

**THE PHENOMENA OF MALE ON MALE RAPE AMONG YOUTH AT A  
JUVENILE YOUTH CARE CENTRE IN THE WESTERN CAPE.**

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A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Magister  
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## ABSTRACT

A concentration about issues important to the subpopulation of children in conflict with the law has received much more attention over the past few years. It is a known fact that within all male environments the likelihood of violence and especially sexual violence is exponential. Male on male rape as a topic has only received greater exposure over the last decade. Male on male rape within the context of the child and youth care context has however been reported, recorded and written about in academia to a far lesser degree.

Within this research study it was found that within the child and youth care context oppressive practices of male on male rape and exploitation were rife. Life is marred by intra-personal, inter-personal and institutional violence. A hierarchy based on the ability to resort to violence and gender mitigated all experiences within this context. Through these experiences children came to understand the phenomenon of male on male rape.

This research study was exploratory in nature and aimed to gain a deeper understanding of how children within this context understood and spoke about male on male rape. This endeavour was qualitative in approach and utilised social constructionism and the theory of oppression to understand the discourses produced by participants. The participants were males with age ranging from 16 to 18 years. An interview was the framework within which the phenomenon of male on male rape was discussed. The information gained from participants was managed through the use of discourse analysis. The highest ethical standards were upheld during the research process.

In conclusion three main discourses were utilised by participants to make sense of the phenomenon of male on male rape. These discourses were the discourse of violence, the discourse of gang culture and the discourse of gender. These discourses intersected and predominantly functioned to hinder the reporting and likelihood of children that were sexually assaulted acquiring assistance.

## DECLARATION

I declare that *The Phenomena of Male-On-Male Rape among Youth at a Juvenile-Youth-Care-Centre in the Western Cape* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.

Full name: Fatima Peters

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Date: \_\_\_\_\_



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## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

Issues important to the subpopulation of children in conflict with the law has received much more attention over the past few years (Arzul, 2005; Clark, van Eck & McCain-Williams, 2000; Stout & Wood, 2004).

Prior to 1994, children were subjected to the same legislation and punishment as experienced by adults who have come in conflict with the law (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003; Stout & Wood, 2004). Previously, when children came in conflict with the law they were sentenced according to the Criminal Procedure Act (Act No 51 of 1977). Factors considered when sentencing the child were related to the seriousness of the offence, the risk to the community, the severity of the offence on the victim and the failure of the child to respond to non-residential alternatives (Criminal Procedure Act No 51 of 1977).

There are three schedules of offences stipulated within the Criminal Procedure Act (Act No 51 of 1977) that influences how a child will be sentenced. Children that commit schedule 1<sup>1</sup> and 2<sup>2</sup> offences can be sentenced to community-based sentences, diversion programmes or a sentence with a residential requirement (Criminal Procedure Act No 51 of 1977). It is preferred however, that as far as possible a child should be “kept in the community” (South African Law Commission (SALC), 2002a: 254). Schedule 3 offences include murder, rape, armed robbery, theft, and so forth (Child Justice Bill B49 of 2002). Children that commit schedule 3 offences are more often sentenced to a secure residential institution or imprisoned (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003). Children from the ages of 14 to 18, may not be held within prison, unless all alternative forms of sentencing have been considered by the magistrate. This became law when the Correctional Services Amendment (Act 14 of 1996) was promulgated (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003).

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<sup>1</sup> Schedule 1 offences are for example grievous bodily harm, malicious injury to property, possession of an illicit substance, theft, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Schedule 2 offences are for example public violence, culpable homicide, assault, arson, housebreaking, robbery (exceeding the amount of R20 000), illicit possession of drugs (more than R20 000 worth), etc

Prior to 1994, children were sentenced to residential care. Residential care institutions were divided into three types, namely reform schools<sup>3</sup>, schools of industry<sup>4</sup> and places of safety<sup>5</sup>. All forms of residential care for children were managed by the Western Cape Education Department (WCED). The mandate of the WCED was to provide education to children and “instruct them to become hard-working, dutiful and socially adjusted individuals” (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003: 21; The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk (IMC), 1996). It was however, noted by Gouws, Kruger and Burger (2000) that the prognosis for institutionally based programmes was not favourable. The IMC (1996) concurred with this statement and concluded that because these facilities were marked by serious human rights violations they could not be recommended for the management of children who have come in conflict with the law.

South Africa ratified the United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989) during 1994 and this signified that the concerns of children had become a central focus. Children’s rights are subdivided into the following areas: protection, provision and participation<sup>6</sup>. The UNCRC (1989) aims to always work from the premise of *doing what is in the best interest of the child* (Bezuidenhout & Joubert, 2003; Saporiti, 1998; Stout & Wood, 2004). Since the ratification of the UNCRC (1989), there have been many changes to South African legal documents. Documents that have been altered were the South Africa Constitution (Act No 108 of 1996), the Children’s Act (Act No 38 of 2005), the Child Justice Bill (B49 of 2002) and many other applicable legal documents. The aim of these changes was to protect the human rights of all people, including children as a distinct group and ensure that the best interests of children are always foregrounded (Saporiti, 1998; Stout & Wood, 2004).

The Child Justice Bill (B49 of 2002) was specifically developed to affect change to the difficulties that children experience when they come into conflict with the law. The

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<sup>3</sup> “A reform school is defined in the Child Care Act, No 74 of 1983, as a school maintained for the reception, care and training of children sent thereto in terms of the Criminal Procedure Act, 1977 (Act No. 51 of 1977) or transferred thereto under the [Child Care Act]” (The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk, 1996:2).

<sup>4</sup> “Schools of industry is defined in terms of the Child Care Act no 74 of 1983 as a school maintained for the reception, care, education and training of children sent or transferred thereto under this Act” (The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk, 1996:2).

<sup>5</sup> “A place of safety is defined in the Child Care Act, No. 74 of 1983, as any place established under section 28 [of the Child Care Act] and includes any place suitable for the reception of a the accommodation of awaiting trial youth” (The Inter-Ministerial Committee on Young People at Risk, 1996:2-3).

<sup>6</sup> The UNCRC can be divided into three main areas namely protection, provision and participation. Protection refers to the right to be protected from certain activities (maltreatment, sexual exploitation, harm, malnutrition, violence, and so forth). Provision refers to the right to be provided access to certain goods and services (education, health care, and so forth), and participation refers to the right to act in certain circumstances affecting the wellbeing of ones self (Saporiti, 1998).

completion and promulgation of the Child Justice Bill (B49 of 2002) was prompted when it was discovered that children were subjected to “various oppressive practices and inhumane treatment” (Stout & Wood, 2004: 115) within adult prison institutions. The aims of the Child Justice Bill (B49 of 2002) are to prevent the incarceration of children and adults within the same institution and sentence children from a restorative justice perspective (Stout & Wood, 2004). Restorative justice has different definitions and means different things within various countries (Stout & Wood, 2004). Restorative justice, within the South African context encompasses the philosophy of “promoting the reconciliation, restitution and responsibility through the involvement of the child, the child’s parents, family members, victims and communities” when facilitating the process involving children that have committed an offence (Child Justice Bill, B49 of 2002; Stout & Wood, 2004:118). Restorative justice aims to either divert children away from the criminal justice process, or to provide alternatives to conventional forms of sentencing (Stout & Wood, 2004).

It has been found that even though legislation has been passed, the plight of children remains relatively the same within South Africa. “Large numbers of children- both sentenced and unsentenced- continue to be held in prison and other residential facilities to this day” (Sloth-Nielsen & Muntingh, 2001 cited in Stout & Wood, 2004: 116). The IMC (1996) conducted an investigation into the suitability of children to reside within residential care centres; a number of problems were uncovered. One of the major problems uncovered was that children were subjected to atrocities such as emotional, physical and sexual abuse by other children and staff (IMC, 1996; Stop Prisoner Rape, 2006). These atrocities and the fact that these centres posed serious human rights violations facilitated the re-conceptualisation of the entire child and youth care system. Changes within this system facilitated the transformation of reform schools into youth secure care and education centres and schools of industry into youth care and education centres (SALC, 2000, 2002a). Research for this thesis was conducted within a particular youth secure care and education centre within the Western Cape, referred to as a child and youth care centre.

Within both the prison and residential care/child and youth care systems the problem of sexual violence has been found to be pervasive (Bartollas, Miller & Dintz, 1976; de

Villiers, 1997; Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Hendricks, 2006; Jali Commission, 2005; Matthews, 2006; Southgate, 1997; Stop Prisoner Rape, 2006). This is evident as expressed in the following excerpt:

*“...the first time I got here...I just sat up straight on my bed...so I asked myself...what would happen to me? Every time I woke I would open my eyes to make sure everything was ‘OK’...then I would lie awake” (Matthews, 2006: 36).*

The fear of being sexually violated, as described above, has been echoed by many children and adult men. The problem of male on male rape is believed to be part of the package of committing a criminal offence (Gear, 2007). This punitive view of crime and justice facilitates that male on male rape goes unrecognised.

Sexual violence is a form of oppression and has been referred to as sexual abuse, victimisation, exploitation, sodomy, bullying, sexual violence and so forth, within the literature. Within this thesis however the sexual violence experienced by children is understood to be male on male rape. Occurrences of male on male rape are often hidden and not spoken about within the prison and the child and youth care system (Gear, 2005, 2007; Hendricks, 2006; Jali Commission, 2005). A shroud of silence concerning the problem of male on male rape is evident because of its gendered nature (Gear, 2005, 2007). It is stated, by Hendricks (2006), that “sodomy was the most common bad experience” (p. 48), however, within the study “participants never spoke about actually experiencing this happening to them” (p. 49) because it is believed that a man cannot be raped.

Sodomy referred to both forced and consensual anal sex between males. Previously, it was understood to be a criminal offence and was punishable by law within South Africa (Gear, 2007). Sexual relations among men within a secure environment is a contentious issue. Gear (2007), states that within the prison system, sex and rape have largely gone unacknowledged or have been vehemently denied. Sexual favours are bartered for money or are used as a tool to control the behaviour of prisoners (Eigenberg, 2000; Jali Commission, 2005). The denial of sexual violence within the prison system perpetuates the problem of male on male rape.



Male on male rape is submerged within discourses of homosexuality and the derailment of the victim's masculinity (emasculatation) (Gear, 2005, 2007). These discourses of homosexuality and the stigma of emasculatation have had a major impact on the theorisation and understanding of the problem of male on male rape (Graham, 2006; Sivakumaran, 2005).

Within the context of residential care facilities, issues such as substance abuse, gang culture and violence are common problems. These problems have been found to be interlinked to the problem of male on male rape and will be discussed in greater detail within chapter two.

## 1.2 RATIONALE AND MOTIVATION FOR STUDY

The phenomenon of male on male rape is important because no human should be subjected to violence, degradation and humiliation as experienced by rape victims. All humans have the right to respect and dignity and no person should be denied these rights. Male on male rape as a problem, has been researched previously, however, not as extensively as male on female rape (Graham, 2006; Sivakumaran, 2005). Previously, male on male rape was mainly studied as a problem experienced by homosexual men within the context of prison (Gear, 2007; Mezey & King, 2000; Sagrin, 1976). Due to the construction of male on male rape as homosexual in nature, the fact that male on male rape has mainly been perpetrated by heterosexual men and that it has been found to occur within the general community has been under-researched and obscured (Booyens, Hessenlink-Louw & Mashabela, 2004; Davies & McCartney, 2003; Gear, 2007; Graham, 2006; Kassing, Beesley & Frey, 2005; Roos & Katz, 2003; Sivakumaran, 2005; Walker, Archer & Davies, 2005). The focus of this thesis is specifically on the population of male children within the context of a child and youth care centre. Research concerning male on male rape for this population has been researched even less (Bartollas, Miller & Dintz, 1976 cited in Inderbitzin, 2006; Ruchkin, Eisemann & Häggelöf, 1998; Stop Prisoner Rape, 2006).

According to the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF, 2002, 2006), children within institutions have been found to be especially vulnerable to sexual violence and in need of care. Due to the severity of the circumstances of children



who are incarcerated, one of the millennium developmental goals as stated by UNICEF (2002) is to improve the protection of these children. Data concerning sexual violence is especially hard to find for children who are incarcerated and in need of care. The reason for this lack of information was attributed to the sensitive, illegal and pervasive nature of these activities (UNICEF, 2002, 2006).

Children within South Africa are particularly vulnerable, due to the high rates of violence and crime experienced and perpetrated (Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC), 2003). South Africa has been described as having one of the highest rates of violent crimes. Within the South African prison system it was found that 36 percent, or 45 357 children, were under the age of 16 and there were 53 percent, or 27 070 children, in the awaiting trial section that were of the same age (HSRC, 2003). These statistics indicate the extent to which children's safety and wellbeing are threatened.

High numbers of children within the prison system presents an extremely negative prospect for the children in South Africa. Children are supposed to be the most important resource in a country's development (Flint Pedersen, 2006). Investigating the phenomenon of male on male rape is important because children should not be released from a child and youth care centre with more scars than when the child entered. This research was conducted to bring attention and reform to the experiences of children who are confined within the child and youth care system.

### 1.3 FOCUS OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The blanket of silence that surrounds sexual violence has led to the research question of this study which was: how is the phenomenon of male on male understood and spoken about by children within a child and youth care centre? This question is pertinent, because discourses surrounding the phenomenon of male on male rape were silencing the voices of children that needed to be heard.

The aims of the study are: to understand how children assign meaning to the phenomenon of male and male rape and to explore the ways in which the phenomenon of male on male rape is spoken about by children within the child and youth care centre.

The objectives of this study include:

- a. To develop a conceptual definition of how juvenile youth develop meaning with regard to male on male rape, through the use of language within the context of the juvenile youth care centre.
- b. To explore their understanding of the psychological and social impact of being raped within the institution.
- c. To have a deeper understanding of how masculinity and gangsterism impacts on the conceptualisation of male on male rape.
- d. To evaluate the strategies implemented by the institution to reduce the likelihood of male on male.

#### 1.4 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

Research concerning male on male rape is minimal and it has mainly focused on an adult population, within the context of prison. Research specifically addressing male on male rape, within the context of child and youth care centres, is even fewer. Due to lack of research on male on male rape within the child and youth care context, this study aimed to attain a deeper understanding of how children understand and talk about male on male rape. This is important for the development of appropriate and applicable interventions for children that commit sexual violence and children that have been sexually violated.

Dominant discourses about male on male rape are believed to impede children from speaking about their experiences. Thus, through understanding what these discourses are and how they influence children, this will assist in the success of future interventions.

#### 1.5 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

Adolescence: “a period of transition between childhood and adulthood” (Louw, Louw & Ferns, 2007: 278).

Child: “a person under the age of 18” (Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007: 12; South African Constitution Act

no 108 of 1996; South African Children's Act no 38 of 2005; United Nations Convention for the Rights of the Child, 1989).

Consent: "voluntary or uncoerced agreement" {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007: 16}.

Gang: a group of people that share a particular background, ideology, belief, geographical location, and so forth that decides to become a formal group. This group promotes illegal activity, crime and violence against others (Tshiwula, 2002: 112).

Juvenile delinquent: a person below the age of 18 who has come in conflict with the law or someone who breaks the law habitually and persistently (Gous, Kruger & Burger, 2000; Houghugh, 1983 cited in Tshiwula, 2002:103; SALC Project 106, 1999).

Racial categories: "black", "white", "coloured" and "indian": These racial categories were institutionalised by the apartheid National Party through the use of the South African Population Registration Act No 30 of 1950. This Act was a tool utilised by the apartheid government to separate, discriminate and subjugate people from each other (Posel, 2001). It is noted that these terms have become entrenched within the national discourse on race. Therefore within this thesis these terms are used as a reference to highlight the demographic realities and socio-economic conditions within South Africa (Gibson, 2004).

Rape: "Any person ("A") who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant ("B"), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape" {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007: 16}

Violence: "any relation, process, or condition by which an individual or group violates the physical, social, and/ or psychological integrity of another person or group" (Bulhan, 1985: 135). This definition encompasses all forms of violence as understood in relation to rape, sexual assault and exploitation.

## 1.6 CHAPTER ORGANISATION

The first chapter provides a brief historical background of child and youth care centres in South Africa. The rationale, motivation, aims, significance of the research and definitions of relevant concepts are discussed.

Chapter two provides an overview of research, which has addressed the phenomenon of male on male rape. This literature review discusses major arguments, which have developed over the years into relation to male on male rape. These arguments and explanations of male on male rape are critically reviewed and discussed in relation to children that have come in conflict with the law. The theoretical underpinning of the social constructionist perspective and theory of oppression frames the manner in which the research was understood and has been described and discussed in relation to the research question.

Chapter three is the methodology section and describes the manner in which the research has been conducted. A qualitative research framework was employed with the use of interviews. The interviews were analysed utilising discourse analysis, which has been described as being ideal when working from the social constructionist theoretical framework (Terre blanch, Durrheim and Painter, 2006)

Chapter four provides a description of the findings and discussion the discourses which were found to mediate the manner in which children understood and spoke about male on male rape within the child and youth care centre.

The final chapter of the thesis provides the discussion, suggestion and recommendations for future research.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **LITERATURE REVIEW**

#### **SECTION A**

##### **2.1 INTRODUCTION**

Sexual violence is one of the most invasive, degrading and traumatising acts that can be committed to any human being. Rape is a form of sexual violence and is understood as an act where the perpetrator's main goals are domination, power and humiliation over the other person (McMullen, 1990). Rape is seldom about sexual gratification. However, this perception of rape is dominant (McMullen, 1990). Sexual violence is a problem experienced by both women and men.

Generally, the study of rape concentrated on women and portrayed men as the exclusive perpetrators (Mezey & King, 2000). Conceptualising a man as a victim of sexual violence has scantily been presented in the literature on male on male rape (Graham, 2006). The discourse of rape has been influenced by the dominant stereotypical perceptions of gender. Gender perception of what it means to be a man has been found to be an important factor in the understanding of rape and more generally crime. Men are generally portrayed within society as protectors, providers, powerful, leaders and so forth. These dominant discourses of masculinity restrict and provide the platform to understand how the problem of male on male rape is understood and perceived.

The dominant perceptions of male on male rape, masculinity and sexual violence are understood from a social constructionist perspective. Social constructionism proposes that all that we know about our self, our world, the concepts, perceptions and understanding we have is socially constructed. Through the lens of social constructionism the concept of rape will be presented within this section. Once this has been discussed, the theory of oppression and its relationship to violence, as discussed by Bulhan, will be presented. From this point forward relevant literature will be produced that is pertinent to the understanding of the phenomenon of male on male rape.

## 2.2 RAPE UNDERSTOOD FROM A SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONIST PERSPECTIVE

According to Burr (1995), Social Constructionism is a theoretical framework that has been influenced by multiple disciplines and intellectual traditions. These varying and often competing and conflicting ways of understanding knowledge have resulted in a deeper, more critical development of the theory of social constructionism. According to Potter (1996), social constructionism is not concerned with the nature of reality. Social constructionism is concerned with the construction of meaning among people.

Social constructionism proposed that the way in which we understand everything is dependent on four aspects, namely language, relations among people, the co-production of meaning and knowledge and our reflection of these shared meanings (Gergen, 1999). Through an interaction of these four aspects, our social reality and knowledge are produced.

Social constructionism is concerned with meaning at the level of the social and proposes that “people’s thoughts, feelings, experiences are products of the system of meaning” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 278). These thoughts, feelings, experiences and perceptions are not considered to originate from within the person or from individual minds (Gergen, 1999). This way of thinking has been influenced by essentialist ideologies and is not supported by social constructionism. Essentialism refers to the philosophy or belief that particular essences exist within people and the world (Burr, 1995). These essences are understood to determine the nature of people and the world. An alternative proposition is presented by social constructionism. It is proposed that meaning and knowledge are produced through a process of interaction, negotiation and affirmations among people within relationships. Through a shared language and understanding, these knowledge constructions and perceptions of male on male rape are produced (Gergen, 1999). Due to the relational aspect of social constructionism, it is further noted that multiple social constructions of any concepts are possible and that there is no one construction that is more valid or truthful compared to another (Gergen, 1999).

People tend to treat attitudes, perceptions and personality constructions as concrete, truthful and stable (Potter, 1996). According to Potter (1996), people tend to treat these constructions as factual versions of the world. This understanding has been constructed within a realist philosophy. The realist philosophy represents the world as stable and that our knowledge is a direct result of our perceptions of reality (Potter, 1996). The realist perspective is not supported by social constructionism because through interaction and the use of language, particular versions of the world and reality are constructed as more popular and accepted than other constructions (Burr, 1995; Potter, 1996).

Language is understood as constructing reality. What this means is that all that we know, understand and perceive are constructed in language. Without language reality as it is understood cannot exist (Gergen, 1999; Kiguwa, 2006; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006; Potter, 1996). A demonstration of how language constructs meaning is produced as follows.

The social realities of children within the residential/child and youth care centre are influenced by the dominant, stereotypical discourses of rape when considering the phenomenon of male on male rape. Words commonly associated are male, power, sex, fault, blame and so on. These words are used to represent the discourse of male on male rape. Without these words the discourse of rape cannot be spoken about because there are no words to describe the problem. It is understood then that these words facilitate the construction of the rape discourse.

Within the child and youth care system, there are dominant discourses which aim to silence alternative discourses (Burr, 1995). The broader social context of the secure child and youth care centre and the society are important when understanding the problem of male on male rape. It is noted that dominant discourses of rape impact on the language that is used by learners.

Language is described as a form of social action, which means that when children within the institution speak or do not speak about the issue of male on male rape certain forms of knowledge are more actively reproduced than others. When male on male rape

is referred to as homosexual rape, or that a real man cannot be raped, certain objectives are attained by those who actively construct male on male rape in this manner. One possible objective of constructing male on male rape in this manner is the justification of the degradation of children who cannot protect themselves. The ability of language to function in a particular way and be used to achieve certain objectives is referred to as the performative character of language (Burr, 1995). Through the descriptions and arguments presented by the participants, the problem of male on male rape is structured in a particular way. These descriptions of male on male rape not only structure how children understand male on male rape, it structures the manner in which a child can respond to the phenomenon of male on male rape (Potter, 1996).

Language has been given further importance, because without language, thought would not have been possible. All concepts, experiences and categories that can be spoken about exist through language, prior to its use by any single individual (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). Language has been developed amongst people over an extended period of time and people can only utilise language that they have acquired and reproduce what they have been taught (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). This refers to the historical and culturally situated ways in which meaning is produced.

Through interaction and the use of language, meaning is produced. This meaning is, however, restricted to when and where one lives (Burr, 1995). Reflecting on the historical and cultural construction of the concept of rape, one understands that this concept has undergone many changes (Singh, 2004). During ancient times, rape was not understood as the sexual assault of a woman. Rape was constructed as the destruction of the property of a man. A woman was understood to be the property of a man and treated as livestock (Ross, 1993; Singh, 2004). Therefore, when a woman was sexually violated this was viewed a crime committed against the man (Ross, 1993). The crime of rape originated to “protect a man’s proprietary interest in a woman” (Ross, 1993: 8). The understanding of women as the property of men has been refuted and replaced by a culture of woman’s rights. The current understanding of rape has been historically influenced by the feminist movement, and women are understood as equals to men (Mezey & King, 2000; Scarce, 1997). It is thus noted that even the current understanding of rape is influenced by the dominant culture and the historical period of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.



It is important to note that language is important, however, it only gains meaning within relationships between people. When people interact with one another and use a specific language a coherent understanding and meaning is produced (Gergen, 1999). New discourses are developed among people. Through these discussions dominant, stereotypical ideologies can be resisted and reconstructed to mean something more positive (Gergen, 1999).

All alternative social constructions of the phenomenon of male on male rape are situated within a tradition. Due to this, all knowledge productions need to be critically evaluated and alternative realities need to be considered.

Social constructionism is very critical of assumptions that are taken for granted (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). One such example is the association between male on male rape and homosexuality. It is proposed by social constructionism that all that we know can be constructed differently (Gergen, 1999). Through multiple interactions and alternative language constructions, multiple social constructions are possible. The result is that nothing is fixed. The assumption of multiple constructions has major implications for the manner in which all forms of knowledge and concepts are understood (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). Understanding that everything we know, think and perceive are a result of the interaction between people through the use of language, is a radical shift from understanding reality to be constant. Social constructionism, therefore, presents an opportunity to understand our social reality differently. Research from the social constructionist perspective allows for a deeper more meaningful understanding of the dominant discourses related to male on male rape.

Rape, as discussed, is understood to be socially and historically produced and has been influenced by changes within society and within the law. The relationship between dominant perceptions within the general community and the law is evident but hazy. The relationship appears mutually supporting; however, changes in the law are not always strongly supported in the general community. Within the following section a discussion of how rape is defined within South African law will be discussed. It is noted that how rape is defined legally impacts to a great degree on how male on male rape is understood and spoken about by children within the child and youth care centre.

## 2.2.1 THE LEGAL DEFINITION OF RAPE

### THE DEFINITION OF RAPE IN SOUTH AFRICA PRIOR TO 2007

The previous definition of rape in South African legislation has long been viewed as inadequate and was consequently revised by the SALC (2002b). According to Snyman (2002) rape was defined within South African law as "...having unlawful intentional sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent" (p. 445). This definition was under review and the revised definition has been implemented. Inadequacies of the previous definition were highlighted and were incorporated in the new definition of rape.

Previously the rape of a man was not considered rape but instead it was termed indecent assault (Artz & Combrinck, 2003; Booyens, Hessenlink-Louw & Mashabela, 2004; Graham, 2006: 196; Gregory & Lees, 1999; Phelps & Kazee, 2007; Singh, 2004). If a female was raped the person who committed the crime could be sentenced to life imprisonment (Artz & Combrinck, 2003, McMullen, 1990; Phelps & Kazee, 2007). The person who committed the same offence against a man, however, would serve a shorter more lenient sentence (Booyens *et al.*, 2004; Graham, 2006; Phelps & Kazee, 2007; Snyman, 2007).

According to Graham (2006), one of the reasons why the rape of a man received a lesser sentence was because of "the non-consensual violation of a male's body was considered less serious than that of a female body" (p. 191). The previous definition of rape further discriminated against men because it was gender specific and thus did not view the sexual assault of men as a crime of rape (Phelps & Kazee, 2007; Singh, 2004). According to Phelps and Kazee (2007), this definition has led to the marginalisation of men within the context of sexual violence. The previous restricted definition of rape diminished the experiences of humiliation and sexual violation because the sexual violation was considered an indecent assault and not rape. By implication, this has led to the conclusion by Phelps and Kazee (2007) that the female child was more worthy of protection than the male child.

The new definition of rape incorporates male on male rape and the possibilities of rape perpetrated with the use of an object, or when another person is forced to commit the

sexual penetration. It had been found that even though legislature has been passed in theory, the general stereotypical perceptions prevail within society (Gear, 2007; Graham, 2006). Internationally there has been a consensus that rape-law reform should include a definition that is gender neutral and therefore recognises the rape of a man. These trends are evident within law reform that has occurred in the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Australia, Germany, Canada, Holland, and more recently, South Africa (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Mezey & King, 2000).

## 2.2.2 DEFINITION OF RAPE SINCE 2007

“Any person (“A”) who unlawfully and intentionally commits an act of sexual penetration with a complainant (“B”), without the consent of B, is guilty of the offence of rape “{Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007: 16}.

