape in South Africa. These participants were concerned that the definition was unfair because it infringes on their conjugal rights. They therefore condemned the South African government for criminalising marital rape. They expressed their discontent on this matter. As a result, they positioned themselves as victims of wrongful arrests that emanated from the law that did not take into account the cultural implications of marriage. They suggested that the South African law should emulate other African countries which did not interfere in private affairs. The following quotations illustrate the point:

I use to talk to other inmates from other countries about rape and my case for instance. They said to me that the definition of rape in SA is so tight hence we have many rape cases. They said that when you forcefully sleep with your wife, it is not rape in their countries. I think that we still need to be taught about those fine lines about the definition of rape (Participant 6).

In his narratives, Participant 6 indicated that he was wrongfully charged because the South African legal definition of rape was vague and unfair. He insisted that forceful sex with a partner should not be considered as rape. Apart from challenging the definition of rape, the participant advocated for a homogeneous definition of rape and all men should be taught the legal definition of rape, since the majority of them were arrested for an action they never thought was in conflict with the law. To further challenge marital rape, participant 5 claimed that he did not have a clear understanding of the definition of rape. As a result, he committed his crime unknowingly. The following quotation illustrates this:

*I used to work far from home. One day when I came back home, she was not there. She came home the following day...I got angry and I beat her. **During the course of the night, we reconciled and I had sex with her in a peaceful way.** The following day I left for work. I was later surprised when I saw her being accompanied by policemen in the police van...I explained that I am responsible for beating her **but not for rape.** I committed the crime unknowingly (Participant 5).*

The participant’s denial of sexual offence and his acceptance of physical abuse is an indication that that some men have limited knowledge and understanding of what constituted marital rape.

It is for this reason that most of the participants positioned themselves as victims of an unfair legal system that convicted them for crimes they considered to be “normal”. In this way, the participant suggested that the legal explanation of rape should be clearly explained to all sex offenders so that they may have an understanding of different contextual definition of rape. Since they positioned themselves as victims, some of the participants stated that they would appreciate it if this information was disseminated to all offenders to avoid recidivism.

Based on these findings, it is concluded that most participants believed that there was no rape in a relationship because once a woman agreed to be in a relationship, she automatically gave an eternal sexual consent to her partner. After giving up her rights to her partner, the woman was not expected to claim that she was raped by her partner, even though he did not seek consent before they had sex. These findings are similar to those of Fulu, Warner, Miedema, Jewkes, Roselli and Lang (2013), who also found that participants positioned themselves as victims who were not remorseful about their sexual offences, particularly on those offences they committed against their partners. In their responses, it seems most of the participants still subscribe to the patriarchal discourses that give men the right to dominate women, especially on sexual matters.

7.7 Men are constructed as victims of circumstances surrounding rape

(a) Rape is used for blackmailing

In their responses, most participants denied their sexual offences. Instead, they positioned themselves as victims of deception and blackmail. Most of them believed that most women use rape to blackmail, punish and to disempower men. For instance, some of the participants alluded to the fact that they were often not informed from the beginning that sex would be used as an exchange for something. They indicated that they only knew what was due to be paid after they had finished having sex. As a result, they positioned themselves as victims of blackmail because they were often threatened to be reported to the police for rape if they were unable to meet the demands of those whom they had sex with. These participants believed that they were victims of deception because if they knew that their sexual encounter would be followed by demands, they would not have engaged in it. As a result, they positioned themselves as victims of deception because conditions were not clarified from the beginning. The following quotations illustrate this view:

One day at the tavern, I met this lady. I was wearing an expensive T-shirt. She wanted me to give it to her. I said I would give it to her the following day. I went with her to my

place. We spent a night at my place. We had sex at night. **The following day she demanded money and the T-shirt. I gave her R100 and told her that I would buy a T-shirt for her.** She then left. At around 12h00, my friends and I were playing dice. Policemen came with her. I was then arrested for rape. I told them that I did not rape her. I told them that the only crime I did was that I promised her a T-shirt and I did not give to her. That was how I was arrested. I begged her but she did not budge. I was sentenced 20 years (Participant 14).

I went with the lady to the house and when we arrived we had sex. In the morning, that lady demanded R1 000. I told her that I did not have it. **She said that if I did not have it, she was going to report me to the police.** I begged her not to report me to the police. I told her that I would organize money for her. Again, I told her that she should have told me about money the previous day before we had sex. We agreed... Then later she came with the police and I was arrested (Participant 11).

From my experience, I think in our country, some of the reported cases are not rape. Most girls want money. You have sex with them and if you don't give them money they report you to the police... Sometimes you have sex with this woman and she then demands money. When you don't have it, she reports you to the police. This will look like rape because doctors will really find out that you indeed had sex with her... you see; I don't think the issue of rape will ever stop. Why? You see, there are intentional and unintentional rapes. **There are those of serial killers and those of ladies who demand money after you just had consensual sex.** If you don't have money, she reports you to the police (Participant 4).

Most of the women are after money. If you don't give them money, they punish you by reporting you to the police after sex. I do not feel well about this case because I know that I did not rape her. The problem is that the law is law, and relies on evidence. The evidence results for this case was 99%. So, there was nothing one could do (Participant 2).

I knocked and she opened for me. Because I was drunk, I went to her bed. She then came to the bed and woke me up. Then she took off her jeans and wore a very short black and white skirt. Then she opened her thighs so that I could have sex with her. **When I finished, she demanded R100** because she said she did not have food in the house. I told her that I had only R20. I told her that I would give her R200 after I collected my money from all the people who owed me. Some few days, many boys came to my place. In that group, I could only recognize one. They asked me about the lady and told me that I raped her. I was surprised because I did not consider that as a rape. I told them that she was my girlfriend but they dragged me to the tarred road. Another car came. Inside the car were police in private clothes. They then arrested me. Even today. I want to know if this was rape. Is this how rape is described in South Africa, especially for foreigners? (Participant 8).

From their narratives, the participants positioned themselves as victims of exploitative women. It is for this reason that most of them perceived women as unreliable beings who used sex for monetary gain. They positioned themselves as victims of deception. Participant 11 indicated

that if he knew beforehand that he would be required to pay for the sex, he would not have engaged in the activity in the first place. The findings are similar to that of Field's (2009) study, where participants also positioned themselves as victims of women who used rape allegations for monetary gain. In both studies, instead of acknowledging their offences, the participants blamed their "victims" for deceiving them. It is for this reason that they positioned themselves as the real victims and not the other way round. In order to prevent the recurrence of the deception, one participant indicated that next time he intended to record the conversation with any woman with whom he intended to have sex. His response suggested that even though he would still be engaged in sexual activities, experience had taught him to be more cautious when he relate to women. Apart from being angered by the deception, it was highlighted that it was possible that some of the offenders were still angry and they were likely to seek revenge for the years that they lost, by serving a sentence for the crimes that, in their opinion, they had not committed. The following quotation illustrates the point:

...the issue of rape will never stop...Some are arrested for the crime they never committed. Upon release, they do crime because they want to pay revenge. He can rape and kill as revenge, moreover that he was arrested and spent 20 years for nothing (Participant 11).

As they position themselves as victims of deception, it was highlighted that there could be some participants who were angry and bitter for being convicted for crimes they claim they had not committed. Therefore, these individuals were likely to revenge themselves for their wrongful arrests. Although the participants did not implicate themselves in any plan to revenge for their wrongful arrests, it was emphasised that the rate of recidivism was likely to be perpetuated as a result of the bitterness that some of the perpetrators still harboured. It is in this regard that a penis is used as a "weapon" for vengeance and destruction, a view that was shared by Sathiparsad (2006). Apart from causing anger, deception has also created feelings of fear amongst participants, who still viewed women as untrustworthy and unpredictable. The following quotation illustrates the point:

Aaah women. I have stopped loving women, aah. Even when I am released I will not have relationships. Not that I hate them, it is just that I was disappointed (Participant 2).

Apart from serving the sentences for the crime they claim they did not commit, some of the participants highlighted the emotional wounds that were caused by these deceptions. As a

result, they were disappointed and traumatized. Some intended to be too cautious with women, whereas others had lost interest in women at all. Having observed their feeling of trauma, I suggested referral for counselling for the participants. I explained its role and the procedure that they should follow, but none of them was willing to go for therapy. Some cited that they were alright, whereas one indicated that he was a man and he did not attend to “*those things*”. From their responses, I noted that most of the participants associated counselling with femininity and weakness. As such, it was not surprising then that all efforts for the arrangement for counselling were rejected.

(b) Men are the victims of drugs

During the interviews, most participants blamed alcohol for their sexual offences. Although Jewkes et al. (2012) indicated that there was little scientific literature that proved the relationship between drug use and rape, some participants mentioned that they raped because they were under the influence of alcohol. Therefore, alcohol was blamed whereas participants positioned themselves as victims. The following quotations illustrate the point:

*I drink alcohol and smoke marijuana. Marijuana must not be mixed with alcohol. **This is dangerous to the mind of a man. Whenever you see a woman, you will just start trouble.** Once you start doing this, you will continue doing it. You will not respect a woman (Participant 11)*

*I was arrested for rape. It was a mistake. **I was under the influence of alcohol.** Previously I was arrested for assault. This is my first arrest for rape. I was in the tavern drinking alcohol. I could feel that I was drunk. There was this girl who was staying with her grandmother, and her mother was working in Jo’burg. That night her grandmother was also in the tavern. **I just saw myself in her house and I raped her.** The following day policemen were looking for me. I used to hide in the dry dam and nearby hill. A friend of mine told me that policemen were looking for me. Having told him about my hiding place, I changed the location. But he encouraged me to hand myself over because I might be shot. I handed myself over to my neighbour, who was a policeman. He then took me to the police station. Before then, I was taken to the victim’s place to ask for forgiveness. The family forgave me but they said that unfortunately there was nothing they could do because the matter was now in the hands of the police. I was then sentenced to 15 years in prison (Participant 2).*