The new definition of rape constitutes four elements namely unlawful, intentional, sexual penetration and consent {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}. A sexual act is unlawful in situations where consent is absent (Snyman, 2002). It is only by intention that a rape can be committed. This means that the defendant had to know that the complainant did not consent therefore the intention to commit the act is present. Sexual penetration refers to the penetration (direct or indirect) contact through the use of the genital organs, an object or part of an animal (SALC, 2002b). The new definition of rape recognises that a person can be raped through the use of an object, the use of another person committing the sexual act and where the person was forced to perform oral sex (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). An important differentiation within the new rape definition is the importance of sexual penetration. According to the new law if there has been no penetration it signifies a sexual violation. In the case where a person has been sexually penetrated it, however, means a charge of rape can be brought against the defendant {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}.

The fourth criteria that needs to be absent for the crime of rape to be considered is consent which, refers to voluntary and uncoerced agreement {Criminal Law (Sexual

Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}. Coercion according to South African law encompasses, all circumstances in which the person did not agree or was forced to submit through the use of force, intimidation, threat of harm to the person, his or her family member or property, where there is an abuse of power/authority and where the consent was obtained under false pretences (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). In situations where the person that was sexually assaulted was incapable of appreciating the nature and consequences of the act, was under the age of 12, asleep, intoxicated or was unconscious it constitutes an absence of consent and is therefore coercive {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}.

The legal definition has been altered to incorporate three other forms of rape, namely the rape of males by males, males by females and females by females. These forms of sexual assault have, however, been found to occur to a lesser degree than the rape of females by males (Sivakumaran, 2005).

The new definition of rape is important, because it has a direct impact on how rape is understood in the general community and it facilitates the change of general discourses within society (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Discourses in the general community have long been influenced by the belief that rape is a crime in which a stranger attacks a person and that this act is particularly violent in nature (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). This understanding of rape, however, does not take into account that more often rape is committed by a person that is known to the victim, and that coercion can be non-physical in nature (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Sagrin, 1976).

### 2.3 RAPE UNDERSTOOD AS A FORM OF OPPRESSION, VIOLENCE, DOMINATION AND POWER

The definitions of sexual violence, within secure care centres, perpetrated by children on children require some exploration. Due to the lack of research into the area of male on male rape, there exists an absence of literature on sexual violence perpetrated on male children by other children and adults (Pantazis, 1999 cited in Pretorius and Hull, 2005). Statistics on child sexual abuse seldom consider male children as victims of sexual violence and thus, these statistics are even less reported (Robertson, 2006). Now

that the definition of rape has been altered to take into consideration all forms of rape, it should facilitate that research on the subject of sexual violence experienced by male children and adults (McMullen, 1990; Sivakumaran, 2005).

Rape is defined, within this study, as constituting “an act of violence where any sexual act is used as a tool of violation” (Rape Crisis<sup>7</sup> cited in Harvey, 2002). Phelps & Kazee (2007) have echoed a similar sentiment and stated that the definition of rape should recognise that rape is “based on imposing brute force and having power over another human being, regardless of their sex” (p. 347). Rape Crisis (Harvey, 2002) asserts that “it is not only the body but also the mind that is violated and this is often the most difficult aspect to deal with in rape” (cited in Harvey, 2002). Within the prison context, rape is not about sex but about sexual violence, power and dominance (Bartollas *et al.*, 1974; Gregory & Lees, 1999; Harvey, 2002; Ruchkin *et al.*, 1998; Sivakumaran, 2005). Bowker (1977) states that a similar culture of violence and exploitation exists within institutions for the incarceration of male children within the United States. Within secure environments, rape is used to dominate, humiliate, degrade and control the victim, often leading to psychological and social problems and when coercion is used, it constitutes rape because mutual consent does not exist (Harvey, 2002; Sivakumaran, 2005).

#### 2.4 A BULHANIAN PRESENTATION OF FANON’S THEORY OF OPPRESSION AND VIOLENCE

The theory of oppression proposes that violence should not be viewed too narrowly or selectively, because when defined in this way it serves the status quo and excludes many forms of violence which need to be recognised (Bulhan, 1985). It is these forms of violence that are not recognised that oppresses humanity and have the greatest number of victims whose circumstances are not recognised.

Violence can be defined in a multitude of ways due to it being a concept that can encompass various actions, processes and conditions (Bulhan, 1985). A definition of violence will be provided prior to a more detailed discussion of the theory of violence,

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<sup>7</sup> Rape Crisis is an organisation providing advocacy and health services for victims of sexual violence in South Africa.

as presented by Frantz Fanon. For the purposes of this study, violence will be defined as:

*“Any relation, process, or condition by which an individual or a group violates the physical, social, and/or psychological integrity of another person or group” (Bulhan, 1985: 135).*

This definition of violence is utilised, as it recognises that not all forms of violence are visible and it recognises that violence is not an “isolated physical act or discreet random event” (Bulhan, 1985: 135). Situations of male on male rape are not isolated events and are known by the security guards and teachers within the child and youth care centre.

Male on male rape experienced within prison has been found to be a continual process of humiliation, stigmatisation and sexual violence (McMullen, 1990; Scarce, 1997). The sexual violation can be perpetrated by a single individual, or by multiple individuals. According to Bulhan (1985), this definition of violence encompasses the relational process of violence and recognises that violence is a “condition undermining exploiting and curtailing the well-being of the victim” (p. 135). This perspective of violence places the consequences of violence, as experienced by the victim, at the forefront, instead of concentrating on intent for the violent act. Violence understood from the victim’s perspective facilitates the understanding that violence experienced does not change depending on whether intent to harm the victim was present (Bulhan, 1985).

Personal violence perpetrated amongst prisoners is important, however, the role of the institution in perpetuating this violence needs to be recognised (Bulhan, 1985). Institutional violence is violence occurring within an institution, namely: prisons, mental institutions and so forth and is understood to be a micro-social system in which violence occurs (Bulhan, 1985).

Important for this thesis is the view that violence does not occur in a vacuum; it occurs between people (Bulhan, 1985). Violence can occur at a personal, institutional and/or structural level. Within secure institutional environments it has been found that staff often did not report or prevent sexual violence from occurring (Eigenberg, 2000; Scarce, 1997). Sexual violence was condoned, and it was believed that the person that

was sexually violated deserved it (Eigenberg, 2000; Scarce, 1997). According to Bulhan (1985), institutional violence and structural violence are higher order forms of violence, however, structural violence occurs at a much broader level and is much more difficult to detect and correct.

Structural violence is a broader form of violence that occurs within the scope of social structures, unlike institutional violence that occurs within the institution. Bulhan (1985) states that structural violence is a form of violence that is “inherent in established modes of social relations, distribution of goods and services, and legal practices of dispensing justice” (Bulhan, 1985: 136). It is more than a violation of fairness or justice, because it often leads to more hidden forms of violence and thus, greater “lethal inequalities, which can lead to the death of those who lack power or influence within society” (Bulhan, 1985: 136). These inequalities and variance in power are evident in the hidden nature and stigma attached to male on male rape at an interpersonal level, institutional level and at the structural level (McMullen, 1990).

At a micro-social level, the person that is sexually victimised has less power, influence and thus, due to the nature of the assault, is less likely to seek assistance and when assistance is requested, he is more often not believed, or is unacknowledged (McMullen, 1990; Mezey & King, 2000; Scarce, 1997). This unresponsiveness has been described as a “relational process, or condition imposed by someone that injures the health and well-being of others is by definition violent” (Bulhan, 1985: 135).

Violence has become entrenched in our daily lives through television, advertisements, billboards, newspapers and various other forms of media (Bulhan, 1985). According to Bulhan (1985), “violence is integral to relations and social conditions” (p. 134) and thus violence portrayed through these mediums is not considered violent as it does not form part of the discourse of illegality. Instead, these forms of violence are socially sanctioned and encouraged.

Fanon’s theory of violence allows for a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of male-on-male rape. Frantz Fanon was one of few theorists that critically analysed violence from the structural, institutional and personal dimension (Bulhan, 1985). In addition, and more importantly he proposed that violence presents a dual function



namely that it dehumanises and oppresses people while it can function to liberate in situations where all else has not succeeded. This theory was developed while Fanon was residing in Algeria. This exposed him firsthand to the brutality, violence and oppression experienced by the oppressed at the hands of the coloniser (Bulhan, 1985).

During periods of oppression Fanon proposed that the coloniser gains power through the dehumanisation of the oppressed while in conjunction with this, reducing the colonised to objects that can be used, abused and destroyed at will (Bulhan, 1985). The means through which the oppressor gains power and control is not a process of reasoning or persuasion. Instead, power is gained through the increased use of violence and harm done towards the oppressed. Various forms of weaponry and specialist people such as doctors, teachers and religious leaders are utilised to suppress and indoctrinate the oppressed to believe that their plight is justified (Bulhan, 1985).

Oppression of the people was not only waged for the land and labour of the oppressed (Bulhan, 1985). According to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985), the oppressor wanted to dominate and control the oppressed at a deeper level and wanted to be at the very centre of their reality. Thus, the battle for liberation needed to be fought not only against the occupation of the land but also against the occupation of the peoples psyches (Bulhan, 1985). Fighting oppression without and within was described as necessary, according to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) if the vicious cycle of domination was to be stopped. To break this cycle, however, it is necessary that the oppressed regain a degree of the self-respect and validation. The confidence and self worth of the oppressed have been eroded and this has infiltrated into all aspects of the lives of the oppressed. Relationships with others in the community are described by Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) as being regressive and that those who are oppressed are alienated from each other. If those who are oppressed do not find a sense of identity and assimilation towards each other, the coloniser without cannot be stopped (Fanon, 1985).

Violence, meted out by the oppressor towards the oppressed in order to regain power and control over the oppressed, is referred to as vertical violence, i.e. from the top down (Bulhan, 1985). According to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) the abuse, deprivation and degradation experienced at the hand of the oppressor, and the lack of self-worth experienced by the oppressed, result in violence being turned towards the self and



fellow oppressed. This form of violence is referred to as horizontal violence (Bulhan, 1985).

An important concept developed by Fanon (Bulhan 1985), is the concept of a Manichean Psychology. This concept was proposed as the cause for human violence and oppression. It works from the premise that the world is divided into “compartments and people into different ‘‘species’’<sup>8</sup> (Bulhan, 1985: 140). Each compartment functions in relation to the other, but the relation is based on opposition and not reciprocal affirmation. The compartments would be divided into good versus evil, beautiful versus ugly, white versus black, human versus subhuman, and so forth. These divisions do not serve the purpose of up-liftment and social cohesion, but instead it functions to divide and repress the people who are oppressed (Bulhan, 1985).

The concept of Manichean Psychology is thus based on the logic of compartments/categories and thus, one of the terms is positively associated while the other is negatively associated. Each category functions in opposition to its counterpart, therefore these categories are interdependent and can never collapse into one. If these categories collapsed it means that the purpose of the division, which is to demarcate and separate, would collapse and thus Manichean Psychology would collapse (Bulhan, 1985). According to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985), this form of psychology is required in order to sustain oppression. Whilst this is necessary for oppression, violence emerges and is reinforced by the Manichean Psychology.

Manichean psychology infiltrates into the lives of all oppressed people and everything that is known to them. It is reflected in the environment, all social relations, and economic structures. The categorical divisions as presented by Manichean Psychology are reflected in the associated discourses of the oppressed and oppressor. Images that are associated with the oppressor are concepts of good, beauty and knowledge, while the images associated with the oppressed are concepts of evil, dirt and inadequacy (Bulhan, 1985). These negative discourses associated with the oppressed further infiltrate the values and beliefs, and produce discourses that further undermine and oppress.

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<sup>8</sup> Emphasis from the text of Bulhan, 1985: 140.

Just as each dual category, the negative associated with the oppressed and the positive associated with the oppressor, so too the oppressed and oppressor have particular functions or roles within Manichean Psychology (Bulhan, 1985). The oppressed assume the negative role, however, with great ambivalence and smouldering rage. The oppressor is defined as “the other”<sup>9</sup> and represents all that the oppressed despise and envy. The oppressed are portrayed as animals and unintelligent. According to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985), these discourses remain until the oppressed are ready to reverse the Manichean equation. The psychosocial consequence of being depicted in this manner degrades and undermines the worth of the oppressed and facilitates the desire to change roles with the oppressor.

Violence is reinforced by the Manichean way of dividing the world into compartments and humans into species. All forms of media, policing and education are described by Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) to constitute violence, because it functions to ‘other’, dehumanise and disempower the oppressed. Dividing people into categories, and depicting them as different and ‘other’ to the self, facilitates an even greater degree and intensity of violence. The people viewed as ‘other’ are demeaned and considered less worthy than animals, and the violence against ‘them’ is justified. Manichean Psychology, therefore, facilitates a greater degree of violence, abuse and murder of people who are not of the same class, race, social grouping, sex and so forth (Bulhan, 1985). Once people are divided in this manner, an even greater degree of violence is expected and justified.

Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) states that once Manichean Psychology becomes entrenched in the lives of people, the environment, and culture, it is difficult to overcome because Manichean Psychology is the basis from which people develop a sense of identity and community. The dehumanisation and violence experienced at the hands of the oppressor is not resolved by the oppressed. The violence experienced is turned inwards towards the self instead, and the people who are closest such as the family and community (Bulhan, 1985). At a collective level, people try to absolve the violence that has been experienced through the use of ritual, myth and magic, however, when the repressed violence cannot be resolved, an increase in the incidence of crime and homicide is found among the oppressed (Bulhan, 1985). At an individual level, the

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<sup>9</sup> Emphasis by Bulhan 1985: 141.

oppressed internalises these dominant negative discourses depicted in society and dreams of gaining the power that was taken. These reactions are self-destructive and violent, and if an alternative method of non-violent expression cannot be found the consequences are grave. An even greater “incidence of alcoholism, psychiatric disorder, hypertension and homicide” (Bulhan, 1985: 143) is experienced by the oppressed.

The manner in which Fanon (Bulhan, 1985) discusses violence and oppression in relation to the concept of Manichean Psychology provides a lens through which male on male rape, within the social context where it occurs, can be more fully understood. Important for this research, is the manner in which people are dominated and how violence manifests and is internalised.

Over the years the discourse of rape has changed, and it has been influence by the culture and historical periods. According to Bulhan (1985), what is considered violent depends on “where one is situated in the social order and depending on who has authority” (Bulhan, 1985: 135). The theory of social oppression is important for the understanding of male on male rape, because it allows one to understand how the greatest degree of violence can be justified and encouraged in the child and youth care context.

The theories of social oppression and social constructionism facilitate how male on male rape functions in this context, how it is understood and how it is constructed.

## **SECTION B**

Within the following section, an overview of the relevant literature concerning the phenomenon of male on male rape will be provided.

### **2.5 SEXUALITY**

Sexuality has been described as a term that is basic, however, it is often very difficult to define (Hawkes & Scott, 2005; Williams & Stein, 2002). According to Mosby’s dictionary (2006), sexuality is defined as: “the sum of the physical, functional and psychological attributes that are expressed by one’s gender identity and sexual

behaviour whether or not related to procreation” (p. 1705). From this definition it is understood that sexuality refers to a number of overlapping issues. Issues that fall beneath the sexuality umbrella are sexual intercourse, biological sex (male/female), sexual expression (how people express themselves during and as sexual beings), sexual orientation (heterosexual, homosexual, transsexual, bi-sexual, and so forth), sexual identities (gender-masculinities/femininities), and so forth.

Sexuality encompasses both positive and negative aspects of human sexuality. Male on male rape is understood as one of the negative aspects of sexuality. Sexuality is commonly associated with sexual behaviour and sexual desire (Williams & Stein, 2002). It is noted, however, that even though male on male rape is discussed beneath sexuality it is not an act motivated by sexual needs. Aspects of sexuality, namely sexual orientation, gender and sex are important areas of consideration when understanding the phenomenon of male on male rape.

The term sex has two possible connotations. The first refers to “the sexual behaviour, consisting of the acts that people engage in to achieve pleasure” (Williams & Stein, 2002:1). Sex, however, can refer to a second aspect which is “the anatomical and reproductive differences that men and women are born with, or develop” (Williams & Stein, 2002: 1). This definition proposes that sex is a natural and fixed category. According to West and Zimmerman (1991), the concept of sex is much more varied, complex and reflexive, because it is based on a number of social ascriptions that are dependent on the specific culture and historical period in which it is produced. Sex is considered to be a social rather than a biological process that only humans practice. Sex has generally been portrayed as consisting of only two categories, namely female and male. The differences between these categories have been the focus for many decades. According to Williams and Stein (2002), the sex differences between females and males are influenced in part by gender.

## 2.6 GENDER

Gender has traditionally been understood to refer to the “cultural meanings, social roles, and personality traits associated with sex differences” (Williams & Stein, 2002: 2). Sex differences are what divided society into two distinct and separate categories of

masculinity and femininity. Each category of masculinity and femininity was understood as having separate psychological and behavioural characteristics that could be determined from their reproductive functions (Hawkes & Scott, 2005; West & Zimmerman, 1991). These characteristics were believed to be stable, natural, and therefore normal. Gendered differences were used to justify the division of labour and unequal power relations between women and men (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

Differences between women and men are attributed to the theory of gender roles (West & Zimmerman, 1991). Gendered roles were understood as behaviours and characteristics that were learned through socialisation and therefore enacted. The theory of gender roles, and the process of socialisation have been criticised as being fixed, unvarying and portraying gender to be achieved by the age of five (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

According to West and Zimmerman (1991), gender is something that human beings do and is not “a set of traits or a variable or a role but the product of social doings of some sort” (p. 16). Gender is defined as: “the activity of managing situated conduct in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one’s sex category” (West & Zimmerman, 1991: 14). Gender is understood within this thesis as being something that is fluid and changing, and produced through the interaction between people. The presentation of gender as produced through interaction allows for multiple meanings of masculinity and femininity. These meanings of masculinity and femininity are dependent on the specific cultural, social and historical period in which it is constructed. Gender identities of masculinity and femininity are developed through the social process of recruitment of what is considered normal for each sex category (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

The social process of recruitment relies on understanding that “categorization practices are fundamental to learning and displaying feminine and masculine behaviour” (West & Zimmerman, 1991: 28). The process of categorisation works through differentiating the self from what is not the self. Each category that has a set of criteria that needs to be achieved. When a category such as ‘boy’ is chosen, it requires that the person constantly and competently display this gender identity. It is through the repetition and

performance of masculine gender qualities that this identity of 'boy' is achieved (Butler, 1990).

Within each gender identity there are expected behaviours that affirm the chosen gender identity. Stereotypically this can be presented as the ascription of boys to the "gender ideal of "efficaciousness," that is, being able to affect the physical and social environment through exercise and physical strength or appropriate skills" (West & Zimmerman, 1991: 28). It is learned at a young age that being recognised within a particular gender category is not optional but mandatory. Displaying a particular gender identity competently requires that the gender identity does not come into disrepute. A self regulating process thus develops where the person monitors his/her own and the conduct of others (West & Zimmerman, 1991). Differentiating the self from what is considered the other facilitates the shaping of what is considered essential female and male natures (West & Zimmerman, 1991).

The perception of gender as stable and unchanging is evident through the enactment of sexual violence within secure environments (Gear, 2005, Sivakumaran, 2005). Gender is dichotomised into masculinity and femininity and the presentation of each is associated with behaviours typically associated with each gender. Masculinity within a secure and confined environment is understood as the presentation of dominance, power and authority. Femininity, on the other hand, is understood as everything that masculinity is not such as weakness, inferiority and need.

Gender differences, and the conception that they encompass essential characteristics, are what separate women and men and facilitate the unequal distribution of power (West & Zimmerman, 1991). Power is unequally distributed within the domestic, economic and political domains. According to West and Zimmerman (1991), in the doing of gender, men are doing dominance and women are doing deference. Jeffrey (1996), states that gender functions as a classification system that perpetuates men's dominance and power over women and facilitates patriarchy. Butler (1993) describes gender as being arranged in a hierarchical fashion where men are assumed to be positioned at the top and women at the bottom. The position of the male as powerful and dominant is carried forth into all social, cultural and relational contexts. According to Dixon (2001), "gender can be described as an institution, and it pervades all societal

institutions, while these same institutions are founded upon a gendered, classed and radicalised identity” (p. 8).

A hierarchical arrangement based on gender and power is evident within secure environments. According to Sim (1994), this hierarchy is sustained and reproduced by institutional arrangements and individual identities which are “deeply embedded within discourses of masculinity and femininity” (Sim, 1994: 104). Within society, the hierarchy is structured with men at the top and women at the bottom (Butler, 1990; Sivakumaran, 2005). Due to institutions being male only, the hierarchy is structured according to who is able to demonstrate the greatest degree of violence and aggression. According to Harvey (2002) within South African prisons, terms such as “punks<sup>10</sup>” (American slang for a young male prostitute) or “voële” (local prison slang for birds) and “wyfies” (local prison slang for wife) (p. 47) are used to refer to inferior positions within the hierarchy, with the perpetrator being at the top of the hierarchy because of his demonstration of violence. Within a specific secure youth centre studied by Bartollas *et al.* (1976) in America, the hierarchy consisted of heavies at the top, followed by lieutenants in the middle and scapegoats at the bottom. These positions are produced and maintained by this gendered hierarchy that is based on the ability to conform to an idealised hyper-masculinity (Gear, 2005; Jewkes, 2005; Sim, 1994).

The stratification resulting from the hierarchy is influenced by gender, and gender influences the sexual practices within the secure environment. The positions of “wyfie” and ‘scapegoat’ are achieved and constructed positions. These positions are achieved through a process of ‘othering’ which is pervasive, systematic and progressively dehumanising. According to Gear (2005), within South African prisons the position of “wyfie” is achieved because gendered categories of male and female are reproduced as stable and unchanging. This understanding of gender infiltrates into how sexual violence is practiced and the reason why sexual violence is perpetuated. Sexual relations within a secure environment are produced as occurring between a man and woman. Through a process of dehumanisation within prison, men are emasculated and sexually violated (Gear, 2005; Sim, 1994; Sivakumaran, 2005). The person that has been sexually violated is believed to be weak and unable to demonstrate his true

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<sup>10</sup> The terms punk, voël and wifie refer to men that have been sexually exploited victimised and prostituted within the prison system.



masculine, powerful self and therefore is relegated to the opposite, and other position of female (Gear, 2005). Being sexually violated is highly stigmatised, because it is believed that a real man would not allow this to happen to him. In addition to the stigma, the position of female is associated with inferiority. This sexualised position, perpetuated within the secure environment, reflects the perception that men are entitled to sex from women, women should be passive partners, and that “victims of forced sex in prison are, like those out of it, in some way to blame for what happened to them” (Gear, 2005: 95). The person that has been sexually violated does not assume the inferior, alternative gendered position freely. According to Gear (2005) and Harvey (2002), through a process of trickery, those who are new to the secure environment, those sentenced for property or substance abuse crimes, those who display trust and weakness and those who are unable to display violence and aggression are at greater risk to being sexually violated. Trickery and social exclusion, along with the recurrent use of violence, forces an individual into the alternate position of “wifey”.

Similar to Gear (2005), Bartollas *et al.* (1976) found that within a secure institution in the United States of America, children were progressively dehumanised and sexually violated. Children who were new and less violent were found to be targeted and exploited (Ireland, 2000). Their cigarettes, clothing, food and other possessions were initially taken. The child was progressively made to fear other children and was routinely physically abused, exploited financially and possessions taken. Within centres for children, these forms of abuse would continue unless the child demonstrated an ability to fight and therefore resort to violence. Upon this violent and aggressive demonstration and the failure of others to submit to him the abuser would give up. If the aggressor was able to sexually violate the child, this would seriously influence how this child would be treated by other children. According to Bartollas *et al.* (1976), being sexually violated was referred to as a status degradation ceremony. Not only is the child sexually violated, but he is stigmatised, labelled, avoided and abused by all other children. The interactions with peers in the centre are described by Bartollas *et al.* (1976) to be “dynamic, constantly emerging and being defined by what has gone before” (p. 88). Once it becomes public knowledge that a child has been sexually violated, there is a change in the manner in which he is treated by all other children within the centre. The child that has been sexually violated is stereotyped and perceived as different and ‘other’ (Bartollas *et al.*, 1976; Bulhan, 1985). The child that will be



labelled as a scapegoat would be treated with disdain. This label is definitive and influences all future relations. Through a process of systematic abuse, exclusion, and violence, the child is forced to assume the “role” of scapegoat. Acceptance of this role is evident through the incorporation of mannerisms, language, and non-verbal communication patterns. Similar to the process of trickery discussed by Gear (2005), children are forced into an alternative demeaning and inferior role. The descriptions by Gear (2005) and Bartollas *et al.* (1976) portray the manner in which a process of othering takes place. That which is understood to be the self is perceived as different to those positions of “wyfie” and “scapegoat”. Concurrent to this process of othering is the justification for the sexual violence and abuse perpetrated against them. This can be viewed as what Bulhan (1985) describes as categorisation and compartmentalisation. Additionally, these alternative positions of wyfie and scapegoat parallel the gender identity of a female. As stated by Gear (2005) “one category is brought into being by the difference to the other, in this way (hegemonic) masculinity is precariously achieved by the insistence of total (superior) oppositeness to femininity (and homosexuality)” (p. 101). Gear (2005, 2007) states that men within prison, who have been sexually violated, are understood to be women and thus lose their status as men. Of significance is that within prison and institutions for children that come in conflict with the law, children who are stronger, more aggressive and are found to have committed more serious crimes subdue, exploit, seduce and sexually assault children who are vulnerable, smaller and weaker (Bartollas *et al.*, 1976; Ireland, 2000, 2002, 2005; Ruchkin *et al.*, 1998; Sim, 1994). This has been referred to as “the strong can exploit the weak to create their own hierarchies” (Ireland, 2000: 205).

Gender is a pervasive construction which exists within all institutions and infiltrates into the way the world and the self are understood. Male on male rape is described as a crime that is motivated by power, control and the assertion of masculinity. The influence of these dominant constructions of what it means to be a man, have been found to be critical to a deeper understanding of male on male rape. The concept of masculinity will be presented and discussed in more detail due to its relevance to a deeper understanding of male on male rape.

Masculinity has been found to be an important area of consideration given the fact that most violent and serious crimes are committed by males and the most likely victims are male (Altbeker, 2008; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). According to Newburn and Stanko (1994), literature on the area of masculinity has been increasing and its links to violence and youth crime are foregrounded as important when understanding sexual violence.

Masculinity has been defined as “a term that refers to a specific gender identity, belonging to a specific male person” (Morrell, 2001: 7). According to Lindeggar and Maxwell (2007), masculinity does not belong to any one male and is not a distinct attribute. Instead, it is a “socially constructed phenomenon, an everyday system of beliefs and performances that regulate behaviour between men and women as well as between men and other men” (Lindeggar & Maxwell, 2007: 95).

Morrell (2001) proposes that masculinity is a gender identity and is not fixed, but dependant on the social context and circumstances in which it is acquired by the male person. Over the years, through the critical investigation of masculinity, it is now understood that there is not only one form of masculinity, but various forms of masculinities (Morrell, 2001; Newburn & Stanko, 1994). Due to masculinity being influenced by dominant discourses within the historical time, and the varying contexts, men develop different forms of masculinity. Masculinity is, therefore, constructed in the “context of class, race and other factors which are interpreted through the prism of age” (Morrell, 2001: 8). Even though masculinity is constructed, boys and men are not free to choose the images that please them, because they are influenced and confined by the dominant discourses of gender (Morrell, 2001: 8).

Within South Africa, due to political, historical, cultural and economic disparity that was prevalent amongst all people of colour, very few avenues to attain a positive masculine gender identity were available (Salo, 2007). Poverty, lack of employment and underpayment were the most restrictive factors. Due to this, alternative forms of masculinity were developed among men such as the gangster, the sportsman and the taxi driver (Field, 2001; Salo, 2007). The socio-economic deprivation and

discrimination experienced by children of colour are important factors that impact on the path towards crime. There are, therefore, a number of factors impacting on children to commit crime, and masculinity is one such factor. The search for meaning and a sense of belonging and power are related to the social construction of masculinity.