To account for their sexual offences, some participants indicated that after drinking alcohol, they started to have the desire to have sex with women. Their narratives suggested that men’s sexual desire increased when they were under the influence of drugs or alcohol. Some of the participants explained that their sexual urges increased when they were intoxicated, hence they sometimes raped. Most of the participants blamed alcohol for their sexual offences. Lippy and

DeGue (2016) stated that excessive alcohol intake does not necessarily cause one to commit a crime, but rather affects acute problems with abstract reasoning, planning, and judgement. Therefore, these impairments can then result in disinhibition, reduced empathy, and limited capacity to consider long-term consequences of rape or alternative behaviours other than rape. Rape in this regard could be explained as emanating from reduced cognitive functions that inhibit aggressive and violent behaviour. From their responses, the participants positioned themselves as victims of the effects of alcohol. They believed that when they were drunk, they committed crimes they would not have thought of committing, if they were sober. Apart from increasing sexual desires, Participant 2 also blamed alcohol for making him fearless. He believed that it is this fearlessness that made men commit sexual crimes. Therefore, alcohol was blamed for its effects on an individual. On the other hand, the participant positions himself as a victim, distancing himself from his responsibility as an accountable, responsible man. The following quotation illustrates the point:

“I think it is alcohol. Alcohol makes you to be fearless and one ends up doing things that one would later regret. (Participant 2)

Based on these findings, it is concluded that the participants positioned themselves as helpless individuals who were controlled by alcohol that made them do things that they would normally not do when they had not been under the influence of alcohol. In that way, they distanced themselves from being responsible for their actions. Although there was no scientific evidence to demonstrate that alcohol causes an individual to commit sexual crime, instead Abbey (2002) and Molefe (2013) found that it predisposed individuals to risky sexual behaviours.

(c) Men are victims of culture

Some participants raised a concern that they were arrested for what they believed to be culturally correct. These participants indicated that in an African culture, women were not allowed to propose to men or to ask for sexual favours from men. If a woman needed any sexual favour from a man, she is expected to show it by her actions. Since women were taught not to express their sexual needs, men on the other side were taught to “read” women’s sexual advances and respond accordingly because it is culturally unacceptable for the man to ignore the woman’s sexual advances. The following quotations relates to this:

We went to her place. She said the computer was in the bedroom. I then followed her. I started working on the computer. She then said she was going to have a bath whilst I

was working on the computer. When she came back, she was wearing a transparent short silk night dress. In my culture, they say if a woman likes a man, it is difficult to tell him, instead, her actions will tell that “I am into you”. I was drunk, but not too much. When she did that, I responded by brushing her, romancing her, and taking off her clothes and we had sex...the lady told him that I raped her. They then slapped me and they took me to the police van. Then they arrested me. The following day they charged me with rape (Participant 16).

In his narrative, Participant 16 justified his offence by indicating that he had “consensual sex” with his victim because he had responded to her sexual needs. In his argument, he claimed that his actions were culturally acceptable because women were not allowed to directly ask for sexual favours. Therefore, it is the duty of the man to respond to the woman’s sexual advances. As he accounted for his sexual offence, participant 16 positioned himself as a real man who had to ensure that the sexual needs of a woman were met. Since he was arrested for doing what was culturally correct, he positioned himself as a victim of the Western definition of rape as opposed to his own culture. In his response, he emphasised that he was wrongfully arrested for following his culture. The participant’s view was also expressed by the then Deputy President of the Republic of South Africa, Mr Jacob Zuma during his rape trial against Ms Kwezi in 2006. As he accounted for his sexual offence, Mr Zuma stated that having noticed that Ms Kwezi was “aroused” and making sexual advances, as a Zulu man, it was his responsibility to meet her sexual needs. He claimed that if he had not, he would have disrespected her dignity and he would have been seen as being inconsiderate (Suttner, 2009). From the participant’s response, culture seems to have a strong influence on sexual matters. It is against this background that men are seen as individuals who cannot think independently from their cultures. Since there is a contrast between the cultural discourses and the legal definition of rape, some of the participants felt exploited by Western laws that prevented them from practising their culture freely.

(d) Victims of poor parenting

In their narratives, some of the participants mentioned that they did not have any form of teaching on sexual matters from their elders. As a result, they had learnt these sexual activities from their friends, media and other available pornographic materials which they accessed from their friends. Some of the participants blamed the absence of their fathers, believing that if they were present in their lives, they would have prevented them from committing sexual crimes through their moral teachings. Since their fathers were absent, these participants mentioned that they had to rely on their friends who were also misinformed or had little information. They

mentioned that according to their cultures, they were not encouraged to discuss sexual matters with their mothers, and therefore, they had no option but to learn from their friends who sometimes misled them. The following quotations confirmed this:

“I was taught by my peers. They gave me a girlfriend and told me what to do” (Participant 19).

“I learnt that from my friends as I was growing up. I learnt from them and I asked them questions and they gave me tips on how to approach girls” (Participant 15).

“Eish, that part, I lacked support. My father used to work in Jo’burg and it was not easy to talk about these things with a woman” (Participant 3).

The findings revealed that the participants believed that parents, particularly fathers, should have advised their sons on sexual matters. In that way, boy children would have known how to conduct themselves around women and how to treat women appropriately. With a lack of such information and support, the participants reported that they found themselves in a position where they had to rely on their peers and pornographic materials for sex education. It is from these pornographic movies that they learnt sexual violence and objectification of women. Since they did not receive proper guidance on sexual matters, they thought that what they learnt from the media was correct and they had to practise it too. Having realised that what they were practising was actually against the law, they blamed their absent fathers because they believed that it was their lack of knowledge of sexual matters that made them to violate the law. They positioned themselves as victims of poor parenting because if they could have been guided by their fathers, they would not have committed sexual offences.

(e) Victims of external stimuli

Apart from lack of knowledge, the accessibility of pornographic movies and highly sexual programmes on the national TV were blamed for influencing most of the participants to become sexually aggressive. These materials were seen as sexually provocative because they incited sexual violence. After watching them, some of the participants reported that they developed a strong desire to practise what they had observed. The following quotations illustrate the point:

There was a programme on e-TV called “Emmanuel”. I watched the programme regularly. I was 13 but I started to have sex with another girl from school. We were both in primary school. I became addicted to sex. When she was not around, I started masturbating often, I later became more interested in masturbating than actually having sexual intercourse. I used to watch the programme while I was masturbating, but it was banned (Participant 17).

...they (pornographic movies) stimulate young boys prematurely. These movies arouse men, and when they see a girl, they would like to practise what they saw (Participant 6).

The findings revealed that most of the participants blamed the accessibility of erotic movies, which were seen as heightening their sexual desires. These sexual materials were blamed for being easily accessible and sexually stimulating. As a result, the participants described themselves as being victims because after watching these movies, “*they would like to practise what they saw*”. Most of them indicated that they accessed these materials from their peers who also stole them from adults. Participants blamed these adults for being reckless, because it was their responsibility to ensure that such materials were kept safe, away from children.

In addition to the accessibility of erotic movies, participants also blamed their parents for exposing them to undesirable sexual practices by letting them to observe their sexual activities. After watching his parents having sex, one participant indicated that he found himself having the desire to have sexual intercourse too. The following quotation illustrates the point:

The other problem is that single mothers have a tendency of bringing several different men in the house. The problem is that they have sex in our presence because we would be staying in a one roomed shack. When I grew up seeing these things, what must I do? I must try to practise them. Once I touch a woman, I will think about sex, hence I will rape (Participant 17).

From his narratives, the participant blamed his parents for being bad role models by exposing their children to sexual practices. Although socio-economic status could be blamed for causing limitations to parents’ privacy, these parents were still blamed for being careless and not taking precautionary measures to protect their children from any undesirable teaching. As they account for their sexual offences, in their narratives, the participants positioned themselves as victims of their low socio-economic status and poor parenting. Even though they were convicted of sexual offences, the participants continued to deny any personal accountability. Instead, they positioned themselves as victims of their environment.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that to account for their sexual offences, most participants denied their offences and positioned themselves as victims who were failed by their families, communities and circumstances in their environment. This denial suggests that the participants had distanced themselves from taking responsibility for their actions. In this way, they are likely to reoffend because with their attitude, they are likely not to learn from their experiences.

7.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results related to the second objective of the study that aimed at understanding sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity by focusing on discourses that sex offenders drew from, to account for their sexual offences. The study revealed that most of the participants still hold rape myths and draw on local discourses to account for their sexual offences. In addition, the findings revealed that as they continue to account for their sexual offences, most participants positioned themselves as the victims of the environmental factors and further distanced themselves from taking responsibility for their own actions. Having discussed these findings, the following chapter presents the discussions and recommendations for the study.

CHAPTER 8

DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS, IMPLICATIONS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings of the study. These findings are discussed under the two major objectives of the study. The last part of this chapter focuses on the implications of the findings and the recommendations thereof.

8.2 Revisiting the objectives of the study

- 1) To explore how sex offenders construct masculinity.
- 2) To understand sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinity.

8.3 The construction of masculinities

According to Peacock (2012), South Africa is one of the countries that has a high rate of sexual violence and many of these offences are committed by men. To address the scourge of sexual violence successfully, Ratele (2013) recommended that research should start focusing on men and how they construct masculinities rather than on victims only. As a way of understanding men in relation to sexual violence; this study explored how sex offenders constructed masculinities and how they accounted for their sexual offences.