According to Connell (1995) cited in Morrell (2001), it is proposed that gender is a concept of power gained from the subordination of women. It was further proposed that “not all men share this power equally and not all men are equally exploitative” (p. 7). Connell (1995) cited in Morrell (2001) proposes that men do not only oppress women but are oppressive towards other men. From this, the concept of a hegemonic masculinity was formed by Connell (1995) cited in Morrell (2001). Hegemonic masculinity is considered to be the dominant form of masculinity and it dominates over subordinate forms of masculinity (Connell, 1995 cited in Morrell, 2001: 7). Within the context of the prison, Jewkes (2005) proposes that male hegemony is reaffirmed and that it preys upon weaker men (p. 48). This is evident when reviewing the gendered arrangement of positions within secure environments.

Within secure institutions a culture of violence and aggression prevails. Sim (1994) and Jewkes (2005) state that masculinity is idealised. It is, however, understood as being related to the expression of power and physical dominance over another man. Within a secure environment the most negative aspects of masculinity are intensified. This idealised masculinity is achieved through the emasculation and subjugation of another man (Gear, 2005; Sim, 1994; Sivakumaran, 2005). Emasculation is perceived as the ultimate degradation, due to its associations with femininity and homosexuality (Gear, 2005).

Within society there are dominant discourses about gender and sexuality, however, not all men and women accept these values uncritically. Many men and women actively and openly denounce these traditional discourses and actively seek alternative ways of being men and women (Morrell, 2001). Discourses about masculinity have traditionally been saturated with violence and aggression, however, not all men accept and enact these discourses. Alternative ways of achieving masculinity are obtained through practices such as body building, participating in sports, studying, and so forth (Harvey,

2002). The dominant stereotypical view of what it means to be a man is contested, and alternative constructions of masculinity are produced and portrayed.

Dominant images, illustrated and demonstrated on television, in the media, via newspaper, magazines, and so forth, around the conceptualisation of what it means to be a man, have mainly been centred on a hegemonic construction of masculinity. Within the context of a child and youth care centre, characteristics such as strength, the ability to defend oneself and/or partner, to be popular with the opposite sex, and not to be considered “gay” or weak, are important characteristics for survival (Robinson, 1996). These characteristics of hegemonic masculinity are meshed up with violence and aggression, and the demonstration of violence and aggression are important factors when demonstrating manliness. Fighting and competing with others are part of the manner in which male children are moulded into a stereotypical hegemonic masculinity (Davies & Houghton, 1995).

## 2.8 HETEROSEXUALITY

Heterosexuality refers to sexual practices between a man and a woman, or sexual attraction towards someone of the opposite sex (Seidman, 2003). Heterosexuality is a concept that has undergone many changes and has been influenced by dominant discourses within society (Hawkes & Scott, 2005; Seidman, 2003). The institution of heterosexuality is formalised within legal, media, educational, familial, religious and clinical practices (Hawkes & Scott, 2005). Marriage is one example through which heterosexuality is normalised. Practices of a heterosexual nature have been validated and made to appear as the only valid manner of sexual expression. Heterosexuality is, therefore, considered to be the norm and alternative forms of sexuality are stigmatised and marginalised (Kitzinger & Wilkinson, 1993; Seidman, 2003; Shefer, 2003).

Within the context of prison, it has been found that gendered understandings of acceptable sexual practices are highly influenced by heterosexuality (Gear, 2005, 2007). Discourses about how males and females are allowed to practice sexually are highly regulated by gender expectations that are taken for granted. According to Gear (2005, 2007), sexual relations amongst men are condemned by individual men and by gang structures that regulate these sexual practices. Within prison, sexual contact

amongst men is, however, condoned when practiced in the institution of ‘marriage’ (Gear, 2005, 2007). Marriage is considered to be the correct place for sex and it is used to justify the sexual victimisation perpetuated within the system. Marriage is further utilised by perpetrators to affirm their true masculine identity within the prison system (Gear, 2007).

Within prison, sex within the context of ‘marriage’, refers to a “particular mode of sex where ‘men’ penetrate and ‘women’ are the passive receivers” (Gear, 2005: 217) and are therefore penetrated. This understanding is based on the heterosexual matrix proposed by Butler (1990). Key aspects of the heterosexual matrix are that gender is divided into two stable categories which are portrayed as normal, and that these exist in opposition to each other. Sexual practices between the two genders are predetermined and heterosexual practices are compulsory (Gear, 2007; Seidman, 2003). The heterosexual matrix thus determines that only a heterosexual male and female can have sexual relations. Within the prison system the emasculation of men into women is enforced in order to achieve this compulsory heterosexuality (Gear, 2007). Sexual practices between men within prison are, therefore, not viewed as homosexual but heterosexual. Heterosexuality is constructed in opposition to homosexuality, as masculinity is constructed in opposition to femininity (Seidman, 2003).

Sexual violence perpetrated within prison has historically been associated with homosexuality. According to Singh (2004), sexual violence has been used as a tool to validate the perpetrators heterosexuality. Masculinity has “precariously been achieved by constantly warding off its threats, specifically by rejecting femininity and homosexuality” (Gear, 2007: 214). The association between emasculation and homosexuality is central to the stigma associated with male on male rape. The stigma further keeps “many of its victims suffering in shame and silence” (Gear, 2007: 214).

Masculinity has historically been associated with dominance and power and femininity associated with subordination (Seidman, 2005). It is generally perceived that in heterosexual relations, the man is always the inserter and the woman is always inserted (Butler, 1993). These discourses are influenced by the gender expectations that are dominant within the society and culture. It is further understood that a man can never be inserted and thus when he is sexually violated it is understood, within prison as the

man losing his sense of self, his sexual identity and his right to be referred to as a man. According to Gear (2007), “anyone who has been penetrated in a power-defined sexual interaction is defined as a woman” (p. 217).

The association is evident when a man is sexually violated, firstly because masculinity is associated with power. When a man is violated it is understood that he loses this power. Secondly, because he has been sexually penetrated he further loses respect and dignity, as this is also associated with a female gender position. The female gender position is considered weak, inferior and in opposition to the male gender position (Connell, 1995). Heterosexual masculinity is achieved through a process of ‘othering’, which refers to differentiating the self that is masculine as different from what is considered feminine, homosexual and, therefore, not part of the self (Connell, 1995; Ehrlich, 2001; Ireland, 2000). According to Gear (2007), within the context of prison, these associations between masculinity, power, femininity and powerlessness are evident and entrenched.

Heterosexuality is an important area of consideration when understanding rape within a child and youth care centre that only caters for males. Research within male only institutions has found that the dominant discourses of heterosexuality and masculinity have been strongly associated with sexual violence. These sexual acts are considered to demonstrate the dominance and power of the person sexually assaulting, while emasculating the person that has been sexually assaulted and entrenching the abusers heterosexuality and masculinity (Eigenberg, 2000; Gear, 2005, 2007; Knowles, 1999; Robertson, 2003).

## 2.9 HOMOSEXUALITY

Previous studies that investigated sexual violence within prison and secure environments for children proposed that it was caused by homosexuality (Bartollas *et al.*, 1976; Forrester & Huggins, 1981; Gregory & Lees, 1999; Sagerin, 1976). This has been highly influenced by the discourse that male rape is perpetrated by homosexual men and that it is considered a gay crime (Gregory & Less, 1999). Since then, this contention has been critiqued as inaccurate because it has been found that homosexuality is not a requirement to sexually exploit nor does it cause of sexual

exploitation (Graham, 2006). Research has found that the person that commits the sexual assault is not motivated by homosexual desires, but instead the person is motivated by the need to dominate, humiliate and control (Pretorius & Hull, 2005). More often it is found that men who rape other men identify themselves as heterosexual and that rape is not motivated by a need for sex. The sexual assault is instead a way of enhancing the perpetrator's heterosexuality and masculinity (Gregory & Lees, 1999).

The use of the term "homosexual rape" for the sexual assault of males has been problematic (Sivakumaran, 2005). As Graham (2006) states, male rape has often been termed "homosexual rape" and this has caused the issue of male rape to become the concern of people that identify as homosexuals, bi-sexual, transsexuals and so forth, instead of highlighting that male on male rape is mainly perpetrated, within prison, by men who identify themselves as heterosexuals (Graham, 2006; Sivakumaran, 2005). Thus, male on male rape is a problem of all people. In addition to gender and heterosexuality, gang culture influences the manner in which sexual violence is understood and spoken about within secure environments and will be discussed as follows.

## 2.10 GANG CULTURE

Sexual violence within prison is an act that has been linked to gender and heterosexuality. Gang culture and the existence of specific prison gangs have been found to be a major factor impacting on the incidence and continuation of sexual violence (Gear, 2005, 2007).

Within prison, there are the number gangs which are referred to as the 26 gang, 27 gang, 28 gang, Big 5s and the Airforce 3 and 4 (Gear, 2005; Steinberg, 2004). Each gang within the prison structure fulfils a particular function and has its own individual rules and procedures (Steinberg, 2004). According to Gear (2005) "gang practices diverge from the ideal codes is evident from the fact that all the Numbers gangs are apparently involved in the organisation of specific sexual interactions and relationships, even those where the formal codes expressly forbid it" (p. 90). In the context of prison, children within the juvenile section are particularly at risk of sexual violence, because it was found that they were sold to older prisoners within the prison system (Jali



Commission, 2005). Sexual violence is an intrinsic aspect of gang culture and is formalised within gang rituals and practices (Gear, 2005).

It was found that children are not supposed to be sentenced to prison. Children awaiting trial, however, are placed within prison. Once children are sentenced they are moved to a child and youth care centre. There are two issues that impact the child and youth care centre. Firstly it is hypothesised that because children are convicted of multiple crimes and are moved back and forth between prison and the child and youth care centre, the dominant culture of violence within the prison could be transferred to the child and youth care centre. The culture within prison facilitates and perpetuates sexual violence. The second aspect is that children within the child and youth care centre are influenced by dominant gang culture within the community. Gang culture, in addition to the dominant discourses about masculinity, gender and heterosexuality, facilitate sexual violence within the child and youth care centre. The second point referred to will be discussed.

According to Haefele (1998) cited in van Wyk and Theron (2005), “qualitative indicators show that gangs are becoming younger” (p. 51) within the community. Children are being recruited into gangs at the same rate at which gang members are being killed (van Wyk & Theron, 2005). For many children, becoming affiliated with a gang is glamorous, because through this participation material possessions, financial resources, emotional support in the form of belonging, power and status are obtained, which would not have been possible if the child had not joined the gang (Gouws, Kruger & Burger, 2000; Pinnock, 1997).

Previously, adolescent disposition towards gangs has been described as being a result of “pathological individual or social factors predisposing gang members to violent and anti-social behaviour” (Luyt & Foster, 2001: 1). This description of why children become associated with a gang has been critiqued by Luyt and Foster (2001). They state that this perspective is essentialist, does not take all other factors into consideration, and individualises a problem that has roots within the social, political and economic contexts (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Luyt and Foster propose that children affiliate with gangs as a result of discriminatory political projects, poverty and deprivation experienced by many people on the Cape Flats (Luyt & Foster, 2001).



Due to a lack of positive mechanisms for children to achieve a sense of belonging and obtain the desired material possessions, association with a gang appears lucrative (Field, 2001). Once a child becomes a gang member, the orders and rules of the gang have to be followed, and allegiance to the gang cannot come into disrepute (Pinnock, 1997). If the child disobeys or shows fear or weakness, s/he faces being punished and in the most serious cases, killed or gang raped (Pinnock, 1997). Gang membership is intrinsically associated to crime and violence and gang members need to demonstrate this strength and ability to resort to violence in order to be accepted into the gang.

Violence is considered an important factor, not only in becoming part of a gang, but also being considered a man (Pinnock, 1997). Being regarded as strong, manly, fearless and able to demonstrate these through the use of violence is considered important to young male children, especially during the phase of adolescence and their development of 'a' masculine gender identity (Pinnock, 1997).

Within the general community, children are exposed to violence and become associated with gang culture and crime. The knowledge and experiences that they gain are carried with them once they are sent to a child and youth care centre. Life experiences of children impact their behaviour and beliefs within the centre. Resorting to violence and gang rules are thus considered normal within these centres (Sim, 1994). It is, however, not all children that assimilate these experiences and ascribe to them. There are many children who are exposed but are able to choose alternative avenues for self expression.

Learners of the youth care centre are exposed to these gang structures within the community. Within the community, gang groups such as the Americans, Junky Funkies, Dixie Boys, and Naughty Boys are common. Those that belong to these gangs are found to be more likely to have been incarcerated for more violent crimes. While children await trial they come in contact with the number gangs. Once children are released back into the community, the knowledge that they have gained in the prison system does not cease to exist. This knowledge is a way of understanding and interacting with the world, and becomes a manner of expressing and being in the general community. Others affiliated with these individuals hear these ways of speaking, and this knowledge becomes known to everyone.

The contention of this paper is that there is an escalation of violence. Children are exposed to violence, abuse and a lack of belonging within the home. Once they become affiliated with the gang, violence becomes entrenched and children are forced to commit violent acts, ranging from beating, stabbing and eventually killing one another. Children, therefore, move from being victims of violence to being the perpetrators of violence. The continuation of violence in the life of a child becomes a normal aspect of life, therefore, committing sexual violence becomes more probable within a secure environment for children. Sexual experimentation is considered an important part of development, and thus the period of adolescence will be discussed.

## 2.11 SEXUAL DEVELOPMENT DURING THE PERIOD OF ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is a period between childhood and adulthood during which many physical and social changes occur. During this period of adolescence, puberty as “the time when secondary sexual characteristics appear” (Westheimer & Lopater, 2005: 442), and sexuality are important areas of development (Forrester & Huggins, 1981; Westheimer & Lopater, 2005). Puberty relating to males specifically, encompasses an increase in testosterone which influences the growth of secondary sex organs (testicles and penis), increases in pubic hair, a deepening of the voice and the appearance of facial hair (Westheimer & Lopater, 2005). Sexual development is a normal aspect of development during adolescence, and it encompasses an increase in sexual awareness and feelings for another. Sexual development is regulated by the culture, religion and laws around sexual consent. Associated with sexual development, is an association with risk taking. The risks for children within child and youth care centres are different to the risks taken in the community.

In addition to these physical and sexual changes, there is an increased awareness and preoccupation with appearance, friendships and family (Westheimer & Lopater, 2005). During this period, adolescents often question themselves as to who they are and this is considered an important aspect of identity development (Westheimer & Lopater, 2005).

The peer group is considered an important influence in the lives of children. During this period, children are developing a sense of who they are. During this phase, children have been found to be severely self critical and sensitive to other’s opinions. Fitting in

and being liked by others are considered important for children during this phase, as it is associated with either a positive or negative self image and identity development (Westheimer & Lopater, 2005).

Adolescence is a period described as “an age of deviance, disruption and wickedness” (Brown, 1998: 3). It is not all youth, however, that become involved in antisocial or deviant behaviour. It has been found that a number of factors in all spheres of a child’s life, can contribute to the child being more likely to demonstrate antisocial behaviour (Gouws *et al.*, 2000). Common factors that appear are a high exposure to violence in the community, in the home, at school, and in the media. Violence in the home refers to physical and sexual abuse, lack of attention and belonging, unhealthy relationships with parents, and a lack of parental involvement (Gouws *et al.*, 2000; Wieckowski, Hartsoe, Mayer & Smortz, 1998). Violence within the community refers to a higher incidence of involvement with crime, drugs, gang participation, and fights with rival gangs (Gouws *et al.*, 2000; Wieckowski *et al.*, 1998). Violence within the school refers to learners stabbing other learners, and exclusion by the peer group. Within the media it will be, wrestling programmes, murder programmes and so forth that impact on children’s exposure to violence (Gouws *et al.*, 2000; Wieckowski *et al.*, 1998). Though the study by Wieckowski *et al.* (1998) was not on a generalised sample, important considerations when trying to understand the factors that contribute to children being more likely to demonstrate antisocial behaviour were described.

Confinement within a child and youth care centre, results in an environment which has been described as non-conducive to a healthy development of identity or sexuality. Factors specifically related to sexual exploration are severely limited and sanctioned by dominant discourses around being a male. Where males do experiment sexually within confined centres, the only option is to experiment with other males. This creates a particularly difficult environment because males who do not prescribe to heterosexuality are possibly at risk of an increased incidence of physical and sexual abuse by other children within the child and youth care centre. According to Jewkes (2005), dominant discourses of what it means to be a man is evident through by young males trying to achieve idealised forms of masculinity, in order to gain the respect from their peers (p. 48).

According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), and Jewkes, Dunkle, Koss, Levin, Nduna, Jama and Sikweyiya (2006) adolescent males are particularly at risk of perpetrating rape. One of the reasons was the fact that masculinity is convoluted with images of power and domination. In a society where very few positive options are available for adolescent males to achieve their masculinity, resorting to violence and rape have been found to be valid ways (Jewkes & Abrahams; 2002; Jewkes *et al.*, 2006; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). As mentioned previously it is not all men that prescribe to dominant notions of hegemonic masculinity. According to Jewkes *et al.* (2006), however, the ability to control women has been described as “essential (to hegemonic masculinity) for the attainment of the status of being a ‘successful’ or ‘real’ man” (p. 1239). Within the peer group, these social constructions of what it means to be a man are important for social positioning because status, respect and self esteem can be jeopardised (Jewkes *et al.*, 2006). Domination over women has the function of validating masculinity. Domination functions to assist some men in establishing a dominant position amongst their peers, according to Malamuth cited in Jewkes *et al.* (2006).

## 2.12 BARRIERS TO REPORTING

According to Gregory and Lees (1999), there are many factor that impact on the likelihood of a sexual assault being reported or not. For males specifically, the fear of appearing to be homosexual, being blamed for the sexual assault, fear of being subjected to hostile and negative treatment, and not being believed mitigates supporting a higher likelihood of not reporting (Gregory & Lees, 1999; Kassing, Beesley & Frey, 2005). A sample of college students reported in a study conducted by Sable, Danis, Mauzy & Gallanger (2006), found similar reasons for not reporting a sexual assault by males. In addition to the above, it was found that male victims were more likely to feel shame, guilt and embarrassment because of their inability to prevent the sexual assault from occurring (Kassing *et al.*, 2005; Sable *et al.*, 2006). This stereotype that a man should be strong and be able to defend himself was linked to the fear by male victims that their masculine self-identity would be questioned (Kassing *et al.*, 2005).

This fear and stigma associated with male sexual assaults has reduced the likelihood of males reporting the incident to the police, or seeking medical and counselling services (Gregory & Lees, 1999). Police and support services have been found to be unhelpful,

lacking the knowledge to effectively manage a male rape situation, and reinforcing stereotypes that are unhelpful to the recovery of the person that has been raped (Gregory & Lees, 1999). Similar issues, relating to non-reporting of men who have been sexually assaulted within the general community, have been discussed in the research of Kassing *et al.* (2005) and Sable *et al.* (2006).

Within prison, gang culture and dominant discourses about masculinity are important mediating factors that reduce the likelihood of reporting. Reporting is stigmatised and against the gang rules. Those who report the sexual violence are viewed as betraying the gang, and thus cannot be trusted. Those who do betray the gang are punished. Punishment can take the form of being beaten up or gang raped. An increase in sexual violence is expected as a result of betrayal. According to Booyens, *et al.* (2004), all the victim's consequences of reporting are negative and result in an increase in violence experienced by the person that reports. Masculinity prevents men from speaking out, because it is expected that men should fix and resolve their own problems, men should be able to fight back for self-protection, men should keep quiet if they have been hurt in any manner, and men should not act in any manner that could be perceived as gay, effeminate or weak (Booyens *et al.*, 2004). These myths are stereotypical expectations within society. These myths function to silence the victim by blaming the victim and hiding the problem of male on male rape within secure environments.

According to Ireland (2002, 2005), areas in which children are most at risk of being physically or sexually assaulted are within the cells/bedrooms, or the classrooms/educational blocks. The research by Ireland (2002, 2005), was conducted within a male youth offender institution. Ireland's (2002) research was conducted from a bullying framework. Bullying is understood to be a form of violence, however, it is considered less severe than the actual violence experienced by children within a confined environment.

### 2.13 EFFECTS OF MALE ON MALE RAPE

According to Pretorius and Hull (2005), "emotional responses exhibited can range from appearing calm and rational to expressing anger, depression and hysteria" (p. 3). Alternative reactions could be withdrawal and non-responsiveness. The manner in

which a person reacts to the trauma of male on male rape depends on the person's identity, culture and background (Pretorius & Hull, 2005). A number of psychological reactions have been described within the literature. Depression, post traumatic stress disorder, rape-trauma syndrome, suicidal ideation, eating disorders, physiological reactions (such as excessive sleeping and insomnia), substance abuse, and social isolation are common psychological experiences described within the literature (Davies & McCartney, 2003; Knowles, 1999; Pretorius & Hull, 2005; Roos & Katz, 2003; Singh, 2004; Walker *et al.*, 2005).

In addition to the psychological symptoms experienced by survivors of sexual violence there are physical consequences of sexual violence. Physical symptoms relate to contracting sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis B and so forth (Booyens *et al.*, 2004). These physical consequences of experiencing male on male rape are particularly devastating within prison because of the prolonged and continued sexual violence experienced (Gear, 2005, 2007). The physical consequences are of particular importance, because when those who are incarcerated complete their sentence, they return to their wives and families. Denial of being sexually assaulted is common however; the consequences for their wives and families are severe because of the high HIV/AIDS infection rate within prison (Pretorius & Hull, 2005; Singh, 2004).

Rapes were predominantly found to be about humiliation, control and power (Singh, 2004). The experience of the loss of manhood and masculinity was noted as one of the consequences of male on male rape. This loss of masculinity was related to a number of issues relating to sexuality, sexual identity and sexual dysfunctions (Pretorius & Hull, 2005; Roos & Katz, 2003; Singh, 2004). Victims were often confused about their sexual identity after the rape. This confusion results from the victim questioning if he had exacerbated the attack, and why he could not fight it off. These perceptions are related to masculinity and myths within society that a real man should be strong enough to fight off the attack, or that he must have sent out signals to the attacker (Singh, 2004). Rape is predominantly perceived to be sexually motivated, and thus the likely targets are perceived to be women. Men are portrayed and perceived to be the unlikely targets and are often not believed and additionally, blamed for the sexual assault (Singh, 2004). Victim-blame has been noted as a negative mediating factor, resulting in prolonged psychological trauma.

According to Ireland (2005), children that are victimised within secure centres have been found to experience poor psychological health and suffer from symptoms of depression, insomnia and anxiety. According to Ireland (2005), children were found to have increased suicidal ideation. In conclusion, it was found that poorer psychological health was related to all types of victimisation.

Studies that were utilised for the above discussion include research conducted within the general community and the prison setting. Consequences of male on male rape that are mentioned, were commonly reported in the literature. Pretorius and Hull (2005) mention that these experiences are dependent on identity, culture and background. The culture of a secure environment, such as the child and youth care centre and prison, is an important factor impacting how male on male rape is experienced.

In conclusion, pertinent information relating to the phenomenon of male on male rape has been discussed. Of note is the gendered nature of the phenomenon of male and male rape and how dominant discourses in society structure the way in which male on male rape is understood and perceived. These dominant discourses structure the manner in which children in the child and youth care centre understand and speak about the phenomenon of male on male rape.

Next will be discussed the manner in which the research was conducted.



## CHAPTER 3

### METHODOLOGY

#### 3.1 INTRODUCTION

The area of male on male rape is a relatively new one and has only recently been acknowledged as an issue of social importance (Graham, 2006; Jewkes, 2005). Previously, male on male rape was researched under the umbrella term of homosexual rape. Homosexual rape has been described by Graham (2006) as erroneous given the fact that this term places an unnecessary stigma on people that identify as homosexual, and presupposes that it is only homosexual men that commit the crime of rape. Within the context of prison, it has mainly been found that male on male rapes are committed by heterosexual men. Due to the distinction in the terminology, there has been an increase in research on male on male rape specifically. According to authors such as Graham (2006), and Pretorius and Hull (2005), articles addressing the issue of male on male rape have mainly been researched from a quantitative research perspective. The quantitative focus has mainly been utilised to bring attention to the phenomenon of male on male rape. Pretorius and Hull (2005) state that research concerning the phenomenon of male on male rape has gained momentum, however, in order to have a comprehensive understanding of male on male rape, more research is required. It was proposed by Pretorius and Hull (2005) that research on male on male rape should continue from both the qualitative and quantitative perspectives. Babbie and Mouton (2006) state that, it is important to note that “the selection of methods and their application are always dependent on the aims and objectives of the study; the nature of the phenomenon being investigated and the underlying theory, or expectations of the investigator” (p. 49). With this in mind, the qualitative research approach was found to be best suited to the research question, which was to explore the phenomenon of male on male rape and gain a deeper understanding of how children assigned meaning (how people understood, perceived and constructed discourses within their lives) and spoke of it within the context of the child and youth care centre. According to Mouton (2001), this chapter should document the design and methodology followed during the fieldwork, and this is what has been done.

In the following section will be a discussion about the research methodology employed.



## 3.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

According to Babbie and Mouton (2006), there are three metatheoretical paradigms within the social sciences namely: positivism, phenomenology/ interpretivism and Critical Theory. Associated with each paradigm, are the quantitative methodology, qualitative methodology and participatory action research. In this project, research was conducted from the phenomenological/ interpretivist paradigm because it is concurrent with the philosophical principles of the researcher. The phenomenology/ interpretivist paradigm emphasises that there is a significant difference between the social and natural sciences, and that the human mind and consciousness is understood to be of central importance (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). One of the main aims within a phenomenology/ interpretivist perspective is to understand and recognise that people are conscious, self directing, symbolic human beings (Babbie & Mouton, 2006).

In the following sections will be a discussion of the differences between the two main metatheories in conjunction with an explanation of the associated methodologies of quantitative and qualitative research.

### 3.2.1 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

Historically, the quantitative research method has been associated with the positivist metatheory (Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Positivism proposes that there is a similarity between the natural and social sciences and that the social sciences should follow the same methodologies as the natural sciences (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). It is further proposed by positivism that the concentration should be on the “direct, observable relations of continuity and correlation between phenomena” (Babbie & Mouton, 2006: 22). Babbie and Mouton (2006) state that the main aspect of positivist thinking is its emphasis on a “naturalist view of objectivity which emphasises the distance between the subject and object, and insists on a value-free approach to the object of study” (p. 44)

The quantitative research paradigm is, therefore, mainly concerned with the quantification of constructs, because it is believed that the best and only way of measuring the properties of phenomena is through quantitative measurement.

Quantitative measurement refers to numbers being assigned to the perceived qualities of things (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). Punch (1998) proposes that the main aim of quantitative research is explaining and predicting human behaviour. The main purpose of the quantitative research approach is on precise and controlled measurement and generalising from the sample to the population (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). The focus of the quantitative researcher is to isolate and control variables, to prevent external influences on the production of knowledge (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006).

The quantitative paradigm assumes a deductive stance. This means that when working from the quantitative framework it is important to know in advance what the key variables are, be able to identify methods of preventing data contamination and measuring these variables (Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Creswell, 2003). Due to the focus of quantitative research being on quantification and measurement this research approach was not suitable for gaining a deeper understanding of how male on male rape is understood and spoken about by children at the child and youth care centre. The following section will contain a description of the qualitative research methodology.