The findings revealed that the participants drew on the available discourses to construct their idealised masculinities. Their aspiration to achieve their masculine status was influenced by various societal discourses. According to Andersson (2008b), these discourses are important in the lives of men because they guide their behaviour and influence how they relate to women and other men. Furthermore, these discourses are important because they shape the narratives of individuals and are used to construct identities (Soal & Kottler, 1996). As they constructed their masculinities, it was found that the participants' discourses on masculinity were centred on what a man can "do". For them masculinity is "doing" and a man is positioned as a "doer". His "doing" is therefore enacted through his behaviour; how he perceives things and how he relates to others. For instance, Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2003) found that to "do boy", a male child should "avoid doing anything related to what girls do"; instead, he must be tough, hard and he must treat schoolwork casually. Looking at their discourses and how they "do"

masculinities, it may then be reasoned that “gender is performative and relational” (p.2). As I explored how sex offenders “do” masculinities, the following discourses emerged:

(a) Fathering and fatherhood

The findings revealed that one of the defining features of masculinity was one’s ability to father a child. Fathering was explained as one’s ability to procreate. Hence, those who are unable to procreate were positioned as unmasculine. There was a sense of pride amongst those participants who had children. Even though some young participants did not have children of their own, there was a sense of pride emanating from the belief that men can automatically have children. Hence when there is a problem of infertility in a marriage, the woman is often blamed. As for those who have children, they felt that they had fulfilled their masculine obligation even though most of them related poorly to their children. Since the penis is associated with fertility, therefore, those who did not have children were associated with femininity because they were seen as having a ‘dysfunctional or castrated penis’. This sentiment was also shared by men in the Sambia tribe in Papua New Guinea where it is believed that an individual reaches full masculine success only after he has impregnated a woman because procreation is the demonstration of power over the woman and an indication that an individual is able to perform a masculine function (McKay, 2014).

Although procreation was emphasised, narratives also highlighted the power of the penis. Procreation was seen as a display of the functionality of the penis, its ability to be erect and to release the “seed” that will invade the territory of a woman. In this way, procreation symbolises dominance and control over the woman. This view was supported by Lindsay and Boyle (2017, p.2) who described the penis as a symbol of male power, domination, control, capability, desirability and aggression. It is because of its power and its capability to “paralyze” a woman that it has attracted itself names such as “moisture missile”, “yoghurt shotgun” and “mayo shooting hotdog gun” (p. 2). Therefore, procreation is seen as man’s victory over the body of a woman because by carrying his seed (a child), she is seen as a victim of “gun shot”.

In addition to procreation, fathering was associated with one’s ability to execute fatherly duties. From their narratives, participants positioned their fathers as having failed in their fatherhood roles since they did not do what real men do. These fathers were seen as symbols of failed or deficient masculinities. As they constructed their masculinities, the participants had an ideal image of real fathers as told or observed from their neighbourhood. However, these ideals appeared not to have been entrenched in them. This was demonstrated by the nature of their

offences, and some of their unhealthy discourses which made them have unhealthy relationships with women. According to Jewkes, Flood and Lang's (2015), the presence of the father is significant in the life of the child because his empathy and warmth makes the child to feel loved and later be able to project love and empathy to other people. In support of this position, Ratele (2013) described the significant role of fatherhood by stating that the presence of fathers lowers distresses on their sons, and reduces the likelihood of risk practices and anti-social behaviours. In as much as they value the presence of fathers in the lives of boy children, ironically, these participants find themselves in the same fate as their fathers' because they too are now absent in the lives of their children. In some instances, some of them highlighted that they were disappointed in themselves because they perceived their masculinities as deficient too, moreover, they could not 'do' what fathers were expected to do. Therefore, like their own fathers, these participants were likely to be blamed by their own children, who too were likely to display abhorrent behaviours as a result of their distance and detachment from their fathers.

In addition to the physical and emotional presence, provision was cited as another discourse of "doing" masculinity. It is believed that men have an obligation to provide food and material things for their wives and children. However, providing for the family was not limited to fathers. This obligation is expected to be fulfilled by both young and adult males. In support of this view, in their studies, Gibbs, Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2014) and Krivickas (2010) stated that there is a collective understanding in most social settings that provision is a non-negotiable male practice. Therefore, provision and breadwinning amongst men is 'non-negotiable.' Although the participants were proud that they fulfilled their breadwinning role in the past, their current state in the Correctional Centres presented limitations for them to demonstrate their masculine ability. Since they were now unable to do what was expected of them as men, they were seen as having failed masculinities. Although it was expected that men in their current situation were likely to feel less masculine, instead, others drew on the available resources to re-position themselves. For instance, amongst them, there are those who had equipped themselves with skills by participating in the Centre's Skill Development programmes and offering voluntary services. Unlike others, these individuals positioned themselves as real men because they were "doing" something about their lives. They had placed themselves in a better masculine position than those who had learnt nothing. In that way these individuals are using the available discourses to enact their manhood and maintain their masculine position. As they shared the importance of provision in the construction of

masculinities, it emerged that there were those participants who felt emasculated since they could not live by the masculine standards and expectations of the discourse of provision.

(b) Possession of assets

Apart from provision, participants also drew on the discourse of possession of assets to construct their masculinities. Possession of assets was described as a symbol and expression of male power. Two main possessions that emerged were land and house. In support of this finding, Mhlahlo (2009) stated that the ownership of a homestead, especially within the Black community, in particular the Xhosa tribe, symbolised a man's hard work and independence. Hence the ownership of a house in South Africa is a Black man's pride because it affirms his masculine power (Hadebe, 2010). In most cases, those men who did not own anything were positioned as "boys" because they did not have any material to prove their masculine victory and success. Contrary to these views, one participant, from Mozambique discredited the possession of assets as a symbol of success. For him, manhood was defined by good morals. These competing versions of masculinities served as a strong indicator that masculinity is socially constructed and contested, hence it differs from one context and culture to another.

In conclusion, the findings revealed that since the possession and ownership of houses and land was not significant for the expression of masculine success in prison, narratives of participants demonstrated that most hyper-masculine participants used alternative and available resources to validate their masculine power and success.

(c) Discourse of physical strength, toughness and perseverance

As they constructed their masculinities, some of the participants used the discourse of body physique as one of the defining elements of masculinity. An ideal body was described as muscular. The participants preferred large body with biceps. For them, this body structure signified power and strength. A similar view was echoed by participants in Plüg's study (2013) who found that "the ideal male body is moderately large, had a strong torso and back, with muscular biceps and defined legs" (p.65). Some of the participants in this study aspired to have this form of body structure because they described it as a buffer against other men who were likely to test their masculinities. A concern was raised that if one's body structure was not intimidating; other men were likely to take advantage of one. Therefore, body structure was deemed important for the construction of masculinities because it was used as an instrument to communicate and negotiate masculine power amongst men (Connell, 1995; Courtenay, 2000;

Seidler, 2007). From their narratives, it appeared that those who do not have other means and resources to demonstrate and display their masculine success, instead, prefer to use their bodily structures as an available tool to show off and intimidate others. This discourse still takes place in the Correctional Centres because masculinity resources in these centres are severely limited. Therefore, body structure and strength in this context were used as useful resources to affirm their masculine power.

Apart from the body structure, discourses of heroism and protection emerged as core definition of masculinity. The ability to protect was associated with heroism because according to the participants, a hero is someone who could take risks in the best interest of his loved ones. Although in the process of protecting his loved one an individual may be hurt, this was a risk that affirmed his masculinity. It is believed that most women prefer men with such a character so that they can protect them too. Those who were unable to protect their families were often labelled as weak and were marginalised because they were associated with femininity. Grogan and Richards (2002) argued that as they continue to monitor each other, this peer policing sometimes has negative implications to some men because it leads them to be dissatisfied with their bodies. As a result, they are likely to take drastic steps to build the ideal bodies through excessive exercise and ingestion of physically damaging drugs such as anabolic steroids and human growth hormones.

Like life outside the Correctional Centres, heroism in these Centres is also associated with risks. However, risks in this case involved being part of gangs and participation in dangerous activities that might lead an individual into be conflict with the law again. Even though not much has been revealed about the prison life that is associated with heroism, most participants described life in these centres as “tough”, moreover there are “prison codes” individuals have to live by. According to the principles of these codes, one is not allowed to display any weakness because it will subject them to abuse by other offenders. To prove one’s manhood in this context, offenders are not to expose their vulnerability. Instead, they are expected to show strength, toughness and perseverance. Even though they are in a vulnerable environment, they are expected to suffer in silence (Sabo, Kupers & London, 2001). According to Cohen and Taylor (1981), this prison code is a value system for offenders which stresses loyalty by asserting toughness and dignity, and not showing any weakness. In order to survive prison life, one has to prove one’s masculinity by fighting back when attacked by others. Basically, the “prison toughness” that the participants are talking about is about one’s ability to survive the

unpleasant prison environment. From their narratives, life in the Correctional Centre was spoken of as a site that men use to demonstrate their masculine strength, power and success. It is against this background that participants positioned themselves as a rare masculine breed that have stood the test of time as compared to other men whom they refer as *Mommy's boys*. Unlike other men from the general population, participants positioned themselves as real men because their masculine strength and perseverance are still tested by challenges in the Correctional Centre.

(d) Initiation

According to Nkosi (2005) and Mhlahlo (2009), traditional initiation was described as a purification rite in the transition from boyhood to manhood. This discourse positions boys as warriors. However, to attain this warrior status, one has to attend the traditional initiation school at the “mountain”, where initiates are taken through trauma and pain. The ability to survive the harsh and painful conditions at these sites is seen as a markers of masculine victory. Those participants who went to the “mountain” see themselves as an exclusive group that can withstand any pain. As a result, life in the Correctional Centres is seen as an extension of the initiation schools that further test one’s ability to endure pain. Some participants who already went to initiation schools positioned themselves as better men because they have endured double pain, that is, initiation school and tough prison life. For instance, when talking about Correctional Centres as “tough” zones, one participant minimised the “prison pain” by referring to it as “nothing” compared to the “initiation pain”. Enduring this double pain authenticated their masculine power, when compared to other men. From their responses, a concern was raised as to which site brought out a better masculine version because these two sites seem to present themselves as either functioning in parallel or in competition in developing hegemonic masculinities. Even though these versions are in competition, they are both of value only in their context. For instance, for some, “the mountain” experience may not be relevant in the Correctional Centre because these centres have their “codes”. Besides their differences, these two sites play a vital role in the construction of a successful masculinity.