### 3.2.2 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Qualitative research has mainly been associated with the phenomenological/interpretivist metatheory (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). According to Seale (2001), the main difference between positivism and interpretivism is that interpretivism proposes that there is a major difference between the natural and social sciences. On the other hand, positivism proposed that there is no real difference. Interpretavists propose that this difference stems from understanding that “what primarily distinguishes human beings from organic and inorganic matter is that they act consciously and what they do has meaning for them” (Seale, 2001: 14). Due to this difference between the organic and inorganic matter, phenomena within the social sciences cannot be studied with the same methodologies as within the natural sciences. Within the interpretivist metatheory, the centrality of interpretation is foregrounded, because it is understood that humans are suspended in a web of culture that humans have created (Weber cited in Seale, 2001).

Due to this, the main purpose of the qualitative research approach is to explore and gain a deeper understanding about social phenomena (Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Punch, 1998; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). According to Willig (2001), the main focus of qualitative research is thus “around the construction and negotiation of meaning, and the quality and texture of experience” (p. 15). The qualitative research methodology has been described as ideal for the development of an emerging social issue (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Qualitative researchers take “people’s subjective experiences seriously” and recognise that people’s experiences are “real for them” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). The emphasis of a qualitative researcher is, thus, on studying human action from an insider perspective, and working inductively (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). The qualitative research paradigm is, therefore, considered best suited to achieve the aims and objectives of this research project, because it “facilitated the emergence of new and unanticipated, categories of meaning” (Willig, 2001: 15).

According to Silverman (2004), not all qualitative researchers agree on the central concepts of qualitative research. There are, however, central concepts that are accepted by most qualitative researchers. The concept of naturalism has been highlighted as important when conducting a qualitative research study. Naturalism refers to studying the social issue in its natural setting (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006; Willig, 2001). In addition to this, Babbie and Mouton (2006) state that naturalism refers to studying the social issue as it normally would unfold. This research study was conducted in the child and youth care centre which can be considered the ‘natural environment’, because the children are restricted to it by law. Conducting the research in this context facilitated a deeper understanding of the social issues related to male on male rape, and the impact that the context had on how male on male rape was constructed. The second aspect that all qualitative researchers agree upon is context. The context is understood to be “something without which no meaning or understanding is possible” (Jordaan & Jordaan, 2000: 38). Through the writing of Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), it is emphasised that in order to understand “the meaning of human creation, words, actions, and experiences”, it “can only be ascertained in relation to the context in which they occur” (p. 275). The context is critical when understanding the discourses which have influenced the understanding of the phenomenon of male on male rape. The third aspect all qualitative researchers agree upon, is that the researcher is the primary instrument. The qualitative researcher has the important function of getting close to the “research

subject”, and being “unbiased” (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). The relationship between the researcher and the participant is an interpretative and dynamic one, due to the process of interaction between the two.

Unlike quantitative research, qualitative researchers has for many years argued that research is not an unbiased, value free or neutral process (Babbie & Mouton, 2006, Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Qualitative researchers propose that subjects of interest, the manner in which the research is understood, the theories utilised to describe or explain phenomena and how research is carried out are all influenced by the beliefs of the researcher (Gergen, 1999; Lincoln & Guba, 1985 cited in Higgs, 2001). It is impossible to separate “value from inquiry” (Higgs, 2001: 46). However this insight facilitated the researcher to be aware and critical of these beliefs and reflect on it.

### 3.2.3 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH AND SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM

Higgs (2001), states that “qualitative research assumes that the world consists of multiple constructed realities” (p. 46). This rhetoric is emphasised within the interpretivist metatheory as “social reality is characterized by inter-subjectivity and common meanings” (Seale, 2001: 15). According to Burr (1995) and Gergen (1999), this is a central facet of social constructionism. Fundamental aspects that are shared by qualitative research and social constructionism, are that knowledge is shaped by multiple realities, and that knowledge is developed through the interaction between the researcher and those that participate in the research (Lincoln & Guba, 1985 cited in Higgs, 2001). Gergen (1999) states that knowledge is influenced by different historical and cultural periods. The manner in which the world is understood is dependent on when and where one lives in the world. This signifies that no one person will experience the world in exactly the same manner because each person has different experiences of the world and is influenced by various cultural practices (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999). The interaction between people facilitates the development of knowledge, and this is central to the social constructionist paradigm (Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Due to the similarity between the qualitative research methodology and social constructionism, it was understood that these methodologies can be utilised in conjunction.

### 3.2.4 SOCIAL CONSTRUCTIONISM AND THE INTERPRETIVE METATHEORY

According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), social constructionism is “qualitative, interpretive and concerned with meaning” (p. 278). Social constructionism is, however, epistemologically different from mainstream interpretivism. Mainstream interpretivism focuses on the “subjective understandings and experiences of individuals or groups” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 278). Social Constructionist research takes people’s subjective experiences seriously, but wants to understand how these experiences, perceptions and understandings are derived from and feed into larger discourses (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). The interpretive approach, according to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), is also referred to as romantic hermeneutics, and according to this approach people are treated as though they are the origin of their thoughts, feelings and experiences. Social constructionism referred to as critical hermeneutics according to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), however aims to “treat people as though their thoughts, feelings and experiences are products of systems of meaning that exist at a social level rather than at an individual level” (p. 278). According to Gergen (1999), people are born into a system of meaning known as language and thus these systems are present prior to our existence. These systems of meaning, therefore, exist at a social level and not an individual level.

The following section will be a description of the procedures followed in order to gain access to the child and youth care centre and the participants.

### 3.3 RESEARCH PROCEDURE

The Western Cape Education Department (WCED) was approached first. A formal proposal was submitted and accepted by the WCED. Once permission was obtained from the WCED, the manager of the child and youth care centre was approached for access to the participants. The child and youth care centre is mandated with complete responsibility for all the children within its care, because all children are below the age of 18. Due to the children being under the age of 18, the institution had to be approached for consent prior to the child being approached with an invitation to participate in the research study. The manager of the child and youth care provided

access and consent for the research project to be conducted within the centre. Once access to the children was obtained, a meeting was negotiated with the psychologist. The psychologist was provided with the research criteria for participant selection and the psychologist in turn, recommended a few names for consideration. In addition to the assistance of the psychologist, access was granted for the review of children's case files in order to approach children that were eligible to participate<sup>11</sup>. Once the list of names was compiled, children were approached and invited to participate in the research study. They were informed of the nature of the study, its aims, and their rights to anonymity, to withdraw at any given time, and confidentiality within the research study. Participant's permission for the audio recording of the interview was requested. Once participants agreed to the above, they were asked to sign an informed consent form and they were provided with all necessary information, in the event that they required additional services. Assent was obtained from participants, and the interviews were completed.

#### 3.4 PARTICIPANTS

The participants were males between the ages of 16 to 18 years of age. This age group was deemed important because they would have had adequate knowledge of what happens in the child and youth care centre. In total, thirteen participants took part in the study. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), a small number of participants is appropriate, because "a larger number of linguistic patterns are likely to emerge from a few people" (p. 161).

A purposive sampling method was utilised to select children that participated in the study. Purposive sampling is an appropriate form of selecting people to participate within a qualitative research framework (Babbie & Mouton, 2006). According to Babbie and Mouton (2006), purposive sampling is when a sample is selected based on the "knowledge of the population, its elements and the nature of the research aims" (p. 166). This sampling method was appropriate, because it facilitated the inclusion of children that are knowledgeable of male on male rape within the child and youth care centre. More than eight participants took part in the study, because only at this point

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<sup>11</sup> Please check section 3.4.1 & 3.4.2 in relation to the selection of children that fulfilled the selection criteria.

theoretical saturation occurred. Theoretical saturation is when no new categories of data emerge (Babbie & Mouton, 2006).

The child and youth care centre in which the research was conducted is a male only centre. It is acknowledged that female children do experience exploitation and sexual violence to a great degree. Due to the knowledge that sexual exploitation of males has historically been associated with secure environments such as prisons and thus child and youth care centres, it was decided that male children would be the focus of this study.

All participants that accepted to participate in this study identified within the “coloured” racial category. Participants of the “black” racial category were approached, but all declined to participate. Only participants that spoke English and Afrikaans were, therefore, interviewed. These participants were given the choice of the language which they felt most comfortable with. All interviews, except one, were conducted in Afrikaans because this was the predominant language of choice spoken by participants. Speaking to the participants in a language they felt comfortable with, facilitated building trust and establishing good rapport.

#### 3.4.1 CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

- Participants needed to be between the ages of 16 (inclusive) and 18 (inclusive)
- Participants needed to be eloquent in their language of choice
- Participant needed to have resided within the specific child and youth care centre for a minimum of six months

#### 3.4.2 RATIONALE FOR THE CRITERIA FOR SELECTION

The criteria utilised, functioned to separate children that could not participate, because of a lack of knowledge about the social issue, from children that had in-depth information, understood the social issue and could participate. Selecting participants that had been in the centre for longer than six months, assured that these participants had knowledge of what was actually occurring in the centre. Participants that had been in the formal prison system and were moved to the child and youth care centre, were of



particular importance to this research study, because of their knowledge about these contexts. Participants 11 and 12 were selected to participate due to their knowledge and ability to eloquently discuss the phenomenon. Additionally, these participants were sentenced to a number of different secure centres, and this has increased their knowledge on the phenomenon of male on male rape. With the exception of these participants, all other participants had been in this child and youth care centre for the stipulated period of time.

### 3.5 DATA COLLECTION METHOD

Data was collected through the use of interviews. Interviews were audio recorded, because it gave the researcher the flexibility to concentrate on the interview without being distracted with extensive note taking. A total of 22 interviews were conducted with the 13 participants. A few interviews are generally considered to be “adequate for investigating and practically important range of phenomena” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 161).

The qualitative methodological framework describes interviews to be the most commonly utilised method for qualitative data collection (Silverman, 2004). Interviews have been described as “a conversation between two people in which one person is the researcher’ (Arksey & Knight, 1999: 2). During the conversation, the researcher actively tries to understand the subjective understandings and experiences from the participant’s point of view (Kvale, 1996; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 278).

Developing a deeper understanding of how the person came to develop these beliefs is important in the qualitative research paradigm. The interview provides a platform from which dominant discourses, which had influenced the development of these understandings, can be understood (Silverman, 2001; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006).

According to Silverman (2001) and Kvale (1996), during the interview, participants do not only describe the discourses that they have been influenced by, they are actively part of constructing these discourses. The goal of the interview is to understand “how



the interview responses are produced” (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997 cited in Silverman, 2001: 97) and to understand the circumstances in which these meanings were produced (Holstein & Gubrium, 1997 cited in Silverman, 2001: 97).

During the interviews, participants were asked if they had heard of a male on male rape incident within the centre. This was described by Kvale (1996) and Parker (2005) as externalising the discourse, and to gain a deeper understanding of how it is constructed. This was a process utilised during the interview and assisted to highlight how participants constructed their understanding of male on male rape.

### 3.5.1 INTERVIEW GUIDE

According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), it is useful to have an interview guide. This aids and guides the interview and assures that similar questions are asked of all the participants, but allows for enough space for variation in the interview. The guide is not prescriptive and allows for the participant to “elaborate on their views in a naturalistic conversational exchange” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 165). This is an important aspect when conducting interviews from a qualitative perspective.

The interview guide<sup>12</sup> used for this research study included broad themes that were discussed during the interview. Interviews are believed to be a dynamic process. Thus there was no formal manner in which the themes needed to be discussed. As the conversation progressed, topics were broached.

### 3.6 DATA ANALYSIS

Audio recordings of the interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Notes were kept of the interviews, and these notes were useful during the phase of analysis. According to Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), and Potter and Wetherell (1987), the process of analysis does not exclusively occur at one specific point in time. Instead, it is a process that is interlinked to all other phases of the research process.

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<sup>12</sup> Please see appendices for the themes that were discussed during the interviews.

There are many different types of interpretive analysis, such as phenomenology, grounded theory and thematic content analysis (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). For the social constructionist, however, discourse analysis is one form of analysis that has been recommended (Terre Blanche *et al.*; Burr, 1995).

Discourse analysis and social constructionism share many core fundamentals, and these will be outlined as follows (Foster, 2006). These two approaches are concerned with “revealing the cultural materials from which particular utterances, texts, or events have been constructed” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 328), and interpreting and understanding how meaning is produced between people (Foster, 2006). In addition to how cultural materials are constructed, these approaches recognise that alternative versions of reality are undermined concurrently. Language is foregrounded by both the social constructionist and discourse analyst as important and that it should be studied in its own right (Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Burr, 1995; Foster, 2006; Gergen, 1999; Silverman, 2001; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Language is understood as constructing and producing a particular reality (Foster, 2006). Discourse analysis views language as being able to produce action and is therefore performative in nature because it produces social action (Foster, 2006). It is further understood that without shared language between people, there can be no meaning (Foster, 2006: 51), because it is only through the process of interaction and understanding that meaning is produced (Foster, 2006; Kiguwa, 2006).

“The assumption that we can treat accounts as true or false descriptions of reality” (Silverman, 2001: 179) is not supported by these approaches, because both are anti-realism (Silverman, 2001). This means that these approaches propose that all knowledge is viewed as relative, and thus there can be no one truth (Kiguwa, 2006). These approaches recognise the importance of understanding that knowledge is situated within a specific cultural and historical context (Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Burr, 1995; Gergen, 1999; Silverman, 2001; Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). During different historical periods, there were shared, commonly held conventions and customs, and these have changed as time progressed (Foster, 2006). Due to the similarities between these

approaches, discourse analysis is ideal when conducting a study from the social constructionist perspective.

An important concept presented by Potter and Wetherell (1987, 1995) and used in this research study was the concept of interpretive repertoires. Interpretive repertoires were utilised in this thesis as the primary framework for analysing the transcripts (Fouten, 2006).

Interpretive repertoires are very similar to discourses (Potter & Wetherell, 1995). The use of the term discourse, however, was found to encompass many shortcomings, and this led to the formation of the concept of interpretive repertoires. Interpretive repertoires refer to “broadly discernible clusters of terms, descriptions and figures of speech often assembled around metaphors or vivid images” (Potter & Wetherell, 1995: 89). Interpretive repertoires are considered to be a “way of understanding the *content* of discourse and how that content is organised” (Potter & Wetherell, 1995: 89). Of importance, when using the framework of interpretive repertoires, is that the focus is on “language use, what is achieved by that use, and the nature of the interpretive resources that allow for that achievement” (Potter & Wetherell, 1995: 89).

When doing a discourse analysis, there are no set criteria that need to be followed; it has been described as learning to ride a bicycle (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Instead, analysing text from a discourse analysis perspective requires “a way of reading that is made possible by our immersion in a particular culture, which provides us with a rich tapestry of ‘ways of speaking’ that we can recognise, ‘read’, and dialogue with” (Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006: 330). Potter and Wetherell (1987) state that in practice, the suggested stages are not clear sequential steps, but phases which merge together in an order which may vary considerably from the sequence proposed.

The analysis was done according to the guidelines proposed by Potter (2004b). This strand of discourse analysis has been informed by social psychology and sociology (Potter, 2004b). These guidelines were very similar to those proposed by Potter and Wetherell (1987, 1995) and were utilised during the analysis.

Potter (2004b) proposed the following steps, namely recording, transcribing, listening and reading, coding and analysis were the primary steps utilised when the analysis was completed. Interviews were audio-recorded with the permission of participants. These interviews were transcribed verbatim by the researcher. Following these processes, interviews were listened to and read through a number of times, in order to actively engage with the data. The need to engage with the data started with transcription and continued when interviews were read and listened to a number of times. These processes facilitated the gain of analytical insight to be gained (Potter, 2004b). The process of 'coding' follows the reading and listening process. Coding refers to the circular process of dividing the data into more manageable subsections also referred to as themes. These subsections of data are stored separately and aspects about the data that appear different and contradictory are noted. During the phase of coding subsections are inclusive of all aspects that could relate to it, because through the process of analysis, aspects that appeared mundane may be significant (Potter, 2004b).

Analysis is a phase that encompasses many subsections which have been referred to as variation, detail, rhetoric, accountability, and stake/interest (Potter & Wetherell, 1995; Potter, 2004b, Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). Variation was the first subcategory noted by Potter (2004b). Variation is understood to be between participants discourses, and it includes "differences in descriptions of objects, events, stylistic shifts, the choice of different words, and so on" (Potter, 2004b: 616). Variation assists to highlight "activities being performed by talk and texts". Detail is the second subcategory, and it refers to the researcher attending to "what is said and how it is said", because it assists in producing high quality analysis (Potter, 2004b: 616). Detail can be understood as how the discourses are constructed within participants talk. The third sub-category is known as rhetoric, which refers to the manner in which the discourse that is used is organised and how the argument is arranged to undermine other discourses. Accountability is the fourth subcategory and is related to rhetoric. It refers to the display of activities that are rational, sensible and justifiable, in order to make the argument more accountable. The fifth subcategory is referred to by Potter (2004b) and Silverman (2001) as attending to stake/ interest. Stake refers to what is to be gained or lost by participants' presentation of a particular discourse or position. Interest refers to how people attend to their own interest and that of others, through portraying

themselves as neutral. Through their talk they construct the neutrality position so that it can appear that they have no interest in the outcome of the argument.

According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), the two most important aspects during analysis are to search for patterns (inclusive of differences and consistency) and to attend to the functions and consequences of discourses presented by participants. These two phases were followed during the analysis of the data.

The following section will be a discussion of reflexivity.

### 3.7 REFLEXIVITY

When doing research from a qualitative paradigm, the researcher has an important function. The researcher does not only decide on what is being researched and how the research will be conducted, but has the intrinsic function of interpreting the information gained from the participant. This is important because within qualitative research it is noted that no research can be conducted from a value-free, or value-neutral position (Arksey & Knight, 1999; Babbie & Mouton, 2006; Willig, 2001). The researcher was cognisant of assumptions, beliefs and bias that could have influenced the research project. It is, however, noted that to a degree, assumptions by the researcher do influence the analysis. Self reflexivity was a process that was undertaken throughout the entire process this research study. The following section will be a description of all factors that influenced my perceptions and understanding of the data.

The first aspect of note is the fact that I have come from a similar area as many of the participants. I was privileged, however, given the fact that I had a tertiary education, was not from the same socio-economic group and had been protected and sheltered as a child. Having been privileged separated me from the lived worlds of the participants, but through empathy, rapport was improved. Empathy is stated by Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006) to be critical when doing qualitative research.

I constantly had to review my beliefs about aspects such as gangsterism, crime, substance abuse, domestic violence, and so forth, in order to minimise the influence of

my beliefs on this study. These psycho-social problems were a reality for many of the participants within the study.

Taking into consideration participants' personal safety and my own was paramount during this study, as a number of physically violent incidents had occurred between learners while at the centre. This issue was raised with centre management and the security staff. It was concluded that the incidents were not related to the research study. Safety issues were a serious problem given that, on one occasion, my personal belongings were stolen by children from the centre.

Being an outsider and female, looking in on a dominantly male institution, hindered and furthered this research study. Participants seemed eager to participate, due to the fact that I was a female not from the centre. Thus, the possibilities of participants wanting to appear favourable and gain attention from the researcher, were factors that were seriously considered. The gender factor posed a particular difficulty given the importance of non-maleficence to participants. Participants that appeared in need of protection were, therefore, not approached with a proposal to participate.

Gender was a major factor in this research study because sexual violence was used as a tool to oppress and abuse another human being. I am a strong proponent of women's rights and people's rights. It was these beliefs that facilitated the choice of research question. These beliefs facilitated my construction of the "victim" as abused, however, whether or not victims view their circumstances similarly needs to be reviewed within future research studies.

### 3.8 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The researcher upheld all ethical standards. Participants were informed prior to the research about the voluntary nature of participation, the aims and the scope of the research. The participants assent was requested. They were notified of their right to withdraw from the study at any time, and that no harm would come to them. In addition to this, they were informed that participating in the study had no bearing on their sentences at the centre. Confidentiality was ensured. No special circumstances arose in which a threat of self-harm, or harm of others occurred. Anonymity was guaranteed and

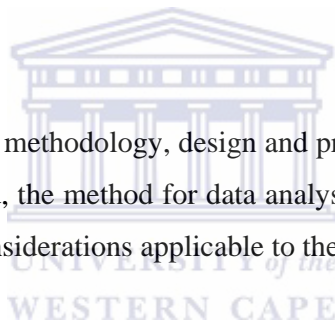
was upheld. Arrangements were made to ensure that psychological services were available to participants in the event that they experienced any psychological and emotional difficulties related to research participation.

The safety of the children was an especially important aspect within this research study. Interpersonal and intrapersonal violence was greatly impacted on by gang culture. Assuring participants` safety was raised with centre management and security. Security was increased, however, the personal safety of the participants depended on factors beyond the control of the researcher. The safety of children in government facilities is one of the reasons why research on violence in these secure care centres needs to be addressed more seriously.

### 3.9 CONCLUSION

This chapter discussed the methodology, design and procedures that were utilised. How participants were recruited, the method for data analysis and the rationale for decisions were provided. Ethical considerations applicable to the study were upheld.

The next chapter will encompass the findings and discussion section of the thesis.



**CHAPTER 4**  
**THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MALE ON MALE RAPE WITHIN A**  
**CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CENTRE**  
**INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

4.1 INTRODUCTION

Male on male rape is a problem that is socially constructed. This was evident when reflecting on how the discourses of violence, gender, heterosexuality and gang culture intersected and produced the perceptions of how children understand male on male rape. These discourses were consistently intertwined and portrayed in the constructions by children of male on male rape, therefore, there was no one discourse on its own to which male on male rape can be attributed. Participants' use of these discourses appeared contradictory at times. According to authors such as Potter (2004a), Potter and Wetherell (1987, 1995), and Terre Blanche *et al.* (2006), variance in and between discourses is an important and expected aspect when undertaking a discourse analysis. Variance provides a useful indication as to which discourses are being used and for which purpose. Participants talk is understood to be constructed from multiple discourses, and these discourses are understood to construct the meaning of their social world (Potter & Wetherell, 1987). Additionally these constructions are understood to have certain functions and produce certain effects when used by participants (Gergen, 1999).

This section describes the discourses utilised by participants to construct their understanding of male on male rape. The manner in which discourses are constructed, and how they function, will be discussed. Discourses are not only utilised by participants to construct male on male rape, but they restrict the types of constructions that can be produced.

The manner in which male on male rape is constructed, is dependent on the particular context in which it is produced and is historically and culturally specific (Burr, 1995). Children have developed an understanding of male on male rape through their interaction with diverse people within multiple contexts. It was evident that children were influenced by dominant discourse in the community context, the prison context



and by the child and youth care context. Within each domain were discourses and cultures that influenced the manner in which children understood and reacted to the phenomenon of male on male rape. The dominant discourses that influenced children's understanding of male on male rape are discussed.

The dominant discourses within the prison context were evident within the child and youth care context, and these were clearly represented within the literature (Gear, 2005, 2007; Southgate, 1997). The significance of this fact, is that “[the] numbers [of children] have grown to the extent that the daily average number of children awaiting trial in prisons around the country now exceeds 2500” (SALC, 2000: 57-58). Children are placed in prison, and have to adapt to the inmate culture until they are sentenced and moved to the child and youth care system. Dominant discourses, thus, transcend boundaries and thus impact negatively on how children understand the phenomenon of male on male rape.

Eigenberg (2000) recognised that male on male rape, in institutional settings, is not an isolated event. There are conceptual links and a number of parallels evident when viewing male on male rape in a secure confined environment and male on female rape in the community. Information produced in the areas of male on female rape and research on incarceration are, thus, consistently referred to in order to understand male on male rape in the child and youth care context.

According to Jewkes, Penn-Kekana and Rose-Junius (2005), “rape is often an act of punishment, used to demonstrate power... used as an instrument of communication with oneself “the rapist” about masculinity and powerfulness” (p. 1809). It is with this in mind, that the discussion of the relationship between male on male rape and violence will follow.

#### 4.2 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MALE ON MALE RAPE

The definition of violence, as presented by Bulhan (1985), states that violence is “any relation, process, or condition by which an individual or a group violates the physical, social, and/or psychological integrity of another person or group” (p. 135). In the child and youth care centre, children not only violate the psychological, social and physical integrity of other children, but these acts of violence are encouraged and accepted by

the children within the system, and by the system itself. Alternative modes of interaction are practiced, but violence dominants. Within this section, the entrenchment of violence in the lives of participants will be presented. Following this will be participants' utilisation of the violence discourse to describe male on male rape. Male on male rape will be discussed in relation to social constructionism and the theory of oppression, as presented by Bulhan (1985).

#### 4.2.1 VIOLENCE IN MULTIPLE CONTEXTS DISCOURSE

The most common discourse spoken about by participants was the discourse of violence, which was entrenched and taken for granted. According to Burr (1995) and Gergen (1999), it is these assumptions, that are taken for granted, that needs to be recognised in order for a more informed understanding of male on male rape to be gained. The aspects of male on male rape, that are taken for granted, is what has facilitated the lack of recognition, research and prevention. Violence was described as a means of interacting with others, and resolving conflict. According to Sim (1994), "violent behaviour is not abnormal but a normal legitimated part of the taken for granted" (p. 103) especially within institutions. Participants within the child and youth care centre spoke about violence as an entrenched aspect within their lives.

#### CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CONTEXT

- P3:1 die blok se krag juffrou. Switch hulle het die switch af gesit sien juffrou. Toe sit hy dit mos weer aan juffrou. Toe kom daai seun uitgehardloop en toe baklei hulle twee, sien juffrou.
- F okay maar nou was dit net oor die krag wat hulle baklei het?
- P3:1 ja juffrou.
- F het hulle en toe wat sê hulle toe vir mekaar?
- P3:1 hulle het mekaar net geslaan.
- F geslaan.
- P3:1 hy het net gekom en kom slaan sien juffrou. En toe slaan hy terug juffrou.
- F en toe is daar enige?
- P3:1 en toe agterna toe hulle hier buite kom to steek hy hom juffrou.

Participants described home environments that were marred by domestic violence and at times violence between parents and children.

#### FAMILY CONTEXT

- P5:1 hy en my ma hulle het baklei juffrou

The community in which participants were raised were marred by violence between gangs fighting over turf. Violence in the general community was as taken for granted as the private experiences of children within their homes.

#### COMMUNITY CONTEXT

P12:1 die mense hulle is {...} ek sal sê dit is 'n gangster plek van die town is net 'n klomp gangsters daar rond. Hulle rob baie die mense. Hulle skiet soema en hulle skiet soema die mense dood. Dan

The examples of participants' descriptions of violence within the individual, micro and macro contexts are evident. It is noted that at a social level, violence is embraced and encouraged in all aspects of children's lives. When a person commits a violent act the person is punished and the influence of the society is concealed (Bulhan, 1985; Scarce, 1997). According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), "Rape is influenced by factors operating at an individual level and at the level of the society ...rape [is] one manifestation of a very violent society" (p. 1238).

The unseen nature of the entrenchment of violence within society speaks to the structural aspect of violence as described by Bulhan (1985). Structural violence is inscribed in all established modes of social relations, institutions and all structures that govern our lives (Bulhan, 1985). Structural violence, and the culture of violence, intrinsic in the South African society, facilitates the confluence of violent behaviours. According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), "one of the consequences of state-sponsored violence of apartheid and colonialism (with armed resistance) is that physical violence has become for many a first line strategy to resolve conflict or gain ascendancy" (p. 1240).

#### 4.2.2 VIOLENCE FOR PROTECTION DISCOURSE

According to Harvey (2002) and Jewkes (2005), the reputation for aggressiveness and physical strength are imperative for those who are imprisoned. The ability to resort to violence was described by participants as an important aspect to prevent being raped.

and for survival within the centre. Those who were able to demonstrate violence were not subjected to violence and abuse.

P8:2 okay right hulle twee om so te is die een was sê ma nou ek sien daai man wil vir my rape né en ek weet ek kan vir hom moer (beat him up) dan sê ek hom hey ek gaan jou moer moenie sulke goete praat saam met my nie. Hoor jy.

P8:4 hy moet baklei oor sy ding

F um

P8:4 en dan sal hy dit nooit weer doen nie. Dan sal hy nie weer kom try by daai persoon nie

Participants stated that children within the centre who were unable to defend themselves and utilise violence were subjected to increased harassment, abuse and exploitation.

P11:1 dan sien hulle miskien jy issie so die enetjie wat gou kwaad raak nie en goetes dan try hulle jou aanmekeer uit.

F um

P11:1 miskien hy moet baklei

F um

P11:1 miskien try nie

The ability to resort to violence as a means of protection was found, by Gear (2005) and Jewkes (2005), to be an important aspect in order to be accepted within a secure institution and prevent sexual exploitation. According to the participants, children needed to actively demonstrate their propensity for violence, or suffered the consequences.

#### 4.2.3 PROGRESSIVE EXPLOITATION DISCOURSE

A process of progressive exploitation, whereby violence is systematically used by a child to instil fear into the victim and reduce the likelihood of fighting back, was described by participants. This process mainly occurred when a new child arrived at the centre, but was not restricted to new children. Participants stated that when someone new arrived within the centre that person is tested and is subjected to a number of violently exploitative acts.

P11:1 miskien jou bord word afgewat wat jy kry. Dan word jy rond geslat in die aand daar

- P11:1 wat okay hulle knou nou elke keer die laaitie af. Nou die laaitie raak bang vir hulle
- F er
- P11:1 nou as hulle hulle hand oplik dan keer daai laaitie.
- F ur
- P11:1 nou hulle wat net dan gee hulle die laaitie ‘n klomp soet goete en party het ek vir hulle kom sien in die balie. Die laaitie trek sy broek af. En goetes
- P1:1 Sê ma hy slat die laaities hy het vir almal die laaties slat dan raak die laaties mos bang vir hom.<sup>13</sup>[ ] Hulle stuur vir die laaities om dagga te gan koep, dan rob hulle die laaities. [ ] Hulle dreig die laaities. [ ] Hulle is ‘n klomp. Dan skop hulle en trap hulle jou.[ ] Of hulle slaan jou met ‘n slot. [ ] Hulle stiek jou met ‘n mes.

According to research conducted by Bartollas *et al.* (1974) and Ireland (2000), property and sexual exploitation was evident in institutions that housed children that come into conflict with the law. The progressive dehumanisation, as described by Bartollas *et al.* (1974), was described by participants in this research study. Violence is used as a tool to reduce the likelihood of the victim fighting back. The function of violence within this child and youth care centre is related to the achievement of power, privilege, scarce resources, individual status and peer group respect (Gear, 2005, 2007; Harvey, 2002; Jewkes, 2005). According to Bartollas *et al.* (1976), there are a number of stages that occur in the process of progressively dehumanising a child, which ultimately result in sexual violence and male on male rape.

#### 4.2.4 MULTIPLE PERPETRATORS DISCOURSE

The person that was sexually violated was additionally described by participants as open territory. Sexual relations are highly stigmatised and ostracised. According to participants, if a man has been raped he loses the right to fight back, because it is understood that he has already consented and cannot revoke the consent. The sexual violence perpetrated is considered an acceptable and justified behaviour against the person that was raped. Similar findings were reported by Robertson (2003).

- P3:2 juffrou hy het mos nou nie toestemming gegee nie sien juffrou. Die ou het dit net aan hom gedoen. Nou hoor die ander ouense dat hy het dit gedoen nou wil hulle almal dit doen sien juffrou.
- F um
- P3:2 nou kan hy nie meer stry nie sien juffrou.
- F um

<sup>13</sup> [ ] within the interviews means that a part of the interview was not included

P3:2 hoekom, hy moet ma net sy hol afgee sien juffrou. Nou doen hulle dit aanmekaar, aanmekaar so raak jy 'n vrou. Wasgoed was van die ouens sien juffrou. Sokkies was, sulke goed sien juffrou. Kos aandra en so.

Participants stated that if a man was sexually violated, whether consensually or not; the dissemination of this information would result in an increase in sexual violence experienced by the victim at the hands of many other perpetrators. Not only is the person that was sexually assaulted not considered to be a victim, but the sexual abuse and exploitation is justified as punishment and perceived as deserved by those that perpetrated the male rape (Gear, 2007; Robertson, 2003; Scarce, 1997). According to participants, if a male was sexually assaulted, he loses his identity and is understood to have to fulfil the same social roles associated with femininity.

#### 4.2.5 VIOLENCE AND POWER POSITIONS DISCOURSE

Participants that were described as being particularly violent and who raped other children were described as nekke, baase, ouens, and so forth. Participants stated that those children that raped other children wanted power and the associated privileges.

P1:1 They wanna be a {...} (stutter) wat wat you see?

F A wat?

P1:1 They wanna be {...} (stutter) a wat wat

F 'n wat wat? What is a wat wat?

P1:1 It's a nek

P1:1 Hy hou vir hom soes a baas.

F Hy wil soos 'n baas wees?

F Okay en as hoekom, of hoe sal dit werk as hy die baas is?

P1:1 Sê ma hy slat die laaties hy het vir almal die laaties slat dan raak die laaties mos bang vir hom.

P2:1 yes, you see I'm not one of them but okay they you see. They the new one's you see. If they come here they only want to hit the new ones you see. And it's not the new ones

Inherent with the position of being a “wat wat” or a “baas”, is the associated power and authority. Secure environments, such as the child and youth care centre, appear to mimic many cultural aspects that are practiced in the prison system. According to Gear (2005, 2007), there are people within the prison system who are bestowed with privileges and power based on their ability to demonstrate violence, gang affiliations and so forth, and are placed at the top of the hierarchy. Within the prison system, there

are a number of positions considered inferior, namely the “punks” or “voële” and “wyfies” (Gear, 2005, 2007; Harvey, 2002). Participants in this research study spoke of two positions, namely the “baas” and the “new one” or “laaitie” (small child). These positions are bound with power where the “baas” position has all the power over the “new one”. Participants did not utilise the same terms as described by Gear (2005, 2007) and Bartollas *et al.* (1976). Participants, however, used terminology and practices similar to those in the prison system, and described a similar hierarchical positioning system within the child and youth care system. Ruchkin, *et al.* (1998) state that casts, such as those discussed by Gear (2005, 2007) and Bartollas *et al.* (1976) are also valid for juvenile correctional institutions, but exist in a relatively milder form.

#### 4.2.6 ASSOCIATED MEANINGS OF MALE ON MALE RAPE

When participants were asked to describe what they thought male on male rape meant they used words such as bykom, afvat, steel, force, dreig, and so forth. Descriptions of male on male rape were dominantly situated within the discourse of violence.

P3:1 hy gaat stry hy gat slaan sien juffrou. Miskien soos hy wil vir my bykom sien juffrou. Ek gaan hom slaan sien juffrou. Ek gaan hom stry eerste hy moet my doodmaak sien juffrou. Dan moet hy ma 'n dooie mense bykom sien juffrou. Maar terwyl ek lewe sien juffrou gaat hy my nie bykom nie sien juffrou. Of hy moet my flou choke sien juffrou dan kan hy my bykom maar so ha ah juffrou.

P3:1 dan moet hulle my seermaak om my by te kom. Ek gaatie somme laat hulle some net so nie juffrou. So as hulle al is hulle vyftien juffrou, anderste maak ek een seer sien juffrou. Nou moet hulle vir my oek seermaak sien juffrou. Of hulle moet my flou slaan daai is al way hoe hulle my gaan bykom juffrou.

P12:1 as hy nie wil gee nie. Vat af daarom dink ek is verkragting juffrou.

P8:2 hy vat af okay right hy steel dan

Male on male rape was constructed by participants as a possession or object. Male on male rape is something that could be taken by force, threat and the use of violence. Participants stated that death was preferred to experiencing rape, and described the sexual assault as being severely violent. This construction of male on male rape as particularly violent, is prevalent, because conceiving that a man was sexually violated and that he did not fight back does not coincide with the dominant perception or construction of what it means to be a man. According to Graham (2006), constructing



male on male rape as violent achieves the status of a “real” rape compared to a rape that is not physically violent.

Participants constructed male on male rape as a behaviour that is wrong, unacceptable and what should not be practiced. The construction of rape as a practice that is wrong is indicated by the use of words such as stealing (steel), taking something from someone without their permission (vataf) and attacking someone with an intention to harm (bykom). This construction of male on male rape is in opposition to the dominant discourse of blaming the victim.

- P12:1 jy kan mos nie die laaitie wil force nie juffrou. Om seks te het met hom nie. Dit is verkeerd juffrou
- P1:3 ja dis rape ja. Hy hettie dan vir die man gevra vir die man (stutter) nie hy vat net mos.
- P12:1 as hy nie wil gee nie. Vat af daarom dink ek is verkragting juffrou.
- P8:2 hy vat af okay right hy steel dan
- P3:1 dan moet hulle my seermaak om my by te kom. Ek gaatie somme laat hulle somme net so nie juffrou. So as hulle al is hulle vyftien juffrou, anderste maak ek een seer sien juffrou. Nou moet hulle vir my oek seermaak sien juffrou. Of hulle moet my flou slaan daai is al way hoe hulle my gaan bykom juffrou.

WESTERN CAPE

Participants’ ability to utilise multiple discourses to construct the concept of male on male rape indicates that male on male rape is not a fixed entity, and thus, the way in which participants construct it can be altered to incorporate a more positive construction.

#### 4.2.7 BLAME THE VICTIM DISCOURSE

Rapes that are not violent were described by participants as something that the victim wanted or deserved. Words that indicated the use of the blame the victim discourse were “laat” and/or “give”. The use of these words before the word “bykom” and rape implied that the victim allowed the sexual assault. The blame the victim discourse was utilised by participants to shift responsibility, for the sexual assault and violence perpetrated, away from the person that committed the sexual assault onto the person that was sexually assaulted. The more positively associated meanings produced by participants were juxtaposed with the blame the victim discourse.

- P2:1 its his own fault man. If he's if he's gona let that people dinges with him it is his own fault.
- P3:2 van jy het vir jou laat rape sien juffrou. Anderste jy moet maar eerder vir jou flou maak (choke until you unconscious) of hulle moet jou doodmaak voor hulle vir jou kan bykom sien juffrou.
- P11:1 ek weetie wat doen die mense verkeert nie. Dat hulle sulke goet oorkom nie.  
 F nou as mense verkrag word dink jy dat hulle het iets gedoen om dit oor te kom  
 P11:1 ja hulle moet iets verkeerd gedoen het

Male on male rape was dominantly constructed within the blaming the victim discourse, compared to compassion for the victim. The discourse of blaming the victim has a long history and has been reported by male victims and female victims within the general community (Davies & McCartney, 2003). Associated with the blame the victim discourse, was participants' belief that the victim had to have done something wrong and deserved the sexual violation. What exactly the violated person did wrong was not explicit, but it has been linked to the manner in which masculinity has been constructed and understood by children within the child and youth care system.

#### 4.2.8 LEGAL DISCOURSE OF RAPE

Descriptions by participants of what constitutes a male on male rape illustrated a keen awareness of the legal discourse of rape. Knowledge about the legal discourse of rape influenced how participants constructed male on male rape

##### INTENTION

- P1:3 sê ma ek gaan vir jou. Dan wil jy mos nie ma ek maak jou miskien vas, en dan doen ek met jou wat ek wil gemaak het.

##### SEXUAL CONSENT

- P9:3 hulle vat mos af sonder om toestemming te gee nie

##### PENETRATION

- P1:4 sê ma (stutter) ek maak jou nou (stutter) vas nê en ek {.} en ek trek jou broek af (stutter) en ek (stutter) seks vir jou dan is daai (stutter) verkragting.

##### FORCE AND THREAT

- P1:1 Hulle {...} (stutter) dreig die laaities. Die laaities moet nou seks het met hulle. Sê ma nou die laaities {...} (stutter) hulle willie dit saam met hulle doen nie, dan choke hulle die laaities flou. Dan doen hulle dit met die laaities.

P8:2 as jy mos nou 'n geraas maak dan gaan hulle vir jou doodmaak selfde wat buite gebeur gebeur binne ook.

Participants portrayed an avid knowledge of the legal discourse of rape and its consequence. The legal discourse of rape has an important function of regulating people's behaviour and influencing their understanding of rape. The current definition of rape takes into account gender neutrality and does not discriminate against males {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}. It was apparent, however, that even though participants could understand the legal definition of male on male rape they were influenced, to a great degree, by the manner in which male on male rape is socially constructed within the child and youth care centre.

#### 4.2.9 SEXUAL CONSENT DISCOURSE

Participants were able to identify what sexual consent means. Sexual consent refers to the agreement to sexual activity, given freely and without any form of coercion {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}. When sexual consent is given, the person needs to be able to understand the full reality of their decision should not be incapacitated, for example, being asleep or under the influence of a substance that alters consciousness and the ability to reason. The person should be older than twelve years of age, should not be mentally disabled, and consent should be provided without deception, force, threat or any other form of coercion {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}.

Of significance for the sexual consent discourse, is that participants' spoke clearly of the prerequisite to ask permission before a sexual encounter could occur. Obtaining consent verbally is considered to be very important.

P1:3 ja dis rape ja. Hy hettie dan vir die man gevra vir die man (stutter) nie hy vat net mos.

P8:4 Rape is so man as ek afvat, is rape as ek jou dreig is rape, as ek vat sonder om toestemming is rape. Daar is mos 'n woord nee en ja mos man. Jy kan vra jy het 'n mond gekry jy het 'n tong gekry en so okay right

P9:1 miskien nou sê hy vra vir hom. Nou sê hy ja nou daai is daai is hy het toestemming klaar gegee. Nou as hulle vir hom vra moet hy sy mond hou. En hy moet sê nee ek willie. Nou sê hulle nee hy is klaar nou sy toestemming klaar so jy is nou hom vrou. Hy daai is die hele punt klaar. Hoekom as jy daai man

vanaand gee dan môreaand wil hy weer hé, môreaand weer en die next aand wil jy miskien nie. Nou net daar nou stiek hy jou miskien

According to Ehrich (2001), providing consent in a verbal and assertive manner is considered to a masculine gender-expectation. An active request was portrayed important when initiating sexual contact by participants. When consent was not obtained, participants clearly stated that this constituted rape. Participants further indicated that if the person refused, that this opinion should be respected.

P11:1 kan nie die laaitie force nie, nee bly nee

Participants emphasised the verbal aspect of gaining sexual consent. Participants were aware of what constituted rape legally, however, they portrayed confusion with regards to sexual consent. Situations described by participants where coercion was apparent were not viewed as male on male rape, but were understood as consensual sex. Cases of male on male rape that were described as violent, and accomplished through the direct use of force, threats, violence, progressive dehumanisation, fear, and so forth, were therefore not perceived as male on male rape cases. The sexual consent discourse coincides with the blame the victim discourse, because participants perceived that consensual sex is when the one person does not fight back, does not say anything, or protest in any visible way, and because there was no resistance the victim is blamed for the sexual violence experienced.

- P8:2 as hy miskien gesê het nee sien jy dan is dit nee. Ma as hy miskien sien of hy willie miskien praat nie
- F um
- P8:2 hy klim miskien af sien jy hy is miskien bang daai is afklim daai hy is bang nou gee hy dit soema
- F nou as 'n mense bang is en hy gee in nê en die ander man doen dit nou aan hom dink jy dit is rape
- P8:2 ha ah
- F hoekom is dit nie rape nie
- P8:2 want hy gee dit dan. Is mos jou eie gedagte man.
- F maar as hy nie ingee nie dan wat gaan gebeur met hom
- P8:2 okay right dan gaan die ouense okay right deesdae is die ouens mos so man hulle choke jou soema flou. Nou maak ekke laat jy wakker skrik. Nou kom jy hey ek is nat sien jy so.

Literature indicated that this confusion of consent is common in situations where the “victim” is forced, through the use of physical violence, to submit to the sexual act (Sagrin, 1976). The “victim” tries to reduce the physical trauma, which is expected in this situation, by not saying anything and not fighting back (Ehrich, 2001). If the victim

does not fight back and portray physically aggressive masculine signs this was understood by participants to be consensual sex. According to Graham (2006), the erroneous association between physical violence and rape is a major factor influencing the discourse of sexual consent. It is noted by Sagrin (1976), within a secure environment, the mere threat of violence was found to be sufficient to coerce the person being victimised to not protest or report the violence experienced.

#### 4.2.10 TRANSACTIONAL SEX DISCOURSE

Sexual consent should be obtained in situations where there is no deception (this will be discussed in relation to the gang culture as the chapter progresses) and where there is an equal distribution of power {Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007}. It was found that sex was used as currency by children within the child and youth care context. A great number of children that are convicted of crime are found to have many other factors that place them at risk. Factors such as poverty, domestic violence, gangsterism and unemployment are only a few of the issues that impact on the children. Many children sentenced to the child and youth care centre are impoverished, have few material belongings and are seldom visited and supported by the family. Factors such as these have been found to place children at particular risk of selling sex for cigarettes, sweets, and other material objects.

- P6:1 daar is net party van daardie laaities en die coloureds wat soes met twak en sulke goed staan  
F um  
P6:1 nou jy jy weetie wattie maar jy smaak vir rook sien jy juffrou  
F um  
P6:1 nou kom ek sal sê jy soek vir twak en die man wat die twak het soek vir jou agterwêreld  
F um  
P6:1 nou jy twyfel jy twyfel yes jy nou check jy nee dis maar net is ma net sieker is maar net ek weetie hoe dink hy nou nie sien juffrou maar dis maar sieker iets ek smaak nou net rook en klaar laat hom net die ding doen en klaar sien juffrou.

According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), transactional sex has been found among young females in South Africa. Transactional sex involves the female giving sex in return for presents and money which would not have been attained in any other situation. Transactional sex is considered a serious form of exploitation and coercion and places the female at risk of contracting sexually transmitted infections (STI) and

possibly Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) (Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002). Similarly, participants in this study bartered sex for items, and thus the sex is viewed as coercive and exploitative. In the child and youth care centre, sex is prohibited and thus there are no condoms. Therefore male children within the centre are at risk of contracting STI's and HIV/AIDS.

#### 4.2.11 DISCUSSION

In sum, the above section participants' descriptions of interpersonal violence have been provided. Interpersonal violence is understood as violence perpetrated by one person against another, not necessarily of equal stature. Bulhan (1985) states that interpersonal violence becomes more prevalent when people have internalised the violence perpetrated against them. The experience of violence by the oppressed is externalised against those closest to them. Within a secure environment such as the child and youth care centre, this violence is perpetrated by children against children perceived to be weak and inferior. Justifying this violence is common and has been demonstrated by the apartheid state. Violence has been an accepted and promoted aspect of the lives of children, which further oppresses them and does not facilitate improvement in their lives. The violence that is perpetrated by children against other children is of a more severe kind. The nature of the violence is sexual, and this form of violence is understood to be even more demeaning and oppressive than just physical violence, because it violates the physical, social and psychological integrity of the child that has been victimised.

Prior to 1994, violence against the people was common and revolting against this violence was understood as the only viable means of regaining a sense of dignity and achieving power. Few options are available in order to achieve this sense of dignity and power in the context of the child and youth care centre. Degrading and humiliating other children is accepted within the culture of secure environments such as the child and youth care centre.

The acceptance and perpetuation of violence by children within the child and youth care system is influenced by the specific cultural, historical and social circumstances faced by children. With few alternative modes to achieve a positive sense of dignity

and power, conforming to the dominant gangster culture appears lucrative and a way of achieving what has always been mysterious. Since 1994, violence is no longer an acceptable mode of fighting against oppression. Social inequalities such as poverty, unemployment and a number of other social problems do, however, influence the entrenchment of the discourse of violence.

Male on male rape is a particularly violent and dehumanising act. Within the literature, the concept of gender has consistently been referred to when discussing male on male rape. Gender has previously gone unrecognised, however, authors such as Gear (2005, 2007); Graham, (2006); Jewkes (2005); and others, have drawn attention to the importance of its consideration when trying to comprehend the phenomenon of male on male rape. A gendered understanding of male on male rape will be discussed within the following section.

#### 4.3 A GENDERED UNDERSTANDING OF POWER AND ITS RELATION TO MALE ON MALE RAPE

According to Gear (2005, 2007), sex and male on male rape is often conflated due to the associations between male on male rape, homosexuality and the confusion with sexual consent. In the following section, male on male rape will be discussed from a gendered perspective. Discourses of sexuality, power, dominance, heterosexuality and masculinity will be related to a gendered understanding of male on male rape in the child and youth care centre.

##### 4.3.1 A GENDERED DISCOURSE

Gender was mainly referred to in relation to physical and social differences between a man and a woman. Participants spoke of the physical anatomy that is different between men and women.

P1:2 By hulle hare by hulle onderdele van hulle ligaam, juffrou

P3:1 ek weet nie juffrou wat is daar verskillende nie juffrou. Is mos net 'n vrou het groter borste as 'n man sien juffrou. En sy is sagter as 'n man sien juffrou.



While discussing the physical differences between men and women, participants referred to social aspects that are dominantly constructed with each gendered category. Participants dominantly constructed women as being responsible for keeping the home clean, washing clothing, caring for the children, and so forth. Males, however, were constructed as being responsible for going to work, providing for the families financial needs, and so on. Participants described associated behaviours with each gendered category and portrayed these behaviours as normal and natural to each gendered category. The work of the woman was described by participants as being within the domain of the home.

P1:2 'n Vrou moet haar goeters maak in die huis en die huis {.} altyd skoonhou en kos maak .

F Ur

P1:2 {...} En sy moet die laaities se klere was en die man se klere, haar klere. Sy moet die huis altyd skoonhou. Daai is mos 'n vrou se werk, juffrou.

Descriptions of gender by participants are mainly constructed as there being a difference between men and women. Gender was, thus, constructed from the understanding that these differences between men and women are normal, natural and an aspect of nature. Perceiving of gender in this way is, according to West and Zimmerman (1991), a reflection how gender is dominantly socially constructed within a western society. Participants dominantly constructed men as powerful, providers, protectors, givers, and so forth, whereas they constructed women as inferior, weak, needy, to be taken care of, receivers, and so forth. Participants placed men outside of the domain of the home, whereas they placed women within the home and responsible for all domestic responsibilities. These constructions of gender, by participants, were in relation to relationships between men and women in the general community. These constructions have, however, been transformed and adapted in the child and youth care context, as will be discussed further in the chapter.

#### 4.3.2 HETEROSEXUAL DISCOURSE

Of interest in participants' construction of gender, was the omnipresent expectation that the only natural and normal union was between a man and a woman. Sexual relations between two men were considerably stigmatised. Heterosexuality was described, by participants, as the only acceptable way to express oneself sexually.

- P11:1 hoekom 'n man en 'n man kan nie seks het nie  
 F hoekom kan 'n man en 'n man nie seks het nie  
 P11:1 um hoe kan ek nou sê. Daai is mos nie dieselfde gevoel soos 'n vroumens nie.  
 F maar nou hoekom sê jy 'n man en 'n man kan nie seks het nie.  
 P11:1 hy um. Miskien as hulle gay is so iets maar nie op sulke plekke nie.  
 F so wat dink jy van 'n man en 'n man wat seks het  
 P11:1 hulle is gay en net by 'n ding wat geforce.

Participants stated that if two males were having sex, then those involved are considered gay or homosexual. Homosexuality is highly stigmatised and is related to the gendered position of femininity. Men are able to achieve masculinity by demonstrating what they are not, and therefore distancing themselves from practices that may be perceived as homosexual or feminine (Gear, 2007; Robertson, 2003; Sim, 1994).

#### 4.3.3 RELATIONSHIP DISCOURSE

Participants spoke of sexual relations among children in the centre as situated in a relationship between two people that have agreed to the sexual relationship.

- P8:2 okay right sulke dinge gebeur oek hier binne okay right. Maar 'n boy is mos slim man hy hou vir hom slim. Nou sê hy miskien ek maak maar 'n voorbeeld. Ek wat miskien vir (\*) 'n leerder sien en nou sien ek naai (\*) 'n leerder is nou lekker vet en wat wat hy sal die ding lekker gie vir my. Nou kom ek mos nou kom ek mos by hierdie leerder (\*). Ek sê (\*) vir die leerder kyk hier so en so nou sê hy hey kom seks my. Okay right daai issie rape nie.
- P8:2 want hy het gesê dit is all right hy het vir my die voorreg gegee
- P8:2 okay right dan doen ek dit maar dinge wat gebeur wat ek het nou die seks tussen ons twee. Daai verhouding hou ons vir onself daai verhouding sê ons vir niemand nie. Ons hou dit vir onself

The sexual act was described, by participants, as a privilege that is given, and that the relationship is a secret that should not be discussed with anybody. Participants utilised the relationship discourse when discussing sexual relations between children. The participant described one party as the intelligent boy who initiates the relationship and the other person as the gatekeeper who allows the other child the privilege of a sexual relationship. This positioning is similar to the dominant male requesting sex from the timid female partner. This construction depicts the manner in which females are stereotypically constructed. Situating sexual relations within the discourse of a relationship facilitates the continuation of a gendered understanding of an intimate

heterosexual relationship. The function of constructing sexual relations in this manner is to separate the homosexual connotation from the sexual act. This adaptation facilitates the continuation of a heterosexual gendered identity.

According to Gear (2005, 2007), similar descriptions of sexual relations among men in prison were evident. Sexual relations between men in prison are most commonly referred to as marriages (Gear, 2005, 2007) Marriages are understood as the only acceptable way of having sexual intercourse with another male and not being labelled homosexual. The utilisation of the relationship discourse as a marriage, facilitates the remoulding of sexual violence as more acceptable in the prison system.

Sexual relationships are kept a secret as a means of protection from being ostracised and being physically and/or sexually abused by fellow prisoners (Gear, 2007). It was unclear as to whether or not these sexual relationships that participants described were completely consensual. According to Hua-Fu (2005), due to the extended period of confinement it is possible that deeper more meaningful relationships could develop between those sharing the same space. Sexual violence and sexual consent are, however, conflated and it often goes unrecognised that the “victim” was violently coerced and forced to participate (Eigenberg, 2000; Gear, 2007). Homosexuality is counteracted by the abuser through the use and demonstration of violence.

#### 4.3.4 VIOLENCE IN HETEROSEXUAL RELATIONSHIPS DISCOURSE

Construction of gender was additionally linked to the expectation of violence within heterosexual relationships.

P1:2 Sê ma, hy het miskien ‘n vroumens, dan moet hy werk vir die vroumens. Hy moet haar nie slaan nie, want jy kry mos sulke (stutter) mansmense wat nou hulle vroumens slaan, sien juffrou. Dan moet jy self loop daar in die huis, {...} maar jy is ‘n pa vir jou kinders en jy is ‘n man. Jy gaan werk vir jou kinders, sien juffrou.

P3:1 soos ‘n man brul net een keer op haar gesig sien juffrou.

F wat is brul een keer?