As they glorified the initiation schools as sites to construct successful masculinity, those individuals who went to the hospitals were scorned and laughed at since they were considered as “boys” even though they were circumcised. The main issue in this regard was how it was done. If the circumcision was not accompanied by pain, it therefore had nothing to do with attainment of manhood.” According to the participants, “mountain” initiates were considered

to be real men because they are circumcised with an assegai without any anaesthesia. Hence upon the cut, they are expected to shout *Ndiyindoda* (I am a man) (Ncaca, 2014), whereas those who are circumcised in the hospital are called *Oosododa* ('wanna be men') because they do not go through pain that authenticates their manhood (Ncaca, 2014). From the interviews, it was noticed that all those who went to the "mountain" were proud because enduring pain is an important discourse of hegemonic masculinity. In some instances, some men will exert more pain upon themselves to demonstrate their ability to endure pain as real men. For instance, initiates from the Bigisu tribe in the Eastern Uganda often add pepper and salt on the wound after they have been circumcised without anesthesia to demonstrate that they are men who can withstand extra-ordinary pain (Barker & Ricardo, 2005).

Apart from their hardships at the initiation schools, these sites were found to promote patriarchal discourses by inculcating and instilling teachings on the domination and exploitation of women. For instance, upon their graduation from these schools, they are bestowed as the heads of their families hence they are called "men" irrespective of their age. Teachings from initiation schools positioned men to be above women as they have been taught to exploit and dominate them. Despite these flaws, the initiation schools are still considered as sites where real manhood and masculine success is achieved.

(e) Sexuality

From their narratives, it was also revealed that masculinity is sexualised. As they construct their masculinities, the participants constructed their masculine identity around their sexual experiences and their attitudes towards sex and women. For instance, they indicated that a real man should have the skill to establish and maintain a heterosexual relationship. In such relationships, a man is expected to demonstrate his sexual skills by using his penis to satisfy his partner. To achieve this goal, a man is expected to have a healthy erectile penis and stamina during sexual intercourse. In support of this view, Fleming et al. (2015) indicated that the man's ability to sexually satisfy his partner is considered a key characteristic of masculinity. Further explanation for sexual satisfaction is that a man should ensure that his female partner reaches orgasm during sexual intercourse. Based on this discourse, man is always under a microscopic eye of his peers to excel during sexual intercourse. His excellence in this regard affirms his masculine victory.

Since women are also active agents in the production of acceptable masculinities (Talbot & Quayle, 2010), the findings revealed that their comments and responses to their partners,

especially after sexual intercourse were deemed to be significant in affirming masculine success. For instance, most participants indicated that they appreciated it if they received assurance in the form of positive feedback from their female partners. According to the participants, positive feedback does not only validate the man's sexual success, but it gives him a better voice when he is with his peers. Most men feel compelled to share their experiences with other men so that their masculinity is validated. According to Hearn (1998), conversations about their sexual experiences with peers were always expected because they were seen as another aspect of the social construction of masculinities. Men talk about their sexual experiences. Those who did not share their sexual experiences ran the risk of being classified as failures because it was then assumed that they were not good in bed. These findings confirmed that masculinity is about both "doing" sex with women, and "talking" about sexual conquest with peers.

(f) Respect

Older participants in this study described a respectful man as the one who can relate well to others and humbles himself especially around the elders. By so doing, an individual will earn respect in return. In the same vein, Mhlahlo (2009) argued that manhood, especially in an African context goes far beyond the tradition of the cut at the initiation school. It is believed that one has to demonstrate his manhood by commanding his environment through respect. However, unlike older participants, the younger ones gave a different masculine version of respect by stating that to earn respect, one should be violent and instil fear in other people. Here, possibly violence is used by the young men because there are many competing masculinities around them. As a result, they feel threatened hence they use violence to re-assert their masculine power (Gear, 2010). These two versions demonstrate the difference in an enactment of masculinities by age. To avoid being associated with femininity, the older men in the centres appear to have resorted to violence to protect their masculine positions by moving with times. It is against this background that Bandyopadhyay (2006) and Gear (2010) contended that masculinities in prison demand that one uses violence to escape exploitation from one's peers

8.4 Sexual violence in relation to the construction of masculinities

Throughout the study, blame was found to be a common denominator that offenders used to account for their sexual offences. Their blame included the biological make-up of men, the

absence of their fathers, and the absence of their mothers, women's dress code, and the unfair justice system.

In their narratives, the participants drew on the discourses of blame, to account for their sexual offences. They blamed their unexplained and uncontrollable sexual desires. Similar discourse was also emphasised in Campbell's (2001) study, where mine workers in South Africa reasoned that they were unable to control their sexual drives, hence they engaged in multiple sexual relationships. From their narratives, women appear to be positioned as sexual objects that have been designed to meet the men's sexual needs. It appears as if this discourse is influenced by patriarchal views that position women as sexual objects that need to always be available to "service" men's sexual needs. By doing that, according to the sex role theory, these women will be playing their role as sex objects, to ensure that they serve the uncontrollable sexual needs of men that are driven by hormones and animalistic instincts (Gmeiner, 2014; Crippen, 2015). In summary, this discourse may be seen as serving the interests of men over those of women, since it constructs sex as a gendered activity that subordinates women and empowers men. It is therefore against this background that this discourse is seen as perpetuating sexual offence since most of the participants use it to justify their sexual offences.

As they continue to use the discourse of blame, most participants assumed that women used rape as a tool to blackmail them. For instance, most of them denied their offences and cited that they were arrested not because they indeed raped, but rather because they could not provide their "victims" with materialistic rewards. As a result, they cited that most rape cases were not genuine. For that reason, they assume that they are being used and manipulated by women for their own financial gains. According to the participants, these sexual accusations have been used as weapons of vengeance. Based on these allegations, participants positioned themselves as victims of deception. Hence, they blame their women partners for their conviction.

As they further account for their sexual offences, women were also blamed for tempting men with their "inappropriate" and "provocative" dress code. With their dress code, women are therefore seen as "inviting" men to rape them. When these women were raped, they were seen as having received what they asked for. It is in this regard that women were continually blamed and the participants continued to position themselves as victims because the onus of the prevention of rape was placed in the hands of women. From their responses, it was found that they seemed to be influenced by the Just World beliefs that made them attribute blame myths

to the victims. According to the Just World hypothesis, the world is fair. Therefore, people are punished or rewarded by either their noble or malicious behaviours (Klienke & Meyer, 1990). According to Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds and Gidycz (2011) such claims are seen as perpetuating rape since most sex offenders use them to justify their sexual offences. As long as the participants still use these accounts and position themselves as victims, there is likely to be a high rate of sexual offences.

From these findings, it was also learnt that rape is constructed as a means to demonstrate manhood especially upon those women who undermine men's sexual ability. From their responses, it was discovered that men do not take it kindly, especially when their manhood is threatened. Sexual performance is one of the idealised masculine activities that affirm masculine victory. Therefore, those women who ridicule men about their sexual performance were seen as provocative. Hence, some of these men use violent means to re-position themselves as men. It was found that most men whose sexual performances were ridiculed often use the penis to prove their sexual ability and to re-assert their bruised masculinity. This finding shares the same sentiment with that of Niehaus (2005) who also argued that most men use rape as a means of punishment, especially if their masculinity is threatened. Therefore, rape is accounted for by men to protect their masculine power and status.

A further blame that was directed to women was that they often take advantage of men. As a result, they were raped. Participants stated that some women like to accept 'gifts' from men yet they refuse to return the expected sexual favours. Even though roles are not clearly defined when the gifts are exchanged, women were blamed on the basis that they "know what is coming next" yet they opt to act as if they do not know. Such women are called *diclever* (clever girls) hence they deserved to be punished through rape (Everitt-Penhale, 2013). From their narratives, it appears men feel entitled to have sex with these women especially if they have spent a 'fortune' on them.

As they continue to shift blame, participants justified their sexual offences on the basis that some women were evil and they deserved to be punished by rape because it is believed that it is the best form of punishment since it affects the physical and the emotional well-being of the victims. From these findings, it was also revealed that most participants account for rape as a "tool" of vengeance against their mothers who neglected them in their childhood. Some of the participants see it as befitting that women are raped since they are perceived as being evil

because they have failed to execute their motherhood role appropriately. According to Burr (2003), identity formation is connected to an individual's interaction with others. This implies that an individual constructs meaning by his encounter or interaction with his social world. For instance, an individual who has been exposed to a hostile environment is likely to draw meaning from such experience as reference when he constructs his identity. As a result, these individuals are likely to form unhealthy relationships that may be exhibited through hostility and aggression (Addison, 1992). It is against this background that some of the participants claim that their failure to have healthy interactions with their mothers have made them to be bitter and want to seek revenge by using rape to attack women.

As they account for their sexual offences, participants also blamed the judicial system for its vague and unfair definition of rape. Most of them denied their offences because they believed that they were wrongfully convicted for having sex with their partners or wives. They believed that as men, they were culturally entitled to have sex with their partners whenever they wished. Therefore, consent was not necessary as long as they were married or in a relationship. Even though their partners did not consent to sexual intercourse, participants argued that a sexual encounter with their partners is not rape because a woman loses her sexual rights to her partner the moment she agrees to be in a heterosexual relationship. Since her body belongs to her partner, participants believed that the woman has no right to report her husband to the police for rape, even though he had sex with her against her will. As they justify their sexual offences, participants argued that rape only happens when a woman is coerced by a stranger. Therefore, they don't believe in marital rape. Most of the participants argued that their wives are their "assets" because they "bought" them by paying *lobola* (bride price) It is against this background that the participants perceived the South African Law as unfair because as compared to other countries, it does not consider their cultural beliefs. They believe that what they do with their wives in the bedroom is a private matter and the government should not intervene. They therefore suggest that to protect their rights, there should be a global definition of rape so that not only South Africans endure the punitive measures for the actions that are culturally approved and enjoyed by other countries. The criticism of the law's definition of rape was also highlighted by participants in Everitt-Penhale's (2013) study where it was believed that the law undermines African culture because it punishes men for what is culturally acceptable. These narratives position participants as innocent because they consider themselves as products of their culture. This view is endorsed by social constructionists, who emphasises that culture plays a significant role in the development of an individual's identity because

human beings use culture and social discourses to interpret their world (Freedman & Combs, 1996). It is against this background that participants have been placed in a state of dilemma because culture has its own masculine specifics that they should live by, whereas at the same time their behaviour is also directed by the law of the country. They would like to perform their masculine activities as constructed by their cultural prescripts, yet on the other hand, they believe that the law limits their freedom to enact this culture. The findings revealed that the participants in this regard have chosen culture over the law of the country. From their chosen prescripts, it appears their traditional prescripts were dominant, hence they continued to use patriarchal discourses drawn from their cultures to silence the interests of women. Women are also socialised to endure the subjugation by their husbands. For example, a Pedi proverb alludes that, "*lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi*", meaning that a married woman should endure any pain or abuse inflicted upon her by her husband until she dies at her in-law's home. According to Fernández-Álvarez (2014) men who hold these patriarchal discourses are likely to see nothing wrong when women are exploited and raped in their marriages because they perceive them as sexual objects that should always be silenced.