P3:1 raas op haar kop sien juffrou

F okay

P3:1 dan doen sy wat die man sê sien juffrou. Miskien ek en juffrou het ‘n verhouding sien juffrou nou vra ek vir juffrou nou vra ek vir juffrou miskien, gee vir my ‘n veertig rand ek wil vir my bier koop. Dan is juffrou miskien

stram sien juffrou. Dan raas ek op juffrou se kop kyk hier moenie nog baie goed gaan nie sien juffrou. Amper soos ek gaan vir juffrou nou moer vir die geld.

Participants stated that violence was an expected aspect of relationships between men and women. Violence appears to be spoken about as something that is normal and taken for granted within heterosexual relationships. Similar findings of violence being taken for granted within heterosexual relationships, were found in the research by Tolman, Spencer, Rosen-Reynoso and Porce (2003). Tolman *et al.* (2003) further found that participants believed that verbal violence was more tolerated than physical violence, because it was considered a norm. Sexual violence was described as experienced by many women, according to Jewkes, *et al.* (2006) and Petersen, Bhana and McKay (2005), within the South African context. Participants within the current study, however, stated that they disapproved of the behaviour and believed that they thought it was wrong.

#### 4.3.5 GENDERED DIFFERENCE DISCOURSE OF INFERIORITY

In the child and youth care centre, participants described the perpetrator as strong, manly and respected, whereas participants described the victim as weak and unable to stand up and protect himself, and was called a “moffie”, which is derogatory and demeaning.

- P12:1 hulle sal miskien vir hom sê hy is ‘n moffie, of so iets juffrou.  
F um. En sê ma nou die leerder wat dit nou aan hom gedoen het. Wat sê mense van hom wat dit aan die ander ene gedoen het?  
P12:1 {.} hulle sal miskien vir hom sê hy is hy is kwaai of iets soos daai nou.
- P9:1 hoekom hy het dit mossie verwag nog nou dink hy terug maar hoekom het ek dit en dit en dit. Is amper so as jy ‘n sagter hart het. Dan sal hulle dit aan jou doen maar as jy nou ‘n hart het maar jy wys nog jy is ‘n ou. Dan sal hulle nie dit met jou doen nie. Daai is net vir mense wat sagte harte het. Wat hulle seks. Hulle kan sien jy kan nie staan vir jousef nie.
- P8:2 sien jy daai nou gat hulle jou nathou. Nou raak dit omtrent jy wat vir hom miskien geseks het. Jy dit het niks saam jou te doen nie.  
F ur  
P8:2 dit het met hom te doen  
F ur  
P8:2 jy jy is ‘n goegs jy is ‘n ou sien jy  
F jy is ‘n ou  
P8:2 jy is ‘n ou “n” en wat wat sien jy en wat wat jy laat maak vir jou ‘n vroumens en wat wat

Participants used terminology to construct the perpetrator as strong and manly. This is indicated by the use of the words “wat wat”, “kwaai”, “ou”. Whereas participants described the person that was assaulted as a “moffies”, “meisie”, “vrou”. A dichotomy of difference is created between the perpetrator and the person that was sexually assaulted. This dichotomy is descriptive of the manner in which participants constructed their understanding of gender within relationships. Similar referencing of the victim as inferior was described by Robertson (2003). Within the context of the prison, “victims” were described through the use of a gender hostile terms such as “pussy” (Robertson, 2003: 426). The separation described by participants, between the perpetrator and “victim”, is related to the process of othering.

#### 4.3.6 GENDER IN OPPOSITION DISCOURSE

Participants constructed these situated positions in opposition to each other. The perpetrator was constructed as strong, powerful and having a strong heart emulating a masculine disposition, whereas the sexually assaulted person was constructed as powerless, weak and having a soft heart emulating a feminine disposition. These gendered constructions are imperative for the perpetuation of sexual violence to be perpetuated within a single-sex confined environment. Women by their very nature, represent everything men are not. Because of the lack of women, men are forced to produce a hyper-masculinity in order to solidify and present themselves as “real men” (Graham, 2006; Robertson, 2003). According to Robertson (2003), sexualised aggression provides a means for achieving this ideal type of masculinity.

#### 4.3.7 GENDERED HIERARCHY DISCOURSE

In secure environments, a culture of violence was evident, as discussed earlier. This culture of violence resulted in the establishment of a hierarchy in the child and youth care centre. Those who were able to demonstrate violence, aggression and physical power were situated at the top of the hierarchy, whilst those who are weak, physically inferior and unable to fight back were situated at the bottom of the hierarchy (Bartollas, *et al.*, 1974; Gear, 2005, 2007; Ireland, 2000; Sim, 1994). This hierarchy is not only based on violence, but has been found to be based on dominant construction of

gendered differences (Gear, 2005, 2007; Sivakumaran, 2005). A gendered hierarchy is described by participants where the masculine perpetrator is placed at the top while the emasculated, feminine victim is placed at the bottom. A similar finding was described in the writing of Robertson (2003), where the perpetrator and victim are assigned “socially constructed hierarchical gender roles” (p. 425) where the “assailant becomes the “pitcher, a respected masculine role” (p. 425), and the “victim assumes one of several female, catcher” roles” (p. 425). According to Butler (1990), within society a hierarchy exists referred to as a heterosexual matrix, and it is based on gendered categories. The male has authority, power and dominance over the female, and these gendered positions exist in opposition to each other. Within this male only institution those who are less powerful and violent are forced to play the role that is assigned to women in the outside world (Scarce, 1997). According to Gear (2005, 2007), the “victim”<sup>14</sup> is tricked into fulfilling the role of the woman. A process of emasculation and progressive exploitation facilitates that the “victim” is forced to accept this inferior position (Bartollas *et al.*, 1976). Within the child and youth care centre, participants placed the perpetrator and “victim” into two separate genders and this is related to compulsory heterosexuality. Participants describe the person that was sexually assaulted as being female, and thus the “victim” is relegated to an inferior position.

According to Butler (1990), the heterosexual matrix does not only prescribe distinctly different sexes of male and female, but it prescribes sexual relations between the man and the woman. Within heterosexual relationships, the male is constructed as being the inserter while the female is inserted. Participants described similar associations in their understanding of sexual violence.

P7:1 nou hy wil dit in ‘n gat indruk hy willie meer skommel nie sien Fatima

P8:2 okay right daai is mossie ‘n vroumens nie dis ‘n mansmens. Hy dra ‘n ding net soos jy. Hy hettie ‘n vroumens se ding nie. Okay right nou gebruik sy agter dingese maar nou. Okay right ‘n agterding is mos so besluit Fatima Fatima sal mos nou betere verstaan. ‘n agterman se dingese kom mos net so uit soos ‘n toet (vagina) gaatjie.

Participants constructed male on male rape as occurring between a man and a “woman”<sup>15</sup> whereby the man inserts while the “woman” is inserted. Participants stated that the perpetrator used the anus of the “victim” in the same manner as a vagina,

<sup>14</sup> Writers own emphasis. The term victim is used in this manner to indicate that it is not all men that has been sexually abused that view themselves as victims. Denial of the experience is a salient factor among men that have been sexually violated.

<sup>15</sup> The term woman is used because within the system the emasculated man is understood as being a female.

because the two are considered similar. Participants, therefore, constructed the sexual violation within a heterosexual discourse. This construction of heterosexual sex is embedded in the understanding that a man cannot be penetrated, and this is based on the dominant construction of masculinity as dominant and powerful. According to Graham (2006), men are generally constructed as the aggressor, and thus are not considered to be victims of sexual violence. The male body is additionally constructed within a masculinity discourse as being impenetrable because men are not perceived to be sexually vulnerable. Constructing the sexual violation in this manner facilitates to hide the suffering of the person that has been violated.

#### 4.3.8 MYTH DISCOURSE

In the prison system, sexual assault is referred to as turning out and it is believed that the person that was sexually assaulted loses his authority and ability to identify himself as a man (Gear, 2007; Robertson, 2003; Ruchkin *et al.*, 1998). This belief has been linked to the perception that a real man should be able to defend himself against sexual violence. In the prison system, it is believed that because the person that was sexually assaulted was not able to defend against penetration, he deserves being subjected to further abuse, exploitation and social isolation (Gear, 2007; Robertson, 2003; Ruchkin *et al.*, 1998). According to Robertson (2003), the news that a man has been emasculated and penetrated, serves as a calling card to all other predators and as a result “the raped inmate is likely to be raped repeatedly by his original assailant and others” (p. 426).

#### 4.3.9 SEX DRIVE DISCOURSE

According to literature, the person that perpetrates the sexual assault identifies himself as heterosexual, and the sexual assault is understood as the ultimate demonstration of his dominant heterosexual masculine self (Gear, 2007; Singh, 2004; Sivakumaran, 2005). Participants stated that children sexually assaulted other children for two reasons, either the perpetrator was gay or couldn't control his sexual urges. This perception is linked to the belief that men need sex and will resort to sexual violence in order to satisfy this need.

P2:1 if he can't get a girl you see then something just can come up. Look here I can sex someone now you see. Then you just do it. Rape someone you see.



P11:1 hy moet gay is. Of hy kan nie meer sy gevoelens inhou nie.  
F ur  
P11:1 miskien hy is lank binne. Dan kan hy dit nie meer inhou nie.  
F en dan  
P11:1 en dan ... gaan hy vir hom 'n man kry om te seks

Participants stated that, because of the prolonged period of being restricted within the centre, the only way to manage their sexual urges is to have sex with a man. This description by participants situated the perpetrator as heterosexual and justifies the sexual violence as a behaviour that could not be controlled. The above description is derived from the sex drive discourse (Hollway, 1998 cited in Terre Blanche *et al.*, 2006). The male sex drive discourse is used to construct the masculine heterosexual perpetrator as not being in control and, therefore, not accountable for his actions. As has been described, the emasculated other is understood as female and thus is imbued with sexual powers. The perpetrator cannot control his sexual urges, because it is based on the belief that the sexual urges are natural and normal. Participants stated that the person that was sexually assaulted has the sexual power and should have kept the masculine man at bay. The sex drive discourse is thus used to further blame the victim for the sexual assault and abdicate the perpetrator of responsibility. The sex drive discourse furthers the understanding of the perpetrator as heterosexual, thus not gay.

#### 4.3.10 DISCUSSION

The manner in which participants describe gender, the process of othering and blaming the victim, lends to the understanding that the world and life are divided into either/or categories. According to the concept of Manichean Psychology (Bulhan, 1985), the world is divided into different compartments. Each compartment functions in opposition but in tandem with the other. Thus the one cannot function without the other. Positioning the man as powerful necessitates the opposite positioning of the woman as weak. The separation of categories and the oppositional representations of good and evil are necessary in order to sustain oppression. The concepts of gender, the process of othering and blaming the victim, all function to oppress what is considered weak, inferior and different, within this system. These categories of gender, the process of othering and blaming the victim, are intrinsic discourses within the lives of many of the children. These categories further serve to justify the hurt, pain and violence inflicted on the other, because the other is considered not the same as the self.

According to Fanon (Bulhan, 1985), dividing people into categories and depicting them as different to the self, facilitates an even greater degree and intensity of violence, and without Manichean Psychology it is difficult to abuse and murder, or sexually violate another person. It is this compartmentalisation and separation of the self from the victim that facilitates the recurrence and justification of sexual violence.

Producing alternative discourses in opposition to these dominant constructions, is difficult but evident within the descriptions provided of masculinity. This concept of oppositionally related compartments is utilised in relation to gender and masculinity throughout this chapter.

Authors such as Gear (2005, 2007), Scarce (1997), Sim (1994), Sivakumaran (2005), and many other scholars, have described a similar occurrence of a heterosexual gendered hierarchy based on violence and the process of othering. The process of othering, described by participants, functions to separate the participants' self from the "victim", and justify the sexual assault and blame the victim. Descriptions by participants indicate that a hierarchy is evident within the child and youth care system, and that this hierarchy is similar to those described in the literature on prison sub-cultures. According to Robertson (2003), "these roles and their hierarchical rank originate in several value systems influencing inmates" (p. 426), and one such system is that of masculinity. Participants' understanding of masculinity and its relationship to male on male rape will be discussed as follows.

#### 4.3.11 MASCULINITY DISCOURSE

In the literature, masculinity has been foregrounded as important in relation to understanding the continued perpetuation of male on male rape (Graham, 2006; Hua-Fu, 2005; Knowles, 1999; Pretorius & Hull, 2005). Male on male rape is understood to be motivated by violence, control, a need to overpower, degrade, humiliate, and is not caused by sexual desire or sexual orientation (Scarce, 1997; Singh, 2005; Walker *et al.*, 2005). According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), rape is one manifestation of a very violent society. Masculinity has a major impact on the understanding and perpetuation of male on male rape. It should be noted, however, that the use of violence is only one route to achieving a sense of masculinity (Anderson, 2008; Jewkes & Abrahams, 2002).

According to Messerschmidt (1993) cited in Anderson (2008), the demonstration of violence, or the capacity to be violent does not automatically translate into achieving masculinity. Many men under certain conditions perceive violence as the only “available technique of expressing and validating masculinity” (Anderson, 2008: 141).

#### 4.3.11.1 GENDER QUALITIES OF A REAL MAN

According to participants, masculinity is mainly achieved when a man is able to demonstrate masculine traits such as strength, dominance, fearlessness, power, authority, and so forth. These masculine traits were demonstrated through the ability to fight, stand up against physical and mental hardship/pain, and in so doing, demonstrate and protect ‘a’ masculine identity. Having the physical strength and ability to protect oneself and the strength to fight, was indicated as important because according to participants, if a man cannot do this it signifies his inability to be a man. Not only is it important for a man to protect and stand up for himself, it also illustrates his ability to stand up and protect his wife/partner/gang. Demonstrating physical strength and violence is imperative for the achievement of a masculine identity, and this is associated with the belief that real men do not run, they stay behind to fight and win.

P3:1 miskien soes ek en hy . Miskien ek en hy baklei nou juffrou.

F uh

P3:1 nou kan ek nie staan nie juffrou nou hardloop ek weg na die sekuriteit toe sien juffrou. Nou daai is nie ‘n man nie juffrou hy gaan pimp by die boere sien juffrou. Nou hier werk dit so as jy kan staan vir jou vrou en jy kan terug baklei sien juffrou, dan is jy ‘n man juffrou. En as jy die werk kan doen wat ‘n man kan doen sien juffrou, dan kan ons nou sê jy is die man sien juffrou.

According to participants, therefore, it is important to stand up for oneself and not be viewed as weak or in any way unmanly or unmasculine.

Participants constructed the achievement of masculinity as the ability to withstand pain and punishment, and the acceptance of blame even when innocent. Demonstration of endurance is an important quality and means that this male can be trusted and will not report transgressions to the authorities.

P3:2 ‘n man is ‘n man as hy die punish kan vat ‘n man vat juffrou wat kan staan vir sy duties en so.

P11:2 hoe kan ek sê ek moetie vir hulle piemp nie, maak my hart sterk ek moet die blame op my wat. Daais hoekom daar waar ek gaan ek moetie laat hulle vir my vir 'n joke of so vat nie. Hoe kan ek kan terug baklei of so iets. Hoekom die centres is baie rof hier. Hoekom hulle was al mos tronk in en tronk uit. Hulle sê ek moet my hart sterk maak. Ek moenie laat hulle vir my vir 'n joke vat en sulke goed nie

Participants also constructed masculinity as having a strong heart, and thus a man must not be weak. A strong heart was described by participants as the ability to stare death in the face and not run. This quality was considered manly and was related to gang practices.

According to participants, the ability to demonstrate intelligence was crucial. Intelligence here refers to the ability not to get caught by the police and end up in jail.

P7:1 as 'n man dom is gaan hy in die tronk beland 'n man is 'n man as hy buite bly

Intelligence is considered to be an important aspect when demonstrating a masculine identity. Research conducted by Gear and Ngubeni (2002) found that not being street smart (possessing intelligence) and not demonstrating violence, was understood as feminine qualities, and this predisposed a male to increased violence within the prison system. Demonstrating violence is a way of proving and claiming the right to a masculine identity.

Participants stated that a man must take responsibility for what he has done; he must not run away or look for help. This quality is related to the ability to fight and demonstrate strength. This is preferred, because a man should be able to stand up for himself. These were described as important by participants.

P12:1 {...} jy moet kan staan vir die goed wat jy doen en. As jy 'n man wil wees. Dan moet jy gaan staan vir die goed wat jy

P4:1 om 'n man te wees  
F um

P4:1 jy moet hoe kan ek sê jy moet jousef kan verdedig juffrou en as jy baklei  
F um

P4:1 dan moet jy nie nog na die na die menere hardloop nie  
F um

P4:1 jy moet staan vir jou ding. Daar kom baie hier en doen jou ding

The achievement of a masculine identity is associated with experiencing a great deal of pain, punishment and violence. Within a secure environment, there are not many

mechanisms available for children to achieve a masculine gendered identity. Opportunities are restricted by the dominant culture of violence and gangsterism evident in secure institutions. In addition to these social restrictions, many of the children have a very low level of numeracy and literacy intelligence, and thus opportunities stemming from these avenues, are restricted. Poverty and other psychosocial problems in the community further restrict opportunities for children once they leave this secure child and youth care centre. Violence is one of the few mechanisms available to achieve a semblance of a masculine identity (Anderson, 2008).

Participants consistently endorsed stereotypical perceptions, also referred to as myths and discourses, when describing a masculine gendered identity. One such discourse described by participants is that ‘boys do not cry’. ‘Not crying’ was considered to be important to demonstrate a masculine identity, because crying is associated with the qualities demonstrated during childhood, and with that of women. Participants stated that if a person does adult things, adult responsibilities should be expected and accepted. Demonstrating a masculine identity was proving that he was not weak, feminine or homosexual.



- P4:1 as ek buite kom, want jy kan mossie so vir daai goed gaan huil nie.  
F um  
P4:1 jy’s mos al ‘n groot man. Toe sê ek vir hom dit baatie meneer gaan vir my so aan oor snoepie aanmekaar nie. Meneer kan dit somma eet oek.
- P13:1 net om myself te bewys  
F vir wie wou jy jouself bewys het?  
P13:1 vir niemand. Ek kan mossie ‘n moffie wil wees op die skool nie man. Naai.

Participants prominently constructed masculinity as being achieved through the demonstration of violence, power, dominance and the ability to not be viewed as “other”, referring to the not being perceived as a child/female/homosexual. The separation of the self from the positions of child and female is important to the successful demonstration of masculinity. These “other” positions were associated with inferiority, being perceived as weak and not being able to defend and protect oneself, and therefore in need of protection.

Participants dichotomised the gendered positions between singular identities of masculinity and femininity. They portrayed that men are everything women are not, and this was crucial in order to achieve a heterosexual masculine identity. Being viewed as “other” or “different”, meaning weak, was highly ostracised and, disproving this was crucial to participants. The use of the term “moffie” is used to ostracise behaviour that does not coincide with this culturally acceptable manner of depicting a masculine identity (Ratele, Johnson, Shoveller, Chan, Martindale, Schilder, Botnick & Hogg, 2007). The term is used by males to monitor and keep other males on the straight and narrow path of a culturally specific form of hegemonic masculinity (Ratele et al., 2007). The use of the term “moffie” facilitates the self regulatory process, as discussed by West and Zimmerman (1991).

According to Scarce (1997), within an all male environments, violence is often fostered and encouraged, because it facilitates an achieved sense of dominant status and is understood as part of the rite of passage. According to Jewkes *et al.* (2006), men in South Africa utilise violence to achieve a sense of power and fulfilment, and demonstrate their achievement of ‘a’ masculine gendered identity to their peers.

Dominant constructions of masculinity were associated with the utilisation of stereotypical discourses, which portray men as strong, invincible, and heterosexual, and protectors of women. Males who were not able to demonstrate these qualities were not considered men, and this was supported in the literature. Men in prison, who were unable to demonstrate violence and fighting abilities were relegated to the gendered position of femininity and are thought of as non-male (Gear, 2005; Sim, 1994; Sivakumaran, 2005).

Participants constructed a singular masculine identity that coincided with the cultural and historical contexts of the child and youth care centre and with discourses dominantly constructed within the broader society. A hegemonic form of masculinity was constructed by participants, and this hegemonic identity was used to dominate other forms of masculinity. According to Connell (1995) and Morrell (2001), masculinity is not only an institution that facilitated dominance over women, it dominates over alternative forms of masculinity as well.

#### 4.3.11.2 ALTERNATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS OF MASCULINITY

##### A MAN OF GOD

As an alternative to the dominant construction of masculinity, participants stated that a man should give his heart to God, and that sometimes men do not do the right thing.

- P3:2 Die eintlike waarheid lê by God juffrou  
F um  
P3:2 daar lê die waarheid sien juffrou  
F kan jy enige iets word  
P3:2 nie in die tronk nie ha ah daar kan jy net 'n lug kry nie sien juffrou  
F wat bedoel jy by jy kan 'n lug kry nie?  
P3:2 'n lug juffrou is amper soos in daar hulle sallie nog soos in opkyk na jou toe nie sien juffrou. Maar nou is jy 'n pastoor daar is veelende kerksusters brothers sien juffrou wat opkyk na jou toe hulle sien jy het jou liewe gechange sien juffrou  
F um  
P3:2 nou nou hoekom ek sê dit is 'n niks sien juffrou. Hulle kyk op na jou man hulle gie vir jou alles, hulle doen alles vir jou juffrou. Nou is jy 'n bende sien juffrou, nee jy is 'n boytjie vir die res van jou liewe sien juffrou. Ander man maak maar nou is jy 'n kerkbra, jy kan mos self daai maak man. Met die brood van God sien juffrou maar met die bendenommers sal jy nie uitkom nie sien juffrou. jy sal maar net bly daardie tyd met daai stukkie nommer wat jy het sien juffrou. Ek kan uit die land uitgaan met die woord van God sien juffrou.

Participants stated that one of the ways of achieving respect and a positive masculinity is when a man gives his heart to God and becomes a pastor. Becoming a pastor of a church was constructed as a positive and respected position associated with privileges not achieved through the association with a gang.

##### SPORTSMAN

Being a good sportsperson was a further demonstration of being a masculine person according to participants.

- P3:1 hy moet'n seun wees van God.  
F um  
P3:1 en hy moet 'n goeie sportsman wees

##### CARING AND LOVE

Participants stated that a real man should care, love and provide for his family.

- P12:1 {...}jy moet kan omgee vir die mense wat jy liefhet.  
P13:1 'n man is eintlik iemand wat eerste moet gaan werk.  
F ur



P13:1 en daai goed. Vir sy kinders moet sorg eendag. Ja, en 'n man moetie baklei nie en sulke goete en steel ook nie. En ja 'n man is een wat gee om vir sy familie e

#### 4.3.12 DISCUSSION

The hegemonic form of masculinity has generally been understood as privileged, heterosexual and white, including a demonstration of strength, power and ability. The demonstration of love, tenderness and emotion is considered foreign and generally divergent from the dominant construction of a westernised hegemonic masculinity. Participants also described alternative forms of masculinity associated with caring, love, belief in a higher power and sport. These alternative forms of masculinity, however, remain associated with the hegemonic form of masculinity. Masculinity remains attached to the understanding that males preside over females, and that men need to protect, provide and be powerful.

The ability to achieve alternative forms of masculinity is minimal because all men cannot become the pastor or be the winners in any particular sport. According to McMullen (1990), it is these expectations of being the leader, provider or sports star that bait many male children for failure. These privileged positions are few, and thus alternative positive avenues to achieve a healthy masculinity need to be created for children within these types of institutions.

McMullen (1990) further states that violence is considered a legitimate aspect of masculinity. The survival of the fittest and dog-eat-dog concepts are enshrined in male-dominated institutions, according to McMullen (1990). The associations between masculinity, power and authority are seldom questioned, and achieving the dominant ascribed form of masculinity is all that counts. Due to these constructions, the “abuser of power (the rapist), in other words, deludes himself that he is so very powerful and concludes that other males would acknowledge this” (McMullen, 1990: 29).

The following section discusses the intersection between gang culture and masculinity.

#### 4.4 THE DISCOURSE OF GANG CULTURE AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON MALE ON MALE RAPE

The gang culture discourse is intrinsic to the context of the child and youth care system. The gang culture discourse has pre-dominantly been discussed within the context of prison (Gear, 2005, 2007; Ireland, 2000; Jewkes, 2005; Sivakumaran, 2005). In prison,

gang organisations have been referred to as the numbers gangs. Participants spoke about the 26 gang, the 27 gang and the 28 gang<sup>16</sup>. These gang structures were spoken about with admiration and pride. Participants demonstrated an avid knowledge of gang structures, rules and procedures. According to participants, the reason why children know a great deal about gangs is because the knowledge has been transferred from the prison to the child and youth care centre. The transference of information occurred because previously children were sent to prison and from prison, to the child and youth care centre. There are not many children currently in the centre with knowledge about the gangs, because according to the Child Justice Bill (B49, 2002), children should, as far as possible, not be sent to prison. The ideal is that children are not sent to prison, however, there are a few children with knowledge about gang culture that have been causing a great deal of trouble.

P1:1 Daai kom vanuit die tronk uit hiernatoe, juffrou. Miskien juffrou, ma hierso juffrou, hier is 'n paar laaities hierso wat van Poolsmoor afkom. Ma dan kom maak hulle nou da is 28 en so, sien juffrou?

P4:1 hier is maar nie baie van hulle hier nie  
F nou hoe kry hulle nommers hier binne

P4:1 hulle kom mos van die tronk af juffrou dan kom hulle met daai hientoe  
F um

P4:1 dan wil hulle by jou weet. Jy wattie ken nie kan hom nie beantwoord nie jy word sommer geklap.

Each gang is affiliated with a different role within the prison system (Gear, 2005; Steinberg, 2004). Important about the number gang 28, is its involvement with the organisation of “catamites, or *wyfies* as they are known, for sex” (Gear, 2005: 90). Sexual relationships are forbidden by formal gang codes, but the organisation of sexual favours and relationships continues (Gear, 2005; Steinberg, 2004). Within the child and youth care system, the gang culture discourse is evident. Participants stated that children in the centre mainly wanted to be affiliated with the 28 gang. In comparison to the 26 and 27 gangs, the 28 gang is easier to gain entry into. and this could be a factor

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<sup>16</sup> According to Gear and Nggubeni (2002) and Steinberg (2004) there are six main number gangs namely the Airforce 23 and Airforce 24 who’s objective it is to escape from prison, the Big 5 who’s objective is to collaborate with prison authorities, the 26 gang who’s objective it is to procure money and goods, the 27 gang who’s objective is associated with blood and assault and the 28 gang who’s objective is to organise catamites or “wifies”. All 6 gangs originated within the prison system however the oldest are the 26 and 28 gangs. These two gangs originated more than 100 years ago according to Gear and Nggubeni (2002). Although there are six number gangs the 26, 27 and 28 gangs will only be explored because these were the only ones spoken about within the interviews.

influencing why it is preferred. The 28 gang is referred to by the number 8, and as “sonaf”.

P6:1 die meeste van die skool juffrou, gaat sonaf juffrou

The above description of children being associated with the 28 gang, in addition to the descriptions by participants about gang rules and procedure, facilitates the perspective that the gang culture discourse is present within the child and youth care centre. The association between the 28 gang and sexual violence has been identified in the literature.

#### 4.4.1 GANG ACCULTURATION DISCOURSE

As stated in the previous section, children did not possess the identity of the gang. Participants, however, stated that children strived to achieve a gang identity through their demonstration of the masculine qualities of strength, fearlessness and intelligence. According to participants, children within this system have to prove to their peers and others that they possess these masculine qualities and this process was referred to as the procurement of points.