In summary, the participants still feel that criminalisation of marital rape is unfair for them because it infringes on their cultural values and identity. On a different note, Shefer and Foster (2001) stated that men used this cultural discourse to manipulate culture and tradition so that they may be able to "rationalise and defend gender power inequalities" (p.385). Since culture has a bearing in influencing our stories, most of the participants seem to privilege cultural discourses whose specifics are embedded within the patriarchal system. These patriarchal discourses promote objectification of women and as long as most men endorse them, it is unlikely that exploitation, objectification and rape statistics will decrease.

As they continue to employ discourses of blame, participants refuse to take the full responsibility of their actions. Instead, they also blamed alcohol for causing them to rape. They claimed that when they were under the influence of alcohol, their sexual urge became uncontrollable. Based on this reasoning, the participants positioned themselves as victims of alcohol because it makes them to do things that they would not normally do if they were sober. According to Abbey (2002), there is no scientific explanation concerning alcohol abuse as the cause of sexual violence. However, Fawole (2009) in her study, found that drinking increased the risk of sexual assault because of the increased disinhibition and decreased level of anxiety. Therefore, alcohol is not to be blamed for sexual violence. Since they, the participants continue

to blame external factors for their offences, it is unlikely that they will do anything to improve on their undesirable behaviour. Their attitude and justification of their sex offences poses a concern because it seems likely that there may be high rate of recidivism since they distance themselves from any blame and refuse to take responsibility for their actions.

As they account for their sexual offences, the participants continued to use the discourse of blame. In this regard, they blamed the accessibility of external stimuli such as pornographic movies and the nature of the content of these sexual materials. According to them, these materials aroused their sexual feelings and created a desire to practise what they viewed. These findings are consistent with the study by Hodgetts (2012) who also found that exposure to pornographic movies are responsible for predisposing men to rape. It is believed that pornography exacerbates rape against women because it desensitises women's pain, hence most men were found to derive pleasure in viewing these movies "especially when women are raped or treated violently" (Everitt-Penhale, 2013; Hodgetts, 2012, p.148). It is believed that men often prefer these violent scenes because it affirms their power and dominion over women. Hence, their masculinity is gratified by viewing women who are screaming in pain during sex (Hodgetts, 2012; Gonsalves, 2010).

Given the above, it is revealed that most of the sex offenders are using toxic discourses to construct their masculinities and to account for their sex offences. Dominance of these toxic discourses in their justification for their offences implies that they are likely not to take full responsibility for their actions. As a result, if we intend to strategize on an intervention plan, deconstruction of these discourses should be a priority. Since these discourses are socially and culturally constructed, to deconstruct them it will be equally important to explore the discourses of non-offenders, victims and women in general. In that way, we would have a better understanding of how these socially constructed discourses are endorsed by the society and are taken as the 'truth'. According to Foucault in Gavey (2005), if these discourses are endorsed by the society, they are likely to hold power of the 'scientific fact'. Therefore, to deconstruct them, robust intervention strategies would need to be put in place.

8.5 Implications and recommendations

This study focused on understanding rape from the discourses of the masculinity of sex offenders. The findings displayed an understanding of how sex offenders constructed their

masculinities and how they accounted for their sex offences. The following are implications of the study:

(a) Theoretical implications

The findings of this study will make a contribution to the existing literature since they have demonstrated that masculinity is dynamic and differs from one context to another. For instance, it was revealed that after conviction, since the participants are in a context with limited resources to draw from when constructing masculinities, they then re-positioned themselves and drew on available resources to construct their masculinities in their context.

Furthermore, the findings revealed the discourses that sex offenders use to account for their sexual offences. Most of these discourses were violent and were seen as perpetuating oppression and sexual violence against women. As a way of addressing sexual violence, these findings will be significant to the body of knowledge in bringing forth an understanding of several violent masculine discourses that perpetuate sexual violence. Apart from assisting with the direction for intervention, these findings may also be of significance in the development of theoretical concepts that are related to hegemonic masculinity and sexual violence.

(b) Practical implications

- Implications for parenting

The findings reveal that most of the participants were raised without fathers. Although they have their own ideal images of a real father, the participants seem to be in a dilemma in terms of the qualities of a real father because such qualities were not entrenched in them. It is recommended, therefore, that as part of their rehabilitation, the participants must be provided with parenting skills that will enable them to reform and become better parents upon their release. The skills should be geared towards reinforcing positive parent-child relationship. Such skills will enable them to reconnect with their children whom they have not seen for a long time. Furthermore, the skills should emphasise how parents maintain a healthy relationship with their children. In that way, they will instill in their own children, particularly their boy children, healthy discourses on parenting which may lead their children to become better parents too. As a result, these children would learn pro-social skills that may be transferred from one generation to another.

- Implications for schools

The findings of the study reveal that formal schools and traditional initiation schools are sites for the construction of masculinities. These findings reveal that some of the violent masculine discourses are learnt and validated at these sites. According to Porter (2015) school is a place of doing and undoing gender. Now that these sites were found to be responsible for producing anti-social, irresponsible, and violent masculinities, to undo these unhealthy gender practices in schools, it is recommended that practical life skills programmes be incorporated in school subjects such as Life Orientation. Focus areas may be on developing healthy interpersonal skills. These skills will enable boy children to be empathetic and develop healthy relationships with other people, in particular, girl children or females in general. In that way, they will grow and develop as responsible adults who are empathetic, warm and loving. These qualities should replace violent discourses that these boys use in school. Instead, with these programmes, they will learn that one does not necessarily have to be violent to be a real man.

In addition, as a way of deconstructing the violent masculine discourses in South African schools, “edutainment” programmes such as the “Talking Compound” which was introduced by the Ministry of Education in Uganda may also be replicated in South Africa (Porter, 2015). This programme is about designing signposts with several messages within the school ground as a constant way of encouraging moral, healthy behaviour and desirable qualities in learners. In the South African context, these signposts may consist of messages that promote positive masculine discourses that encourage moral and healthy relationships between men and women. Although these programmes will be informed by research and theory, the implementation should be adapted according to context and should allow flexibility and creativity, to enhance the participants’ receptiveness (Namy, Heilman, Stich, Crownover, Leka & Edmeades, 2015).

- Implications for initiation

Initiation schools were also found to be sites where masculinities are constructed. In as much as there are healthy discourses used at these sites, it was also found that the dominant discourses learnt and taught at these sites are unhealthy, since they perpetuate violence and dominance over women with the aim of preserving patriarchal systems. As another way of alleviating the violence against women, the unhealthy masculine discourses used at these sites may be replaced with emotionally sensitive and peaceful discourses that may eventually mould young men or initiates to be respectful, responsible and emotionally sensitive to the needs of women.

Again, from their narratives, it was noted that initiates were exposed to violence at the “mountain”. It is on this basis that violence is understood to be conditioned by the opportunity to use violence (Burr, 2003). In that way, sites like these are seen as social settings that provide resources and opportunities to commit violence because violence is glorified and individuals are encouraged and given an opportunity to engage in it (Messerschmidt, 2004). To challenge discourses of violence, harmony at these sites may be encouraged so that peaceful and healthy discourses may be formed and used in homes and communities upon their “graduation”.

- Implications for community development

According to Social Constructionists (Burr, 2003), social interaction is important because knowledge is created and sustained by social processes. Hence, knowledge differs from one social context to another. It is against this background that communities are seen as carriers of both constructive and destructive discourses. The findings reveal that some of the participants drew on unhealthy local discourses that advocated for the domination and oppression of women. Having identified these violent discourses, it was recommended that there should be introduction of community mobilisation intervention activities. These activities should aim at changing gender stereotypes through the participation of all community members. Most of these activities will need to change violent discourses and destructive patriarchal cultural activities that are dominant in this context (Otieno, 2014).

To be sensitive to culture and masculine needs, it is also recommended that community members who understand the culture of the community and have an interest in alleviating sexual violence be appointed to facilitate these programmes. These activities may be conducted in the form of community workshops, local campaigns, and community meetings or through the media (Fulu et al., 2014). In order to achieve the goal, there should also be a robust engagement of stakeholders such as community members, religious leaders, traditional leaders, businessmen, youth organisations, local policing forums, teachers and local political leaders such as ward counsellors (Ellsberg et al., 2014). In community meetings, focus should aim at conscientising and collectively strategising on a way to replace “toxic masculine discourses” that perpetuate sexual violence and replacing them with healthy masculine discourses that respect the needs and emotions of fellow human beings (Michaels-Igbokwe et. al., 2016). To ensure that all initiatives that aim at preventing sexual violence are successful, there should be special funds allocated directly from government to fund NGOs such as “One Man Can” programme (by Sonke Gender Justice), Stepping Stones, *Munna di Nnyi* (What is a man?) and

others. In that way, these programmes will be visible and will have a strong impact on the society.

The findings reveal that the participants claim that most children were raised in families of absent fathers. As a result, they did not have male role models who were physically and emotionally there for them. Using these findings as reference, it is recommended that there should be establishment of boy forums that are led by male mentors who will teach boys about “the norms, behaviours and relationships associated with ideals of masculinity with the aim of transforming gender norms and promoting more gender-equitable relations between men and women” (Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015, p.4). Such forums will aim at building and transforming boys to be non-violent men. Mentors in this regard should teach boys to be emotionally sensitive and replace the harmful violent masculine attitudes with the loving and caring attitudes which promote peace, respect for the self and others (McGann, 2014). In their interventions, the intervention developers should select appropriate methods which are informed by the scientific data which explains the contextual causes of sexual violence (Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015).