P7:1 en dan kry jy mos die 12 punte dan is jy mos 'n 26  
F nou wat moet ek doen om 12 punte te kry  
P7:1 jy moet die ouense trap forjezo  
F what is trap forjezo  
P7:1 jy moet vir hulle wys naai jy wil 'n 26 raak

Points are achieved when children are able to prove themselves successfully. In the prison system, if men are successful in demonstrating a high degree of violence, they will be accepted into the gang where they are taught the rules of the gang referred to as sabela. The first two rules taught are respect and discipline. Participants' descriptions of the processes of induction into a particular gang were confusing. One reason for this confusion could be because participants' knowledge is a mixture of what they have heard and what they have experienced at the centre. Participant's description of the process of induction is total and ingrained, and considered more important than anything else. Gear (2005) and Steinberg (2004) describe this process of inductions as where men are tricked into the subordinate position of a “wyfie”. Participants described that this process too, but the degree of practice, within the centre, remains unclear.

#### 4.4.2 GANG ROLES DISCOURSE

Each gang has different roles and requirements, for example, the 26 gang is affiliated with procuring money through stealing and trickery, while the 27 gang is responsible for keeping the peace between the three gangs and upholding gang law, and is associated with blood and murder. The 28 gang is responsible for improving the conditions of all prisoners and are permitted to have sex (Steinberg, 2004). The 28 gang is further divided into two separate sections, namely the gold and silver. The gold line consists of soldiers while the silver line consists of officers (Steinberg, 2004). Officers possess the knowledge about gang law, history and protocol. Alongside the real silver line are sex-sons who are considered objects for sexual gratification. The sex-son is never inducted into the rules and laws of the 28 gang and is not considered as a victim. The victimisation and violence inflicted upon the sex-son lies hidden in gang structure and rules (Gear, 2005, 2007; Steinberg, 2004). Participants described a distinction in the silver line of the 28 gang as consisting of the officer and the sex-son. According to Steinberg (2004), the relationship of the 28 gang with sexual practices is influenced by a mixture of myth and history. Participants describe the silver line of the 28 gang as dirty and the silver line as highly stigmatised.

Differences between the different gangs and differences within the 28 gang specifically are described as follows:

P9:1 die 6 hou van geld en die 7 hulle hou van mense doodmaak en die 8 is ook so maar die 8 hulle is so goud en silwer. Manne is so goud en silwer nou die 8 is nou weer anderste man. Hulle is enige vuil ding enige vuil ding op sy gedagte en hy hy worrie nie wat hy maak nie. Hy doen enige iets. Miskien hy het die 8 hulle sê mos gaan saam met daai meisie daar. Dan maak hulle so. Omkom van die gedagte hulle mind nie wat hulle doen

P9:1 hoe kan ek nou sê somme 8 jy kry is skoon 8 dan kry jy 'n vuil 8 nou die vuil 8 is die een by die tronk hy lyk ander anties se klongen. Dan kry jy die skoon 8 wat vir jou wysheid gee. Hy hou net vir jou by nek uit. Hy hou nie vir jou uit 'n discipline uittie. Hy hou net vir jou okay hy sien nou jy het so 'n broek. Nou daai broek is nie na (cool) by hom sights nie. Nou sê hy kyk hier ah hier is 'n Levitjie vir jou man. Dan kan jy mos weer kyk met die tyd dan loop jy miskien so. {...} met 'n skoon pak pakkie entjies. So pagamesa hy oek net vir die lyn. Sien Fatima

The different gangs were socially constructed by participants, as originating from the bible. A similar description of the origin of the gangs is supported in the writing of Steinberg (2004).

P10:1 van die 26 en die 27 is mos saam en die 28 is mos saam  
 F nou wat nou is die 26 die 27 en die 28 verskillend van mekaar  
 P10:1 verskillend. Daar is niks verskillend nie juffrou. Is maar net hulle gaan sonaf en  
 ons gaan sonop  
 F hoe bedoel jy sonaf wat bedoel jy  
 P10:1 sonaf juffrou. Soos hulle sê ek het gehoor hulle sê die nommer kom uit die  
 bybel uit.  
 F ur  
 P1:1 die bybel sê die duiwel as hulle die duiwel is sonaf.  
 F um  
 P10:1 en die Here en Jesus gaan sonop  
 F okay  
 P10:1 so werk dit mos

The association between the 28 gang and evil, the devil and the sun going down is related to the conceptualisation of male on male rape as wrong, stigmatised and unacceptable. The sun going down has the connotation of darkness, whereas the 26 and 27 gangs are constructed as a rising sun, and thus within the light and right. Participants associated gang structures with practices perceived as wrong. The 28 gang was portrayed as dirty and evil. Within the literature, the perception of the 28 gang is similar to that described by participants in this research study.

The social construction of the perpetrator of male on male rape as dirty, representing darkness and the devil, was profound. Previously, in relation to the gender discourse, participants constructed the perpetrator as strong, manly and masculine. Participants, however, perceived the perpetrator as doing something that is wrong and evil within the gang culture discourse. The conflict among discourses is an aspect of discourse analysis (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) and stems from the fact that discourses are used by participants to achieve the effect of not being a part of a stigmatised behaviour, and presenting the self as virtuous in a malicious environment.

#### 4.4.3 RESPECT AND DISCIPLINE DISCOURSE

The qualities of respect and discipline were identified as important by participants. These qualities had dual functions. Firstly, these qualities were important for the successful demonstration of a masculine identity, and secondly, these qualities were important when children at the centre had to prove their loyalty and ability in order to be accepted within a particular gang structure. According to participants, only men that

belonged to a gang and had a number were respected. Men not affiliated with a gang were considered inferior, were not respected and were at risk of being raped.

P2:1 we respect each but if I'm not a gangster or a 26, 27 or a 28. If I am not that then they are not going to respect me. They only going to tell you hey you ma sê die you ma en daai en daai. You see what you must do. Hey you not going to shower now you gona wait first the nindotas gona shower then you gona shower all that stuff you see like that.

According to participants, children within the centre were not affiliated with a gang. Children consistently tried to prove themselves worthy of belonging to the 28 gang.

P3:1 maar hier gat hulle kyk nie nog by daai nie juffrou. Hulle kyk 26, 27 en 28 sien juffrou. Hulle is mos 'n klomp franse sien juffrou.

P6:1 ma jy issie so powerful nie sien juffrou. Ma jy wil daar is waar hy is sien juffrou. Dan sê ma nou iemand wil jou rob of so sien juffrou en hy sien die ding

It was stated by participants that one of the reasons why children wanted to belong to a gang was because of the recognition and achievement of a sense of power. According to participants, children do many things to prove that they can belong to a gang, such as running away from the centre to purchase drugs, beating upon other children, stealing teachers belongings, and so forth. Participants stated, however, that these children are disappointed when they are sent to prison and it is not what they had expected it to be.

P3:1 hulle gaan nou elke jy't weg hardloop sien juffrou. Hulle vang kak aan so dat hulle net weg van die plek kan gaan. So miskien stuur hulle jou weg hier-vandaan af tronk toe sien juffrou. Nou miskien gee hulle jou vier jaar sien juffrou. Nou pandiet hy die vier jaar sien juffrou dan raak hy 'n ou. Sien juffrou?

P1:1 Hy is nie gay nie juffrou, ma hy maak onnodige goeters hier, juffrou. Want hulle willie hier wees nie, is dieselfde. Hulle wil mos Pollsmoor toe gaan juffrou, ma as hulle in die Pollsmoor kom, dan mang hulle weer daar by Pollsmoor. Dan wil hulle weer hiernatoe kom sien, juffrou.

The achievement of a masculine identity is intertwined with the affiliation with gang structures and violence. According to the participants, children in the child and youth care system are not affiliated to a gang, however, many of the children strive to demonstrate the necessary violent behaviours in order to be recognised by a particular gang.

#### 4.4.4 THE “OU”/MAN DISCOURSE

The “ou”, as constructed by participants, is someone who is respected and admired and not associated with behaviours which are stigmatised and against gang rules and procedures. Sexual relations are forbidden and participants state that a real man, an “ou” would not condone nor practice these behaviours.

- P13:1 ek het gehoor maar, maar wat ek gesien het. Is nogal nie so by die tronk nie. Miskien nou en dan. Miskien by ander tronke. Is weinig (seldom) dat sulke goed gebeur. Hoekom as hulle ouens is, ouens sallie sulke goed laat toelaat nie.
- F Hoekom sal ‘n ou nie sulke goed toelaat nie?
- P13:1 sê ma hulle doen nou sulke goed, hulle sal liewerste sy kop stukkend maak of so. Hoekom hulle is nie op daai skangaga nie soos hulle sê.

Participants constructed the “ou” as a heterosexual male who possesses all the idealised stereotypical qualities of masculinity. Perceiving that an “ou” could be homosexual was not a discourse that could be accepted by participants. According to Graham (2006), the male body is constructed as impenetrable, and this applies to the victim and all other males. Therefore, the only understandable explanation is that an “ou” would not allow sexual relations to occur and would resort to violence to prevent it.

Not all participants perceived the “ou” as someone with power and authority. A group of participants stated that an “ou” is a nothing, and referred to the ou as a round naught.

- F dit is ‘n man en wat is ‘n ou
- P7:1 nul [ ] hy is ‘n ronde nul hy is ‘n niks

This production of what it means to be an “ou” is related to an alternative masculine position, because participants stated that the number, and to become an “ou”, means nothing. To be an ou was considered non-profitable to the self or the family. Producing the discourse that the esteemed position of the “ou” is not positively perceived could function to construct participants in a more positive light. This perception of an “ou” as a nothing could additionally be related to the dissatisfaction of belonging to the gang, because they are not profiting from it currently. This aspect of what an “ou” means needs to be explored in more detail.



#### 4.4.5 CONTESTING THE OCCURANCE OF THE MALE ON MALE RAPE

Participants produced divergent perceptions as to whether or not sexual relations were occurring. Participants were split into two with the first group of participants stating that the 28 gang and that “dirty ouens” were responsible for raping others. The second group of participants stated that there was no sex happening and that this association to the 28 gang was not true.

F wat is die 28’?

P1:1 Hulle seks die laaities hier binnekant.

P10:1 hulle doen dit nie. Is net vuil ouense wat dit daai doen.

F hoekom sê jy hulle is vuil

P10:1 vuil ouense ja. Die ouense sê oek hulle is vuil ouense wat daai doen. Daai hulle wil dit doen aan die anders

F nou wat anderste bedoel dit as jy sonaf gaan. Wat anders bedoel dit.

P10:1 as jy sonaf hulle sê mos as jy sonaf gaan juffrou dan sex jy mos die laaities die laaites so maar daai issie waar nie

According to Hendricks (2006) and Steinberg (2004), sexual relations occur within all gangs and not only the 28 gang. Opposing opinions by participants as to whether or not sexual relation were occurring could be related to sexual relations being highly ostracised and stigmatised (Gear, 2005, 2007; Pretorius & Hull, 2005; Singh, 2004; Sivakumaran, 2005). Speaking about practices occurring within the gang is punishable by severe beatings and even death. The denial of the sexual violence by participants could functions to separate the stigma of rape and sexual contact among males, from the idealised gang. Stating that those belonging to the gang are dirty, functions to separate the self from the practices of the gang that are viewed as wrong by participants.

#### 4.4.6 GANG AFFILIATION FOR PROTECTION DISCOURSE

Affiliation with a gang is important, because it allows for the achievement of power, respect and protection from physical and sexual exploitation within the context of prison. Striving to achieve the dominant status of an “ou” appears to be all consuming and one of the main goals of some children in centre.

P3:2 issie juffrou as hier ‘n ou is in die tronk en jy wil ‘n nommer word nou is jy ‘n nommer sien juffrou.

F um

- P3:2 nou gaat jy amper soos jy 'n voorreg het, sien juffrou.  
 F um  
 P3:2 maar soos hier almal het mos voorregte, sien juffrou.  
 F um  
 P3:2 maar nou was die 'n tronk sien juffrou. Dan het ons nie die voorregte gehad wat ons nou hier het nie juffrou want dan was dit weggeneem by die ouens sien juffrou. Soos as jou ma nou kom besoek dan kry jy 'n sakkie lekkergoed jy kan nie dit kamer toe vat nie want die ouense wil kyk sien juffrou

Belonging to a gang is considered very important, because it is associated with privileges, recognition, power and a sense of achievement. Many of the participants within this study have not completed grade 12 and are confined to the child and youth care centre. The achievement of the status of an "ou" is one form of the successful achievement of masculinity, and pride and will serve as a protection against male on male rape.

Participants stated that if a child had the appropriate knowledge about the number gang and was able to demonstrate the necessary masculine qualities, that this would serve that child in good stead and protect him.

- F het hulle nie vir jou seergemaak nie. Toe hoe het jy jouself verdedig  
 P4:1 uit die nommer uit juffrou  
 F hum  
 P4:1 hulle het my mos gevra hoe kan jy frans van waar is ek juffrou. Juffrou sal mossie daai verstaan nie  
 F ek verstaan 'n bietjie  
 P4:1 toe sê ek ek is 'n frans van die sonop  
 F um  
 P4:1 toe vra hulle my dwalamatan  
 F um  
 P4:1 toe sê ek met die stem wat soek  
 F um  
 P4:1 toe gat toe agterna gat ek met hom toe vra hy my nou. Toe sê hy my naai hy is all right  
 F nou hoe werk die nommerskap hier binne  
 P4:1 dis anderste hier juffrou  
 F hoe anderste  
 P4:1 jy word geslat met goeters

Due to the fact that most of the participants presented themselves as not associated with a gang one participant stated that one of the ways he protected himself was through utilising information about the number. Presentation of the self as not belonging to the gang could be related to the need by participants to want to appear favourable.

#### 4.4.7 TRANSACTIONAL SEX FOR INFORMATION DISCOURSE

According to participants, children strive to belong to a gang and are at times misled. If children are not street smart and intelligent, they are led to believe that they will be recruited into a gang if they trade sexual favours for information about the number. Participants stated that children are tricked, and once the sexual encounter has occurred these children are informed that they have not received the correct information.

- P3:2 nou som ouens hulle sê vir jou, kyk hier ek gaan vir jou die nommer gee.  
F um  
P3:2 maar ek soek 'n stukkie van jou hol (bum) sien juffrou.  
F um  
P3:2 nou gaan jy dit doen in die stilte sien juffrou.  
F um  
P3:2 nou gaan jy vir jou laat bykom nou gee hy vir jou die nommer, maar die nommer wat hy vir jou sien juffrou. is miskien 'n liegstorie is nie 'n regte nommer wat jy eindelik na soek nie sien juffrou.  
F um  
P3:2 hy het dit net maar gedoen sodat hy jou kan bykom sien juffrou  
F um  
P3:2 daai is nie rape nie cause hy het dit laat doen sien juffrou.

Gear (2005) asserts that within the South African prison system, men are tricked into the role of “wyfie” and are raped through the use of transactional sex. It was evident that a sexual transaction for information about the gang was occurring from the discussions with participants. The degree to which transactional sex influenced the practice of “turning out” of males into females, within the care context, needs to be explored in greater depth. Transactional sex for information is viewed as consensual sex and is not considered rape by participants. Sexual encounters that are, however, misleading and deceiving are not consensual according to the Criminal Law (Sexual Offences and related matters) Amendment Act: Act no 32 of 2007. Cases where a child is led to believe he will receive information but does not is therefore considered rape.

#### 4.4.8 DISCUSSION

There are a number of parallels between the prison context and the child and youth care context. The gang culture and its relationship to a violent, dominant, heterosexual masculinity are evident. In the child and youth care system the gang culture is not as dominant and has been supported in literature. The gang culture discourse, however,

impacts greatly the manner in which children understand male on male rape in the child and youth care centre.

Masculinity and acceptable practices of the gang were described as extremely violent. In the 28 gang specifically, sexual relations occur, however, these sexual practices are highly ostracised and stigmatised. Participants were influenced by masculinity discourse and gang culture discourse, and these discourses facilitated that many participants judged children who were subjected to male on male rape, more harshly.

The comportment of children in this system is restricted by the gang culture discourse, because behaviours are constantly monitored. As participants stated, they have to consider their points, and as such, they cannot be thought weak or unable to defend themselves. Participants further indicated that being associated with any behaviour not condoned by the gang culture was reduced, even when playing games and smiling.

The gang structure is idealised and defended, however, there are many contradictions associated with it. Participants were split when it came to whether or not respected and decorated men in the gang known as the 'ou' were involved in male on male rape cases. A group of participants acknowledged that these 'ouens' were involved, while others vehemently denied it. A participant perceiving the "ou" as a masculine, dominant and as a decorated male. Partaking in a behaviour that is stigmatised was understood by this participants as improbable.

The 28 gang has historically been associated with the practice of male on male rape, referred to as 'turning out'. Participants stated that many of the children in the child and youth care system identified with the 28 gang. Due to this, the likelihood of children imitating the practices of the 28 gang and the gang culture in general, particularly the practicing male on male rape, could be more pronounced than previously considered.

According to Steinberg (2004), the number gang originated from the Bible and was established to fight against the oppressor, which was the apartheid government at the time. Participants constructed the number gang in a similar vein as stemming from the Bible and that the use of violence was justified. Participants, however, did not utilise

the apartheid political system as the reason for the justification for the emergence of the numbers gangs.

#### 4.5 THE EFFECTS OF MALE ON MALE RAPE ON THE VICTIM

In this section, the perceived effects of male on male rape will be discussed. The effects the victim would experience include feeling down, not interacting with others, being more quiet and sleeping more than usual.

P1:1 Hy voel hartseer. Hy voel skaam of hy bly heeldag in sy kamer en hy kom nie uit nie juffrou. {...} Hy dink hulle gaan hom vir 'n apie vat hier buitekant. Hulle gaan vir hom name skree, juffrou.

P4:1 ha ah hulle praatie nog nie

P13:1 hy voel af

P13:1 is miskien 'n dag of twee dan is hy miskien nou stil. Dan raak hy nou weer soos hy is so.

Descriptions by participants were dominantly constructed within the discourse of depression, pain, hurt and mortification. An experience of sexual violence was associated with overwhelming stigma, ostracism, social degradation and social exclusion. The victim would feel sad, down, hurt because of the sexual violation. Participants described that children who were sexually violated were socially excluded, made fun of, teased and humiliated because of what had happened to them, and this in turn, would cause these children to feel ashamed.

P13:1 sy hart voel seer. Hoe kan ek nou sê, um soos iemand het hom nou gesê miskien hulle het jou genaai en dinges dinges dinges en na 'n tyd dan voel hy mos eerste af. En dan lyk dit as hy wil huil of so. en dan raak hy nou weer, dan praat hy weer met ander mense.

P3:1 hulle sal hom net sê miskien hy wil soos ek was nou bygekom sien juffrou. Nou vat ek vir juffrou vir 'n gat sien juffrou. Dan sê juffrou net ja jy was mos bygekom sien juffrou. Dan sak sy plak sien juffrou. Dan gaan hy nie meer verder worry nie juffrou. Hy sal stil wees sien juffrou. Hy voel sleg sien juffrou cause hier sê die man jy was klaar bygekom.

P3:1 hoe gaat hy voel juffrou. Hy gaan skaam voel juffrou, hy gaan sleg voel juffrou

According to participants, it is this pain, hurt and being made fun of, teased, degraded, humiliated, and tormented that would motivate a child to think that suicide is a more viable alternative than living with this stigma.

P11:1 hy sal miskien dink ek hang my op dan gaan ek weet daar issie meer stories van my nie en sulke goet.

Participants stated that if a child was sexually violated, he would keep it on the inside, he would not let other people know about his hurt, and he would not cry.

P9:1 hy voellie lekker nie hy is seer hier binnekant want hy weet die woorde maak hom oek seer. Nou ek weet miskien nie hulle het vir hom geseks nie. Nou hoor ek die goet nou gaan ek oek mos agter hulle aan nou spot ek oek mos vir hom. Sien jy is my getuie jy issie reg nie. Weet jy wat jy is 'n naai of so. Om vir jou te laat seks

Reacting in this manner has been described as a controlled reaction style. According to Walker *et al.* (2005), men react to sexual violence in two manners; through the demonstration of anger, or in a controlled manner. Participants dominantly constructed the victims as keeping the hurt and pain on the inside and not letting others know. According to Walker *et al.* (2005), men reacted through these two constructions because these were perceived to be the manner in which a man would react. The manner in which masculinity is constructed determines the possible avenues of managing sexual violence. Masculinity was constructed by participants as the demonstration of dominance, strength and intelligence. Enduring pain, not crying and not asking for help, are constructed as manly, and this is how participants perceived victims should react to the sexual violation. The discourse that men do not cry, show pain or fear is central to the discourses of masculinity and gang culture. Participants differentiated how a man and a woman would react to sexual violence. It was stated that a woman would understand that she is a woman, implying that a woman could manage to deal with sexual violence, but not a man.

P8:4 dan sak daai ook af maar hoekom sê jy dan so vir my en wat wat. Maar 'n vroumens is mos anderste sy verstaan sy is 'n vroumens so. dan sak ek af ja wil jy oek 'n stukkie hé en wat wat. Maar party mans sal sê nee wie wil saam met jou sleg pap dingese sien jy. Okay 'n man is anderste ' man praat nie eintlik terug as 'n man sulke dinge doen nie. Sulke dinge praat saam met my. Hy praat noggie terug nie hy hou dit vir syself.

Participants stated that this controlled reaction would be recognised by the teachers, and in this manner the child's pain and hurt would be dealt with.

P11:1 ek sal met niemand praat nie. Dan op 'n tyd. Hier is mos menere hy sal mos vra wat gaan aan.

According to Eigenberg (2000), assisting victims of sexual violence does go unnoticed, because it is rationalised as a normal aspect of being within a secure environment.

Petersen-Bardali and Koegl (2002) in their study of juveniles; experiences of incarceration, found that “correctional staff allowed, and induced juveniles to use force on other young offenders” (p. 41). Whether or not teachers and support staff are able to assist and reduce sexual violence in the child and youth care environment, is an important area of consideration and needs to be investigated.

Participants constructed the reaction of children to sexual violence within the discourses of depression, suicide and a masculine non-demonstration of pain, hurt or humiliation. The only acceptable reaction to sexual violence, according to participants, was to keep it on the inside. Demonstrating strength in the face of adversity was held more important than managing the pain and letting someone on the inside. Asking for assistance was not even an option. According to Singh (2004), it remains of critical importance for men to adequately address the rape trauma when it occurs or the trauma will manifest in many other psychological disorders. The psychological and social consequence of male on male rape for children in the child and youth care system requires extensive research.

The descriptions by participants of the discourse of depression, suicide and an inability to diverge from the discourse of masculinity are indicative of violence turned inwards. According to Bulhan (1985), when people are oppressed and unable to find alternative healthy ways of managing the oppression, they turn the violence against those closest to them. In the child and youth care centre, children turn the oppression experienced against other children in the form of sexual violence, and this is understood as vertical violence (Bulhan, 1985). Participants describe interpersonal and vertical violence being taken further. The violence that has been experienced cannot be externalised, due to the culture of masculinity and gangsterism. This violence is, instead, turned internally through the use of suicide. Intrapersonal violence is considered by participants to be the only possible manner of resolving the experience of male on male rape.

#### 4.6 SILENCE, DENIAL AND NON-REPORTING OF MALE ON MALE RAPE

##### 4.6.1 SILENCE AND DENIAL ASSOCIATED WITH GENDER

Male on male rape is a highly ostracised and stigmatised behaviour, according to Gear (2005, 2007). There are many factors impacting on the silence, denial and non-



reporting of male on male rape. One of the reasons for the stigma is the association between male on male rape and homosexuality. Men who are incarcerated have identified as heterosexual, masculine men and have consistently warded off any association with femininity and homosexuality. To be sexually violated is considered with the utmost disdain and the victim is blamed for being unable to fight off and protect his masculinity (McMullen, 1990). The man that has been sexually violated is described as being turned out or emasculated and is positioned as non-man, or as a woman (Gear, 2005; Sim, 1994; Sivakumaran, 2005). The loss of manhood is associated with a loss of status and respect (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Knowles, 1999). It is the associated embarrassment of not being able to defend the masculine status which silences those who have been raped (Gear, 2005, 2007; McMullen, 1990). According to Gear (2007), men prefer to keep their victimisation a secret rather than face the embarrassment of it becoming known. Stigma is one of the major reasons why men are silent and do not report their sexual victimisation. According to participants, it is this associated stigma from other children which motivates children to run away from the child and youth care centre.

P1:4 maar hulle hardloop maar huistoe juffrou {...} as hulle die ding nou doen juffrou. Dan hardloop hulle huistoe nou juffrou {...} van hulle willie hê die boys op die spanga moet weet hulle ge rape of so nie sien juffrou. Daarom hulle hardloop soema huistoe.

P1:1 Ma dan sê hulle ma hy is 'n meisiekind en sulke goeters, juffrou. Hy is 'n bunny.

The manner in which masculinity is constructed within this environment has been found to be a major contributing factor for the associated stigma. Participants clearly associated the male on male rape with the loss of masculinity and associated it with homosexuality.

#### 4.6.2 HOMOPHOBIA DISCOURSE

According to Walker *et al.* (2005) and Davies and McCartney (2003), men have consistently been found to be homophobic within the general community and secure environments. Homophobia has been associated with the reason why many men endorse more negative attitudes towards male victims. According to Davies and McCartney (2003), “men are brought up to endorse traditional gender roles to a greater extent than women are , and part of being a ‘real man’ is to be homophobic” (p. 392).

Participants described similarly homophobic descriptions of children that were raped. Participants stated that if a person they knew was sexually assaulted, it would mean that they couldn't be friends with him and couldn't stand up for him, because he was sexually assaulted.

P8:4 hy issie meer my tjommie nie. Want hy laat seks vir hom dan

P9:1 hy voellie lekker nie hy is seer hier binnekant want hy weet die woorde maak hom oek seer. Nou ek weet miskien nie hulle het vir hom geseks nie. Nou hoor ek die goet nou gaan ek oek mos agter hulle aan nou spot ek oek mos vir hom. Sien jy is my getuie jy issie reg nie. Weet jy wat jy is 'n naai of so. Om vir jou te laat seks.

Participants described socially isolating the victim, through reducing contact and support to the victim. Participants described being disgusted at the victim and not wanting contact with the victim. Barollas *et al.* (1976) described similar occurrences once it became known that a child was sexually violated. According to Bartollas *et al.* (1976) punishment for associating with the person that was sexually assaulted was severe because contact with the abused person may cause suspicion to be cast on the person associating with the victim. Fear of being thought of as similar to the victim would result in possible sexual violence from other children. It was common for children in the secure centre to not only be isolated by the children, but by the support staff as well (Bartollas *et al.*, 1976).

#### 4.6.3 NON-REPORTING DISCOURSE

A major factor, reducing the likelihood of reporting the sexual assault, is that of the fear of retribution. Fear of being considered a coward and a snitch<sup>17</sup> is contrarily to the discourse of masculinity and gang culture. It is unmasculine for a man to tell or report of another mans' wrong doing. Participants stated that if a child told the authorities what happened, that this child would be labelled a "piemper" and would be beaten up by other children

F So, what do you say of the children if they go tell the teachers what happens to them?

P1:1 Dan gaan hulle seergemaak word. Hulle gaan geslat word, dan gat die hulle spanga jou slat.

---

<sup>17</sup> Snitch is an American term which in South African terms is referred to as a piemper, a spy, an informer

P1:4 nee juffrou hulle pla hom baie maar hulle slaan hom dan sê hulle jy is 'n piemper hoekom piemp jy ons sien juffrou

Reporting on another gang member is against gang rules and the punishment is severe. Those who are found reporting on fellow gang members receive very violent retaliation for their betrayal.