- Implications for media

It was found that media played a role in contributing towards the perpetuation of gender construction and sexual violence by exposing explicit sexual programmes that are consumed by the general public. Some of the participants indicated that after watching these programmes they became sexually aroused and had the desire to have sex with someone. If the female partner is not around, rape is likely to occur. To alleviate the perpetuation of sexual offences that are exacerbated by viewing explicit materials, it is recommended that these explicit programmes be highly regulated in the national space. Instead, these media platforms may be used to challenge violent masculine discourses by replacing uncaring and violent programmes with programmes that promote love and respect towards other individuals, particularly towards children and women.

- Implications for legislation

Most of the participants cited the law of South Africa as being unfair because it is vague and bypasses cultural values and norms. Most of the participants cited that criminalization of marital rape clashed with their cultural values because they believed that once *lobola* has been paid for a woman, she lost her sexual rights to her husband because she had been “bought”. Culture in this regard appears to have been used to benefit men and silence the voice of women.

Most participants were not impressed by the criminalisation of marital rape in South Africa because they believed that it violated their culture and infringed on their “rights” as men. In 1993, South Africa became one of the first countries in Africa to pass the Prevention of Family Violence Act, which among other things criminalised marital rape. According to Hancox (2012), it was believed that once this law had been passed, marital rape would be a thing of the past. Unfortunately, rape statistics continue to be high and the goal to reduce incidences of rape will not be easily reached as long as most participants hold rape myths.

Since its inception, the law regarding marital rape has continued to be amended and improved with the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and Related Matters) Amendment Act, No 32 of 2007 (Hancox, 2012). The Act confirms the country’s legal status on marital rape stating that “it is not a valid defence for an accused person to contend that a marital or other relationship exists or existed between him or her and the complainant.” The Act also improved the definition of rape so that “penetration” now includes ‘into or beyond the genital organs, anus, or mouth of another person” using the “genital organs [or] any other part of the body of one person or, any object, including any part of the body of an animal”. Now that this study has exposed how sex offenders construct their masculinities and account for their sexual offences, these findings may need to be taken into consideration when laws around marital rape are developed and improved.

- Implications for rehabilitation

The findings revealed that most of the participants claim to have had traumatic childhood experiences. Since they have been exposed to such trauma, they still use learnt violent discourses in adulthood to construct meaning for their context. Therefore, as part of rehabilitation, it is recommended that participants be taken through therapy, wherein violent and unhealthy discourses that perpetuate their violent behaviours be replaced with healthy ones. If this is done, upon their release, they may be incorporated into their communities as responsible, caring and loving individuals who are sensitive to the needs of women. Since many of the participants associate counselling with femininity, it is recommended that there should be campaigns conducted on the importance of counselling at the centres. Focus should be on its role and implication for traumatised individuals. In that way, participants will be able to understand that therapy or counselling is necessary, especially if an individual has been exposed to trauma.

8.6 Strengths of the study

The strength of this study is demonstrated by the manner in which data was collected. Since this is an in-depth qualitative study, the participants were seen on several occasions. In the process, rapport was established and strengthened. As a result, the participants were able to share their personal experiences without any fear or intimidation. This non-threatening interaction yielded a rich body of information about the construction of masculinity and sexual violence which may be significant to the body of knowledge.

8.7 Limitations of the study and future research

Although the study yielded considerable information that may contribute to the body of knowledge, the findings should be interpreted with caution due to the following limitations:

- *Sample size*

This study used a qualitative approach to explore how sex offenders constructed masculinity in five Correctional Centres located in Limpopo Province. Due to the nature of the research design, the sample size was limited to 19 participants. Even though the study yielded significant findings, they cannot be generalized for all sex offenders in the Republic of South Africa. For future research, it is recommended that similar studies be conducted in other parts of the country using the quantitative approach to draw a sample from a wider spectrum that may warrant generalisability.

- *Version of the population*

The findings of the study were limited to the experiences of sex offenders. In as much as these experiences are significant for the body of knowledge, it is also important to hear the views of men who have not been convicted of sexual offences and the female victims of rape. Perhaps exploration in these areas will generate different views by establishing the positions and discourses of the general population and the victims against that of the offenders.

- *Version of women*

The findings of this study revealed that women also play a significant role in the production of masculinities. Perhaps another study needs to be conducted with women, to explore their responses to these masculine discourses. Since it was found that their feedback is significant in the construction of masculinities, perhaps their responses towards the findings of this study could also assist men in the construction of healthy masculine discourses.

- *Intergration of the the researcher and participants' culture*

There were some instances where I included my cultural experiences to further explain the findings. In some instances I was tempted to elaborate on some findings using my cultural background so that the reader could better understand the context because almost all the participants belong to my ethnic group. Even though my experiences are not supported by literature, they are significant in understanding the findings, however, they should be interpreted with caution because they are not the voice of the participants.

- *The impact of my gender on how the participants engaged with me*

Although rich data was gathered, in some instances I felt that participants were reluctant to discuss and provide information particularly, on initiation on the basis of my gender. Although many of the participants were willing to share their experiences, I cite this as a limitation and I recommend that in future, 'male version' on this matter be explored by the male researcher.

- *Prison masculinities*

Not much information was gathered specifically on prison masculinities. It must be indicated that in as much as the study was focused on general masculine discourses, it should be noted that there was no emphasis on prison masculinities *per se*. As a result, it is recommended that further studies should be conducted in this area, with the view of exploring how the masculine discourses are extended into the prison environment.

- *Ethical dilemma*

According to Cowburn (2005) researchers who conduct research with the offenders, are required to report any unreported crimes that the offenders might have divulged during the research interview sessions. Even though the participants shared their experiences, it should be highlighted that this limitation might have affected the sharing of the more information.

- *Methodology*

Although discourse analysis was used to analyse data, it should be noted that strict and formal methods of discourse analysis were not followed. Instead, discourse analysis in this regard was approached from the *macro-level* which is thematically orientated. As a result, findings should be interpreted with caution, taking this limitation into consideration.

8.8 Conclusions

Sexual and Gender Based Violence (SGBV) is a crime against humanity that violates human rights. Although most of the criminal justice systems focus on the physical symptoms, the psychological symptoms of sexual violence are as severe as the physical ones (Allroggen et al., 2016). South Africa is listed as one of the countries with the highest levels of sexual violence, excluding conflict zones. This study explored how sex offenders construct their masculinity and how they account for their sex offences. The findings reveal that the participants have been informed by several unhealthy discourses to construct their masculinities and account for their offences. Based on these findings, it is recommended that there should be robust and well-coordinated multi-sectoral intervention strategies in an attempt to bring about healthy social constructs and discourses that will eliminate sexual violence in South Africa (Cerdas et al., 2014). Such strategies should mainly target those underlying discourses which lay the foundation for all identified rape myths (Everitt-Penhale, 2013). It should also be noted that such strategies will be more efficient and effective if they consider the active engagement of men to assist in the de-construction of unhealthy discourses that perpetuate sexual violence. As a way forward, with the help of the government and other relevant structures, it is recommended that men should work towards the replacement of violent discourses with healthy masculine discourses that advocate instead empathy, love, respect and tolerance for diversity (Fleming et al., 2015).

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

Topic: The Construction of Masculinity amongst Sex Offenders in Limpopo Province

Name/code of the Prison:

Age:.....

Briefing session

1. The researcher will introduce herself to the participants and explain the purpose of the study.
2. The researcher will explain the information sheet and the consent forms to the participants.

Interview session no.1

Question addressing objective 1 & research question 1

I would like you to describe your experiences as a man. Let us start from your childhood.

Prompts

- 1.3. Briefly describe your life experiences as a boy and young man (at home, school and as a community member).
- 1.4. Who were the people who taught you about masculinity?
- 1.5. Who were your male role models then?
- 1.6. Please explain how adult men you knew in your childhood influenced you.
- 1.7. What were the family and the community expectations from boys and young men?
- 1.8. As a child and teenager, what did you think were the qualities of a “real man”?
- 1.9. How did your community describe a “real man”?
- 1.10. From your perspective as an adult, what are the qualities of a “real man”?
- 1.11. What did you do when you were growing up, which made you feel like a “real man”?
- 1.12. How did you learn about sexuality?
- 1.13. How did you get into relationships?

At the end of the session, member checking and debriefing will be done.

Interview session no.2

Question addressing objective 2 & research question 2, 3 & 4

I would like you to share with me why you are in prison. This is to understand your story for research purposes only.

Prompts

- 1.13. Tell me from your point of view, what happened?
- 1.14. Is this a common experience in your community?

At the end of the session, member checking and debriefing will be done.

Concluding remark

Since we have come to the end of the session, you are at liberty to raise questions, concerns or clarifications in relation to the session.

Thank you for your time and participation in the study.

SEKGOMARETŠWA SA B (APPENDIX B): LENANEO LA DIPOTŠIŠO

Topic: The Construction of Masculinity amongst Sex Offenders in Limpopo Province

Leina la kgolego:

Mengwaga:.....

Tulo ya go fana ka tshedimošo

1. Modira diphathišišo o tla itsebiša go motšearolo gape a hlalosa maikemišetšo a dinyakišišo.
2. Modiradiphathišišo o tla hlatholla letlakala la tshedimošo le foromo ya tumelelano go batšearolo.

Tulo ya dipoledišano ya 1

Potšišo yeo e lebanego le nhla ya maikemišetšo ya 1

Ke kgopela gore o nlahollele maitemogelo a gago bjalo ka monna. A re thome bobjaneng bja gago.

Dipotšišo tša go thuša (Prompts)

- 1.3. Hlalosa ka bonnyane maitemogelo a gago bjalo ka mošemane (ka gae, sekolong le setšhabeng).
- 1.4. O rutilwe ke bomang ka bonna?
- 1.5. Ke batho bafe ba banna bao ba bilego le khuetšo go tloga kua morago?
- 1.6. Hlalosa ka fao banna ba bagolo bao o ba tsebilego bobjaneng bja gago ba bilego le khuetšo go wena?
- 1.7. Naa setšhaba le ba lapa ba be ba na le ditumo tša mohuta mang baneng ba bašemane?
- 1.8. Bjalo ka ngwana le lesogana, naa o be o bona e ka ke dika dife tšeo di dirago motho gore e be “monna wa mmapaale”?
- 1.9. Naa setšhaba sa geno se be se hlalosa “monna wa mmapaale” bjang?
- 1.10. Bjalo ka motho yo a gotšego, naa dika tša “monna wa mmapaale” ke dife?
- 1.11. Ke eng seo/tšeo o di dirilego ge o gola tšeo di go dirilego gore o ikwe bjalo ka “monna wa mmapaale”?
- 1.12. O itutile bjang ka ditumo tša bong?

1.13. O tsenetše bjang ditaba tša dikamano?

Mafelelong a seripa se sa dipotšišo, go hlolwa ga maloko le go boledišana go tla dirwa

Lenaneo la dipotšišo la 2

Potšišo yeo e lebanego le nhla ya maikemišetšo ya 2 le pošišo ya dinyakišišo ya 2,3 le 4

Ke kgopela o nkanegele gore go tlile bjang gore o be ka kgolegong. Se se direlwa go kwešiša maemo a taba ya gago legatong la dinyakišišo feela

Dipotšišo tša go thuša (Prompts)

1.13. Mpotše gore go diregile eng, go ya le ka moo wena o di bonago.

1.14. Naa se ke selo seo se tlwaelegilego mo setšhabeng sa geno?

Mafelelong a lenaneo la go botšiša dipotšišo, go hlolwa ga maloko le go boledišana go tla dirwa

Ditshwayotshwayo tša go tswalela

Bjalo ka ge re fihlile mafelelong a lelaneo le la dipotšišo, o dumeletšwe go botšiša dipotšišo, go tšha maikutlo goba go kgopela hlathollo mabapi le lona.

Ke go lebogela nako ya gago le go kgatha tema mo diphatišišong tše.

APPENDIX C: INFORMATION SHEET FOR PARTICIPANTS

STUDY ABOUT THE EXPERIENCES OF MEN CONVICTED OF RAPE

This letter is to invite you to consider participating in a study about life experiences of men convicted of rape, to be conducted in your prison. This study is conducted by Mandu Selepe, PhD student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg) under the supervision of Prof. G. Lindegger and Dr. K. Govender.

The study will attempt to understand the experiences of men who have been convicted of rape. As a person who has been convicted of such a crime, we are inviting you to participate in this study. The study is interested in the life stories and experiences of people like yourself, and how it came about that this event took place. This is really part of an attempt to assist other men who might find themselves in a similar situation. In this sense your participation will be assisting other men in the community.

Interviews with you will be in the form of a conversation and your participation in this study will be limited to 3 planned individual meetings, each of which will last approximately an hour. Kindly note that this study is for academic and research purposes only. Therefore, you will not be paid for your participation. Furthermore, kindly note that the study may not have direct personal benefit to you as an individual. However, the findings will assist in designing rape prevention programmes which will assist men in your situation in future. In that sense, your community is likely to benefit from this research.

Since the study will focus on your life history, it is possible that you might have some stress in recalling unpleasant life experiences. In this case, referral arrangements with the prison social worker and psychologist for counselling will be made should you need such services.

For accurate data analysis, you are therefore requested to grant us permission to record the interview sessions. To maintain confidentiality, consent to participate in the study and the use of audio recorder during interviews will be granted verbally and the researcher will sign the consent form on your behalf as an indication that a verbal consent was given.

If you are willing to consider taking part in the study, please indicate with a cross (X) in the boxes below and indicate your availability for the briefing session in an attached letter.

I am willing to participate in the study.....

I am **not** willing to participate in the study.....

Thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Mandu Selepe

PhD Student (University of KwaZulu-Natal)

SEKGOMARETŠWA SA D (APPENDIX D): LETLAKALA LA TSHEDIMOŠO LA BAKGATHATEMA

DIPHATIŠIŠO TŠA MABAPI LE MAITEMOGELO A BANNA BAO BA BONWEGO MOLATO WA GO PHAYA THETHO KA KGANG

Lengwalo le ke la go laletša go tšea karolo diphatišišong tša mabapi le maitemogelo a banna bao ba bonwego molato wa go kata, tšeo di tlo go dirwa mo kgolegong ya lena. Diphatišišo tše di dirwa ke Mandu Selepe, moithuti wa langwalo la grata ya Bongaka (PhD) Yunibesithing ya KwaZulu-Natal (Pietermaritzburg) ka fase ga botlhahli bja Prof. G. Lindegger le Dr. K. Govender.

Diphatišišo tše di tla leka go kwešiša maitemogelo a banna bao ba latofatšwago ka go phaya thetho ka kgang. Bjalo ka motho yoo a bonwego molato o bjalo, re go mema go kgatha tema mo diphatišišong. Diphatišišo tše di mabapi le dikanegelo tša bophelo le maitemogelo a batho ba go swana le wena, le gore go tlile bjang gore se se direge. Se se dirwa bjalo ka maitekelo a go thuša banna ba bangwe bao ba ka ikhwetšago ba le maemong a ma bjalo. Ka gorealo, go kgatha tema ga gago go tla thuša banna ba bangwe mo setšhabeng.

Dipoledišano le wena di tla ba ka mokgwa wa go hlamula, gomme go tšea karolo ga gago go tla ba ka mokgwa wa dikopano tše tharo tšeo di beakantšwego, mola yennngwe le yennngwe ya tšona e tla tšea nako yeo e ka bago iri. Ela hloko gore diphatišišo tše ke karolo ya mošomo wa sekolo, ka go realo o ka se lefelwe. Go feta fao o lemoge gore diphatišišo tše di ka se be le go holega thwii go wena. Le ge go le bjalo dikutullo tša gona di tla thuša go hlameng maneneo a go thibela go kata, ao a tlogo thuša banna bao b aka ikhwetšago ba le maemong a go swana le a gago kamoso. Ka go realo setšhaba sa geno se ka holega go tšwa mo diphatišišong tše.

Bjalo ka ge diphatišišo tše di tlo ba mabapi le bophelo bja gago, go ka no direga gore o be le kgatelelo ya monagano ge o gopola dilo tše dingwe tša dilo tšeo di sa ješego di wela tšeo di diregilego bophelong bja gago. Mo maemong a bjalo, dipeakanyo le modirelaleago goba ngaka ya tša monagano ya ka kgolegong di tla dirwa gore o hwetše thušo.

Gore go hwetšwe dipoelo tša maleba, o kgopelwa go re dumelela go gatiša dipoleledišano tše. Go netefatša gore seo se bolelwago mo e tla ba sephiri, tumelelano ya go tšea karolo mo diphatišišong tše le go šomišwa ga segatišamantšu di tla fiwa ka molomo gape mofatišiši o tla

saena foromo ya tumelelano legatong la gago bjalo ka sešupo sa phihlelelo ya kwano ya molomo.

Ge o na le kgahlego ya go kgatha tema mo diphatisišong tše, o kgopelwa go bea leswao la sefapano (X) ka mo mapokisaneng ao a filwego ka mo fase gomme o laetše go ba gona ga gago lengwalong leo le kgomareditšwego.

Ke na le kgahlego ya go kgatha tema

Ga ke na kgahlego ya go kgatha tema

Ke leboga ge o iphile nako ya go bala tshedimošo ye.

Mandu Selepe

Moithuti wa grata ya Bongaka (PhD) (Yunibesithing ya KwaZulu-Natal)

APPENDIX E: CONSENT FORM

Title: The Construction of Masculinity amongst Sex Offenders in the Limpopo Province

Project Leader: Selepe D.M.M. (015) 268-3215

CONSENT FORM

I have been informed and understand that:

1. The study deals with how men convicted of sexual offence see themselves as men, and the conflicts that they have faced as men.
2. The study is conducted by Ms Mandu Selepe, who is a PhD student at the University of Kwa-Zulu-Natal, under the supervision of Prof. Lindegger and Dr. Govender.
3. I was identified by the researcher and an NGO member as a person who could contribute to this study.
4. I have the right to discontinue the interview at any time or refuse to answer any or all questions which I am not comfortable with.
5. In case I experience any distress during or after the interview, I will inform the researcher who will then refer me to an identified social worker or psychologist to assist me.
6. This study is for academic and research purposes only. I understand that I will not be paid for my participation.
7. The interview with the researcher will only be audio recorded, if I consent.
8. I will participate in 3 individual interview sessions that will be conducted on separate dates lasting approximately 1 hour each.
9. To protect my privacy, my participation in the study will be kept anonymous. My name or identity will not be known to anyone except the prison authorities and Ms. Selepe.
10. My participation or non-participation in the study will not positively or negatively affect my treatment in the prison.
11. Although the contents of the interview are confidential, there are some limitations. Therefore, I was encouraged not discuss with the researcher, any crimes I may have committed, but have not been prosecuted for since she is obliged by law to report to the authorities, crimes which were not prosecuted for.
12. Recorded information will only be available to the researcher and the study supervisors, Prof. Lindegger and Dr. Govender at the University of Kwa-Zulu Natal.

13. Recorded tapes will be transferred to the researcher's personal computer and access to such information will be protected by a personal password.
14. The tapes will be incinerated immediately after 5 years elapse.
15. Transcripts will be locked away safely so that no one other than the researcher will have access to them. The files will be destroyed after 5 years elapse.
16. The Ethics Committee of the University of KwaZulu-Natal and the Department of Correctional Services have granted the researcher the permission to conduct this study.
17. My participation in this research is voluntary; therefore, I have the right to withdraw my participation at any stage.

I hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to voluntarily to participate in the research project.

Signature of researcher on behalf of participant
(Following verbal consent by the participant)

Date

SEKGOMARETŠWA SA F (APPENDIX F): FOROMO YA TUMELELANO

Thaetlele: The Construction of masculinity amongst sex offenders in the Limpopo Province

Modira Diphatišišo: Selepe D.M.M. (015) 268-3215

FOROMO YA TUMELELANO

Ke sedimošitšwe gape ke kwešiša gore:

1. Diphatišišo tše di mabapi le ka fao banna bao ba bonwego molato wa go phaya thetho ka kgang ba iponago ka gona bjalo ka banna, le dikgakgano tšeo ba hlakanego le tšona bjalo ka banna.
2. Diphatišišo di dirwa ke Mtšana. Mandu Selepe, yoo e lego moithuti wa grata ya bongaka (PhD) Yunibesithing ya Kwa-Zulu-Natal, ka fase ga tlhahlo ya Prof. Lindegger, le Dr. Govender.
3. Ke kgethilwe ke modiradiphatišišo le leloko mokgatlo woo o se dirego letseno (NGO) go ba motho yoo a ka tsentshago letsogo mo diphatišišong.
4. Ke na le tokelo ya go kgaotša go kgatha tema mo dipoledišanong tše, le go gana go araba tše dingwe tša dipotšišo tšeo di sa ntuleng gabotse.
5. Ge nka ikhwetša ke tlaletšwe ge ke le gare ka dipoledišano tše goba morago ga ge di dirilwe, ke tla tsebiša modiradiphatišišo yoo a tlogo go nthomela go modirelaleago goba ngaka ya mogopolo gore ke hwetše thušo.
6. Diphatišišo tše ke tša mošomo wa sekolo feela. Ke kwešiša gore nka se lefelwe go kgatha tema go tšona.
7. Dipoledišano le modira diphatišišo di tla gatišwa feela ge ke file tumelelo ya go dira bjalo.
8. Ke tla kgatha tema dipoledišanong tše tharo (3) tša go ikema, tšeo di tlo go dirwa ka matšatši ao a fapanego, moo yennngwe le yennngwe e tla go tšea nako ya go lekana iri.
9. Go šireletša gore ke se tsebege, go kgatha tema gaka mo diphatišišong tše e tla dula e le sephiri. Leina laka le boitsebišo bjaka di ka se tsebje ke motho ka ntle le bašomi ba ka kgolegong le Mohumagatšana Selepe.
10. Go kgatha tema le go se kgathe tema mo diphatišišong tše go ka se be le khuetšo tshwarong yeo ke tlo go e fiwa ka mo kgolegong.
11. Le ge mateng a dipoledišano tše e le sephiri, go na le magomo. Ka go realo, ke eleditšwe go se bolele le modira diphatišišo ka ga melato e mengwe yeo nka ba go ke e dirile,

efeela ke se ka hlwa ke seka ka ge a gapeletša ke molao go fa pego go ba molao mabapi le melato yeo ke sa hlwago ke e seka.

12. Tshedimošo yeo e gatišitšwego e tla ba gona ge modira diphatišišo le batlhahli ba gagwe Prof. Lindegger le Dr. Govender, Yunibesithing ya Kwa-Zulu Natal.
13. Ditheipi tšeo di gatišitšwego di tla fetišetšwa khompuhareng ya modira diphatišišo gomme phihlelelo ya tshedimošo yeo e tla šireletšwa ka go šomiša lentšwana la sephiri leo le ka se tsebego ke mang goba mang .
14. Ditheipi di tla fišwa lore lore ka morago ga mengwaga ye 5.
15. Dingwalwa di tla notlelelwa lefelong la bobolokelo gore go se be le motho yoo a ka a fihlelelang ka ntle le modira diphatišišo.
16. Komiti ya maitshwaro ya Yunibesithing ya KwaZulu-Natal le Kgoro ya tša Tshokollo ya Bagolegwa ba file modira diphatišišo tumelelo ya go dira dinyakišišo tše.
17. Go kgatha tema gaka mo dinyakišišong tše go dirwa ka boithaopo; ka gorealo, ke na le tokelo ya go ikgogela morago nako efe goba efe .

Ke netefatša gore ke kwešiša diteng tša sengwalwa se le mohuta wa projeke ye ya dinyakišišo, gape ke dumela go ithaopa go kgatha tema go tšona.

Mosaeno wa modira diphatišišo,,legatong la mokgathatema

Tšatšikgvedi

(Go latela tumelelano ya molomo ka mokgathatema)

APPENDIX G: CONSENT FOR USE OF TAPE RECORDER

I voluntarily consent to the researcher, Mandu Selepe to use a tape recorder during my interview for her study on “The construction of masculinity amongst sex offenders in the Limpopo province”.

I understand that:

1. Recorded information will not be heard by any person other than the researcher and her academic supervisors.
2. The interview audio-tapes shall be kept in a locked drawer and only be accessible to the researcher and her academic supervisors.
3. The interview audio-tapes shall be destroyed once the degree is conferred.
4. My name and other personal details will not appear in the transcripts from the interview or the research report.
5. Some direct quotations from my interviews may be used in the research report but my identity will be kept anonymous.

Signature of researcher on behalf of participant
(Following verbal consent by the participant)

Date

SEKGOMARETŠWA SA H: TUMELELO YA GO ŠOMIŠA SEGATIŠAMANTŠU

Ke dumela ka go ithaopa Mandu Selepe go šomiša segatišamantšu nakong ya dipoledišano tša diphatišišo tša gagwe tseo di lego mabapi le “The construction of masculinity amongst sex offenders in the Limpopo province”.

Ke kwešiša gore:

1. Tshedimošo yeo e gatišitšwego e ka se wele matsogong a motho o mongwe ka ntle le modira diphatišišo le batlhahli ba gagwe ba tša dithuto.
2. Ditheipi tša dipoledišano di tla lotwa ka laiking ya go notlelwa gomme di tla fihlelelwa feela modira diphatišišo le batlhahli ba gagwe ba tša dithuto.
3. Ditheipi tša dipoledišano di tla senywa feela mohlang grata e hweditšwe.
4. Leina la ka le tshedimošo yenngwe ya lephelo la ka di ka se laetšwe godimo ga dingwalwa goba pegong ya dinyakišišo.
5. Mantšu ao a tsopotšwego go tšwa dingwalweng tše dingwe mo dipoledišanong tše tšaka di ka šomišwa pegong ya dinyakišišo efeela leina laka le ka se utollwe.

Mosaeno wa modira diphatišišo, legatong la mokgathatema
(Go latela tumelelano ya molomo ka mokgathatema)

Tšatšikgwedi

APPENDIX I: ETHICS APPROVAL (UKZN)



02 November 2015

Mrs Dorothy MM Selepe (213573575)
School of Social Sciences
Pietermaritzburg Campus

Dear Mrs Selepe,

Protocol reference number: HSS/1463/013D

Project title: The construction of masculinity amongst sex offenders in the Limpopo Province

Full Approval – Full Committee Reviewed Application

With regards to your response received on 14 September to our letter of 28 April 2015, the Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee has considered the abovementioned application and the protocol have been granted **FULL APPROVAL**.

Any alteration/s to the approved research protocol i.e. Questionnaire/Interview Schedule, Informed Consent Form, Title of the Project, Location of the Study, Research Approach and Methods must be reviewed and approved through the amendment/modification prior to its implementation. In case you have further queries, please quote the above reference number.

PLEASE NOTE: Research data should be securely stored in the discipline/department for a period of 5 years.

The ethical clearance certificate is only valid for a period of 3 years from the date of issue. Thereafter Recertification must be applied for on an annual basis.

I take this opportunity of wishing you everything of the best with your study.

Yours faithfully

.....
Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

/ms

cc Supervisors: Professor G Lindegger and Dr K Govender
cc Academic Leader Research: Professor Sabine Marschall
cc School Administrator: Ms Nancy Mudau

Humanities & Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

Dr Shenuka Singh (Chair)

Westville Campus, Govan Mbeki Building

Postal Address: Private Bag X54001, Durban 4000

Telephone: +27 (0) 31 260 3587/0350/4557 Facsimile: +27 (0) 31 260 4609 Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za / nymanm@ukzn.ac.za / mohunp@ukzn.ac.za

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APPENDIX J: ETHICS APPROVAL (CORRECTIONAL SERVICES)



correctional services

Department:
Correctional Services
REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

Private Bag X136, PRETORIA, 0001 Poyntons Building, C/O WF Nkomo and Sophie De Bruyn Street, PRETORIA
Tel (012) 307 2770, Fax 086 539 2693

Ms. DM Selepe
PO Box 4543
Sovenga
0727

Ms. DM Selepe

RE: FEEDBACK ON THE APPLICATION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH IN THE DEPARTMENT OF CORRECTIONAL SERVICES ON: "THE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITY AMONGST SEX OFFENDERS IN THE LIMPOPO PROVINCE"

It is with pleasure to inform you that your request to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services on the above topic has been approved.

Your attention is drawn to the following:

- The relevant Regional and Area Commissioners where the research will be conducted will be informed of your proposed research project.
- Your internal guide will be **Dr. KJ Kometsi: Director Psychological Services, Head Office.**
- You are requested to contact him at the telephone number: **(012) 307 2220** before the commencement of your research.
- It is your responsibility to make arrangements for your interviewing times.
- Your identity document and this approval letter should be in your possession when making visits.
- You are required to use the terminology used in the White Paper on Corrections in South Africa (February 2005) e.g. "Offenders" not "Prisoners" and "Correctional Centres" not "Prisons".
- You are not allowed to use photographic or video equipment during your visits. However, the audio recorder is allowed.
- You are required to submit your final report to the Department for approval by the Commissioner of Correctional Services before publication (including presentation at workshops, conferences, seminars, etc) of the report.
- Should you have any enquiries regarding this process, please contact the Directorate Research for assistance at telephone number (012) 307 2770 / (012) 305 8554.

Thank you for your application and interest to conduct research in the Department of Correctional Services.

Yours faithfully

ND SIHLEZANA
DC: POLICY CO-ORDINATION & RESEARCH

DATE: 10/09/2015