F nou wat sal gebeur as iemand moet uitvind  
P7:1 uit moet vind van die  
F um  
P7:1 dan moet ekke sieke moet beantwoord  
F wat gebeur as jy moet beantwoord  
P7:1 dan moet ek vir hulle sê dan moet ek nou vir hulle iets moet skrif trek laat hulle die lyn saam met my kan sien. En as hulle nie die lyn saam met my kan sien nie. Dan moet hulle my kwas slat. Dan slat hulle my rug af sien jy. Maar as hulle die lyn saam met my sien naai dan los hulle my

F wat sal gebeur as jy met my praat oor hierdie ding  
P7:1 hulle gaan my doodmaak

Betraying the gang is not an option, and because the gang culture influences the child and youth care centre to a great extent, children would isolate and not associate with children who have committed this offence. Punishment is total, and all other children participate in the punishment of the victim, whether by intention or not. Stigmatising the victim, functions to abdicate participants from their responsibility in the continued discrimination against the victim. According to Gear (2007), the perceived emasculation is a central facet of the stigma of male rape that keeps many of its victims suffering in shame and silence.

#### 4.7 THE CHILD AND YOUTH CARE CENTRE

In the literature, it has been reported that the lack of appropriate prevention and intervention by the institution has resulted in victims not reporting the incident, because nothing was being done (Gear & Ngubeni, 2002; Jali Commission, 2005). When an incident was reported, the institution would send the perpetrator to another institution. This, however, was ineffective because after a few months the perpetrator would be sent back to the same institution. The consequence would be that the victim is even more severely abused and sexually violated the second time around. A lack of monitoring by the institution was stated as one of the main reasons why the victim and

perpetrator would end up in the same institution. Corruption in the prison system was another factor which deterred people from reporting incidents to the institution (Jali Commission, 2005). In the child and youth care centre, participants state that the centre will first try to resolve the issue by warning the parties involved.

P8:2 okay right daar is 'n waarskuwing gegee

Once the children involved have been warned, but the problem persists, the centre will write a report and recommend the case be sent to court.

P8:2 okay right daar sal 'n verslag wees.

F um

P8:2 waar daai verslag sal sê baie slegte goetes mos

F um

P8:2 nee okay right daai is nou swaar dan sal die skool besluit om 'n saak te maak

According to participants, if a case is made and it has been investigated a conclusion will be drawn. According to participants, the perpetrator is usually sent away to prison while the victim is possibly sent home.

P1:4 hulle maar hulle willie die menere gaan sê nie want as die menere vra die {...} by die laaities wat weghardloop juffrou. Dan sê hulle hulle ma's juffrou. As hulle ma bel juffrou sê hulle. Dan vra die menere nie maar maar {...} daai laaitie moet hiernatoe kom kom sê dan sê hulle dan wil hulle sê hulle het hom dan kom sê hy dan gaan hy weer huistoe dan stuur hulle daai laaitie Pollsmoor wat dit gedoen het.

This response by the child and youth care centre is insufficient, because if a child had to report the case he would be threatened to withdraw the case, and he will face even worse treatment and possibly greater sexual violence. Placing more guards within the dorms was a response to the sexual violence. This, however, was described as ineffective by participants, because the security guards do not stand outside the room door and there is only one guard per sleeping quarter. Teachers and security guards are considered to be one and the same by children because of the power of teachers to recommend that children be sent to jail. Due to teachers being viewed in this manner, the children cannot inform them because of the fear of retribution from other children.

On a weekend, there are teachers that assist the security guards to check on the well being of children.

P9:3 dan kyk die sekurities nie daar in die dorm nie. Dan gebeur sulke goed. Dan kom hulle terug. Nou sit die laaitie op die. Nou skop ek hom. Vee jy. Nou wil hy nie sê nie hy is bang hy word iets gemaak. Nou ek issie bang vir die leerders op die skool nie. En hulle weet dit. Nou ek hou oek vir my so amper soos 'n man wat oek net involve is. Kantie speel ek maar net die game saam. Hier kan 'n man nie nog baie speel op die plek nie.

P1:1 Sê ma nou die kamers is toegekap, ma dan is die menere nie naby jou nie, dan sien jy die menere ma eerste vir jou môreoggend. Dan maak hulle so.

It is apparent from the participants' descriptions of the child and youth care centres response to sexual violence, that these measures are not sufficient. It is imperative that participants understanding of what is occurring, once the lights are turned off, is taken into consideration in order for an improved prevention and intervention be facilitated.

According to Bulhan (1985), institutional violence is often unrecognised and often hidden. It can be seen from the above descriptions by participants that even though the child and youth care centre tried to manage the problem of male on male rape, it is unsuccessful. Participants describe a state of being fearful of reporting sexual violence and that even though there are security guards, this measure is insufficient to stop sexual violence from occurring. Institutional violence functions to further oppress children in a hostile environment where interpersonal, horizontal and vertical violence are prevalent.

Descriptions of violence from those in authority at the centre were sparse, but evident. According to a participant, he was hit in the face by a teacher, and nothing had happened to the teacher when he reported the incident.

P3:1 Word goed behandel en wat, sien juffrou. Word nie sleg behandel nie. Net een meneer wat hier is, sien juffrou, (\*) hy het my eenkeer geslaan sien juffrou. Maar uit die bloute uit sien juffrou. Nou hier was mos mense gewies wat mos kom inspekteer hier juffrou. Ek het hulle gesê van hierdie meneer. Wat my geslaan het die dag toe hy van sy kar af kom. Hier voor sien juffrou. Hy het gekom met 'n blikkie drinks sien juffrou. Toe stoot hy my uit die pad uit sonder dat ek hom niks gemaak het nie. Toe vra ek hom mos nou. Meneer wat maak meneer dan nou. Toe slaan hy my twee vinnige op my {...} juffrou

According to Bulhan (1985), vertical violence is when those with power utilise this power to oppress those without power. The apartheid state possessed the power and used this power to undermine, degrade and dehumanise the oppressed citizens of South Africa, through the use of violence. Sim (1994) describes institutions, such as prison

and child and youth care centres, to be managed from an authoritarian position, based on power and gender. The system is controlled and maintained, according to Sim (1994), “by deeply embedded discourses around masculinity and femininity” (p. 102). The fact that the centre is hierarchically arranged, where the authority possesses all the power and the children none, facilitates the taken for granted experience of vertical violence.

Violence inflicted by staff is normalised, legitimised and taken for granted. It is within closed institutions that the most negative aspects of masculinity are sustained, reproduced and intensified, according to Sim (1994).

These negative discourses of masculinity are evident in the discourses described by participants. The negative discourses of masculinity and gang culture facilitate and justify the extended use of violence by authority figures and other children to sexually humiliate children who are weaker in the centre.

#### 4.8 WHERE AND WHEN DOES MALE ON MALE RAPE OCCUR

According to participants anywhere where it is quiet it is possible for one child to sexually abuse another child. Over a weekend is another period during which children, are specifically more at risk to being sexually violated.

P9:1 ja nou vir my lyk dit nou nog sulke goed nog gebeur so in die stilletjies (quiet)

P9:3 enige tyd baie aand veral in die naweek dan is dit mos laat toekaptyd.

The most common place where sexual violence is perpetrated was reportedly within the sleeping quarters of the children, during the evening.

P1:1 Op die premises? Ek weet nie. Ek dink nog nie nêrens, net in die aand.

P5:1 miskien juffrou. Hier hier is ander laaities juffrou \*\*\* wat seks die ander laaitie in die kooi (bed)

P6:1 in die kamers juffrou

P9:3 enige tyd baie aand veral in die naweek dan is dit mos laat toekaptyd.

Participants reported that sexual assaults could occur in the toilets and inside the roof but these places were less common.

P11:1 is net in die enkele sel en miskien in die toilets

P8:2 okay right miskien in die dakke in in die so orals waar daar 'n stil plekkie is man gebeur dit.

In child and youth care centres, groups of 6 children are most commonly placed in a room together. Children who are quiet, physically weak and unable to fight are most likely targeted. Havey (2002) and Ruchkin *et al.* (1998) have found supporting evidence that smaller and physically weaker males are targeted in the prison system. During the evening when children are locked up in their rooms, is the most likely time and place a sexual assault could occur.

#### 4.9 THE RISK OF ADOLESCENCE

Adolescence is associated with an increase in many dangerous and risky behaviours, such as substance abuse, sexually transmitted infections, teenage pregnancy, juvenile delinquency, crime, and so forth (Legett, 2003; Ratele *et al.*, 2007; van Wyk & Theron, 2005). Children in the child and youth care system are at a greater risk considering that they have been sentenced for crimes and are institutionalised. Incarcerated children are, additionally, at a greater risk considering that they have participated in violent crimes, substance abuse, unprotected sexual promiscuity, and so forth (Clark *et al.*, 2000). Children that are incarcerated come from homes in which domestic violence, abuse, poverty, unemployment are commonly experienced. The context of the youth care centre, the culture of violence, evidence that the gang culture discourse influences social interactions and the risk of adolescence, all increase the likelihood of justifying the sexual violence against other children. Therefore, children are more likely to become involved in sexual violence.

There are many aspects related to adolescence that are important, however, the importance of masculinity and peer pressure are foregrounded. According to Jeftha (2006) and Ratele *et al.* (2007), masculinity, risky behaviours and adolescence have been found to intersect, and the result is often catastrophic. This intersection mentioned



is illustrated in the following excerpt from Ratele *et al.* (2007), which states that “in light of contemporary risks related to HIV and violence ... the volatility of male adolescence, coupled with the powerful associations of masculinity with risk and competition, raises concerns for young men through this period of development” (pp. 12-13). During the period of adolescents, being understood as masculine and heterosexual are imperative, because during this period the individual is developing a sense of personal identity (Tyson & Stones, 2002). The imperatives mentioned are illustrated in the utilisation by participants of terms such as “moffie” and the social exclusion of those who are different, as discussed. Male children constantly monitor themselves and other children’s behaviour, and thus any behaviour associated with femininity or homosexuality are ostracised (West & Zimmerman, 1991). The discourses of masculinity and gang culture have been produced by participants as exceptionally violent. Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) have found that associated to masculinity and gang culture is a very negative association between sexual violence to the attainment of power, respect and prestige from the peer group.

#### 4.9.1 PEER PRESSURE DISCOURSE

The peer group was described by participants as an important factor that facilitated the development of the masculine gender identity. According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002) and Tyson and Stoned (2002), the peer group has a particularly powerful role for the achievement of power, respect and self esteem, and has a major impact on delinquent behaviour. According to participants, it was important to be accepted by the peer group and not feel excluded. The peer group further functioned as a family that provided acceptance and belonging. This is indicated by the use of the term “brother” in relation to the gang.

P11:1 klompie goetes is net begin te saam met hulle loop. Dan begin te hulle sigarette rook. Kom haal hulle nou. Nou ek wil mossie uitvoel nie.

P8:4 okay right agter vriende aan gegaan mos. Okay right nou die vriende het mos nou sou seer gekry dan wil ek mossie verstaan nie. Ons willie amper so ons is amper soos broers. So is ons maar okay right saam sake gevang. Maar toe besluit ek ek gattie in die groot huis sit dan gaan jy na jou ma verlang. Jy kan nie na my ma verlang nie. Nou by my staan. Okay right ek het noggie so ver gekom nie.

P9:3 om te baklei lane word doodgemaak word. Dan moet jy dit op jou vat because die broerse sê nou. Jy moet maar nou staan vir die ding. Nou as jy nie wil nie nou staan 'n ander man dan is dit jou moord dan is dit miskien jou lyk (death) die naweek. Hulle draai soema op mekaar. Change op mekaar

It was, however, noted by participants, that even though they felt a sense of camaraderie among their friends, who were part of the same gang, this sense of belonging was limited. The reason for this is because if a child did not do what was commanded by the gang, the consequence could be punishment and possibly death.

During the period of adolescence, the peer group specifically functions as the moral compass. During this period, peer pressure has been described by participants as the reason why some males commit crime, participate in the use of substances and become attached to a gang. Participants stated that the peer group is blamed for the decisions made by children within the centre in order to externalise the individual child's responsibility and decision to commit the crime. According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), Petersen *et al.* (2005), and Wood (2005) have found similar issues relating to the peer pressure and adolescence.

P10:1 maar ekke raak nou vol. Ek hou nie van daai goed nie man. So.  
F so um hoe het die lewe so gedraai dat jy hier opgeëindig het  
P10:1 hier juffrou. Is van agter my tjommies aangaan  
F agter jou tjommies aangaan en  
P10:1 begin te steel saam met hulle juffrou gaan skiet alles daai goed juffrou. Toe leer hulle my

P8:1 party manne gee baie vir hulle vriende skuld juffrou. Dan is dit nie jou vriende nie dan is dit jyself. Hy het mos sy eie verstand verbruik. Hy moet vir homself ken. Maar as dit te laat is dan wil hy besluit soos ekke nou juffrou

The peer pressure discourse, as stated by participants, is the reason why many children feel compelled to participate in activities that they would otherwise not have participated in. Acceptance was described as important, even when it meant placing oneself in greater danger, at risk to substance dependence, a life of crime or even death.

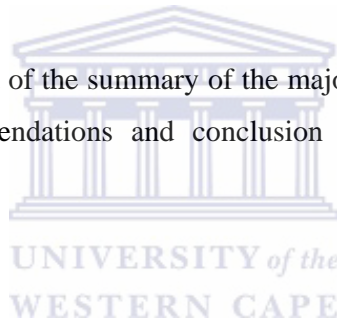
The peer pressure discourse has been described, by Jewkes *et al.* (2006), as being important to men and their achievement of a masculine identity. In the study it was stated that "masculinity was constructed and evaluated in on-going acts of competition in relation to male peers, with sexual conquest being regarded, as a sign of status, whether achieved by wooing, begging, trickery, or ultimately, the use of force" (Jewkes

*et al.*, 2006: 2950; McMullen, 1990). During the period of adolescence, being accepted by one's peers is crucial. The successful demonstration of masculinity is inextricably linked to being accepted by ones peers and gaining their respect.

#### 4.10 FINAL COMMENT

In this chapter, there have been three dominant discourses that have been discussed, namely violence, gender and gang culture. Discourses which were less dominant were the effects of male on male rape, where and when male on male rape occurs and the lack of reporting of male on male rape. These discourses were discussed because they facilitate a deeper more meaningful understanding of male on male rape. These discourses were produced by participants and described how they understand and speak about the phenomenon of male on male rape.

The following will consist of the summary of the major findings of this research study. The limitations, recommendations and conclusion of this research study will be presented as well.



## **CHAPTER 5**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

Rape is a form of sexual violence used as a tool to disempower the victim, while attaining the ultimate form of masculinity. Rape is not perpetuated because of sexual needs or a lack of sexual gratification rather but because of the need to assert dominance and achieve power, authority and status in an oppressive society. This perspective, that rape is motivated by dominance, power and the need to degrade and emasculate another man, has been supported in international and national literature and within the contexts of prison and secure environments for children who have come in conflict with the law. This chapter will present the conclusion and summary of major findings. In addition to concluding the major findings, the limitations and recommendations of this study will be elaborated on.

Throughout the thesis, the multi-dimensional nature of the phenomenon of male on male rape has been presented. Discourse of violence, gender, masculinity and gang culture were described as all impacting the manner in which children understood, conceptualised and spoke about male on male rape. In the following section aspects of the research study that was of note will be discussed.

#### **5.2 SUMMARY OF MAJOR FINDINGS**

In the context of the child and youth care centre, male on male rape was inextricably linked to discourses of violence, power, masculinity, heterosexuality and gang culture. Throughout discussions with participants, it was evident that violence was an expected and omnipresent aspect in their lives. The discourse of violence was evident intrapersonally where self harm was preferred to stigma and pain associated with sexual violence. Interpersonally, those who are able to demonstrate a greater degree of violence were awarded power, authority and material privileges, and were positioned at the apex of the gender and power hierarchies in the centre.

The child and youth care centre was described, by participants, as an institution within which violence was an accepted aspect of life. The degree to which violence was present in participants' lives was overwhelming. Sexual violence within the child and youth care context is of importance, because its manifestation is not only due to interpersonal power dynamics, but institutional oppression as well. The literature on male on male rape, and violence within the prison context, has been foregrounded as a significant contributor to the overall violence between prisoners, and by prison staff against prisoners. Child and youth care centres that are based on a punitive and authoritative management style, have been found to have a greater degree of exploitation and sexual violence.

At the child and youth care centre where this study was conducted, participants spoke of being disrespected and being beaten by staff. The child and youth care centre was not viewed by participants as supportive of rehabilitation and the prevention of sexual violence. The South African Constitution, the Child Justice Bill, and all other legislation have been promulgated to aid and protect children in need of care. Participants, however, reported that the institution was punitive and did not prevent sexual and other forms of violence from occurring. At night and over weekends were described as periods during which children were most vulnerable to sexual violence, as a result of the lack of supervision. The most common place where sexual violence was thought to have occurred was in the dormitories at night, because children are locked up in rooms with other, more violent children. The fact that dormitories are not safe, is an important aspect that should be taken into consideration by those that manage centres for the rehabilitation of children.

Through interviews with participants it was found that prison and child and youth care contexts are very similar. These environments are both oppressive, secure, and movement and autonomy of those who are sentenced to them are restricted to the greatest degree. People sentenced to these secure environments have no autonomy, and this affects the most basic of choices such as when to get out of bed and what to wear. The use of violence, thus, facilitated the achievement of a sense of power which was otherwise unattainable.

Literature discussing male on male rape within the prison context, has been explored to a greater extent than within the child and youth care context. These secure environments shared a number of social and institutional issues. One of these is that a power dynamic between those within the secure environment was evident. This power dynamic was hierarchically structured and based on gender, power and the propensity to be violent. The hierarchy was evident within the child and youth care context, but to a lesser degree than described within the prison context. This hierarchy structured relations between children. Children who were positioned at the apex of the hierarchy were privileged, and utilised violence to exploit those at the bottom of the hierarchy. In addition to the above the hierarchy structures sexual relations between children, because as within the prison context children, who were weak, unable to demonstrate a propensity for violence, were physically and sexually exploited and their belongings taken. The exploitation of children considered to be weak and inferior was justified and associated with a non-masculine gendered orientation. In other words, weak men were emasculated and perceived as female. Sexual violence functions to entrench the perception that the emasculation of another man is the ultimate form of power and achievement of meaning.

In the child and youth care context, the heterosexual masculine gender identity discourse was described by participants as all-important. All relations with other children were restricted to this dominant gender identity. Children, who were unable to stand up for themselves, fight and use violence, were described by participants as unmanly and gay.

Demonstrating any “other” form of sexuality was stigmatised, and the person was ostracised by all within the centre. Children who did not fit into the dominant violent heterosexual masculine gender identity, would be socially excluded, exploited and abused physically and sexually. Children perceived as “other” in this oppressive environment of the child and youth care centre, were specifically targeted. The sexual violence of children was described, by participants, as justified and as deserved. Blaming the victim for the sexual violence was an important discourse that surfaced during the interviews.

The discourse of blaming the victim was associated with the belief that a real man should be able to fight, protect and stand up for himself. If a child was not able to demonstrate these qualities, he was considered weak, and targeted and sexual violence against such a child was justified because he was not able to protect his manhood. Sexual violence in this context was justified through the lens of masculinity. A hegemonic discourse of masculinity was intrinsically associated with dominant, stereotypical ideologies such as strength, power and privilege. Through the discourse of masculinity, all people not masculine were considered inferior and weak and were disrespected. According to Gear (2005, 2007) and Eigenberg (2000), dominant gender stereotypes in the prison context are informed by discourses evident within the community. Within the community context, it is women who are abused, exploited and raped. It is these stereotypes in the community that facilitate the justification for the rape of males by other males. These dominant discourses need to be challenged, not only within secure environments such as prison and the youth care centre but within the general community as well. According to Jewkes and Abrahams (2002), it is noted that “rape is a social problem rather than... a problem of individual psycho-pathologies...” (p1241). It is, thus, understood that it is the dominant stereotypical discourses relating to heterosexuality and masculinity that shape the manner in which male on male rape and male on female rape are understood and spoken about.

In the child and youth care centre, there are few opportunities to gain respect, and to have a positive sense of who one is. The use of violence to achieve a sense of masculinity facilitates an unhealthy achievement of respect. Respect is additionally gained in relation to the gang culture discourse. Those who are strong, fight and demonstrate violence are more likely to be associated with a gang. Affiliation to a gang serves as a protective measure if the child is extremely violent. On the other hand, if a child did not belong with a gang and did not have knowledge of gang language, these children would be more vulnerable to sexual violence and exploitation. Children not associated to a gang are viewed as “franse” which means they are nothing. Gang language, learned through gang rituals, has been found to protect, but can be used to mislead those seeking knowledge of the gang. Participants speak of situations where children are told they will be given the knowledge about the gang in return for sexual favours, only to be informed that this is not the case. When it becomes known to other children that a particular child had been sexually penetrated, it places this child at risk

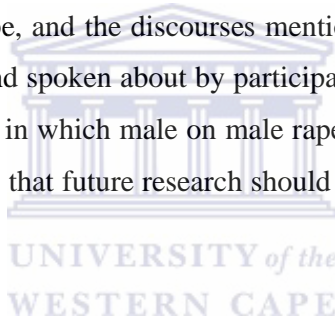


of continued and prolonged rape. Showing weakness, and not being street smart, are considered qualities associated with women and as such, sexual violence against a child that has been misled is further justified.

The sexual consent discourse was intertwined with the blaming the victim discourse. Participants were able to explain what sexual consent meant. The definition of sexual consent was, however, confused when participants described what constitutes sex. Participants did not view sexual relations between children that resulted through the use of violence or trickery as rape but as consensual sex. Participants believed that even if a child was subjected to the greatest degree of violence but then gave in, does not fight back or does not protest, these omissions constitute sexual consent. Children, who were raped, were blamed for the rape, because it was expected that a “real man” would not allow such a demeaning act to occur. Death was considered by participants as a more acceptable choice than being raped. Sexual consent is, thus, not perceived in this context of violence as mutual agreement between two consenting people. Coercion refers to actual or perceived violence and was not incorporated into the discourse of sexual consent by participants. According to the Sexual Offences Amendment Act (Act no 32 of 2007), sexual relations in which coercion or trickery are present, constitute rape. The confusion with regards to how violence and trickery mitigate sexual consent needs to be explored in greater detail.

The manner in which participants understood male on male rape was linked to the social and historical contexts from which they came. Participants in this study were of the “coloured” racial category; primarily spoke Afrikaans and all resided within the Western Cape. Common among the participants, was that they came from communities where social problems of gang culture, poverty, unemployment, substance abuse and so forth, were common. Social deprivation was a common experience that mitigated the manner in which the world and opportunities were viewed. These social problems were a major aspect in the lives of many of the participants who, additionally, belonged to a gang, committed crime and abused substances. These social disparities that participants were subjected to, the particular culture and rhetoric, impacted on the way participants spoke about male on male rape. Participants utilised language that was specific in gang culture, and it is these shared meanings that excluded those who did not understand and produced this gang culture discourse relating to male on male rape.

The language used by participants is important, as it produces a particular understanding of male on male rape. Participants have been exposed to discourses relating to heterosexuality, masculinity, gender differences, gang culture, social and economic deprivation and many other discourses which have depicted male on male rape as a phenomenon experienced by inferior men not deserving of this “title”. Descriptive words to describe male on male rape were, stealing, coming at you, threat, and as robbing someone. Male on male rape was situated within the discourse of violence and as a possession that can be taken from another person by force. Noted previously, was that if a male was unable to withstand violence and hold onto his masculinity and by association his dignity and power, the sexual violation would be justified. Descriptions of male on male rape are restricted by the discourse of it being a possession that can be justifiably taken by force. The particular language used to describe male on male rape, and the discourses mentioned, all impact on how male on male rape is understood and spoken about by participants. The language and discourses further restrict the manner in which male on male rape was understood. It is with these aforementioned discourses that future research should explore the phenomenon of male on male rape.



The following section will be a reflection on this research study.

### 5.3 REFLECTION ON THE RESEARCH PROCESS

While this research study was being compiled, there was a constant reading and re-reading of the literature, and it is with this knowledge in mind that I would like to discuss the following issues.

Firstly, the concept of heterosexuality was not only taken for granted by participants, but by the researcher as well. Through the interviews the researcher and participants produced the particular discourses mentioned, together. This study, however, did not take into consideration the impact of the assumption of heterosexuality. Through continued reading and analysing it became apparent that the voices of children that do not identify as heterosexual needed to be explored. It was noted that male on male rape is not homosexual rape, as has been reported in the literature, because those who have

been found to rape identified themselves as being heterosexual. It is important to hear the voices of children who are homosexual, bi-sexual and transsexual.

Secondly, the fact that the researcher is an advocate for human rights, gender equality and has been influenced by feminist discourses, highlighted the need to investigate the problem of male on male rape. Having being a female discussing the sensitive topic of rape by a male of a male, the researcher was able to understand to a great degree how painful and difficult it was for participants to describe what they understood male on male rape to mean, and how it was constructed. The concept of masculinity surfaced as an important concept in the research. This concept of masculinity posed many challenges to the researcher and it was necessary to constantly look inwards and separate one's preconceived ideas from the research study.

Thirdly, through the interviews with participants it became apparent that our best of intentions as a country have not been realised within the lives of the children within this secure child and youth care centre. With the overhaul of the child and youth care system it is hoped that the problem of male on male rape, violence, exploitation and the lack of services evident within this particular centre will be taken into consideration and changed. The Child Justice Bill describes a centre for children where they will be rehabilitated, re-integrated, receive counselling and have contact with their family and community. This was not realised and needs to be addressed if children are to be psychologically, socially and emotionally ready to live within society and not relapse back into crime.

The following section will be a description of the limitations of the research study.

#### 5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THIS STUDY

It was not clear, from the inception of this research study, that the focus of this study would be on how heterosexual participants perceived and understood male on male rape. In retrospect, this aspect only became apparent when reflecting on the actual research process and the discourses produced by participants. Participants only constructed themselves as heterosexual masculine males. The heterosexual nature of their identified sexuality was never questioned. The taken for granted nature of gender

as heterosexual, thus, silenced the voices of children who do not identify as heterosexual. Due to this aspect of sexuality, that is taken for granted, it is noted that even though participants portrayed themselves as heterosexual this was never openly discussed. It would be interesting to investigate the perceptions of children who do not identify with the heterosexual sexual identity.

Through the research process, reading and learning is an important aspect. The methodology of this research study was altered in order for the research question to be answered. It became apparent, however, that the manner in which the objectives were written initially was not in accordance with doing research within a social constructionist framework and when undertaking a discourse analysis. With this in mind, the research question was answered in the best possible manner given this limitation.

Language played a major role in this research study because participants referred to gang language, terms and stories when explaining and describing what they understood by male on male rape, gangsterism, and masculinity. The dominant languages spoken by children within this child and youth care centre, and the Western Cape area, are Afrikaans and Xhosa. It is noted that in the Afrikaans language, describing what they understood was not always possible, due to all descriptions being constrained to the words evident within the language, and to the vocabularies of the participants, and the researcher. It is possible that nuances were overlooked, due to the language barrier.

In retrospect, the interviews were completed utilising the standard method for conducting interviews. When utilising a discourse analysis it is possible for the interviewer to disagree with the participant to a greater extent than usual. According to Potter and Wetherell (1987), disagreeing with the participant during the interview, allows for a greater variety of discourses to be reproduced by participants. This is important because it facilitates a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of male on male rape. Future research should take this into consideration.

A description of recommendations for future research will follow.

## 5.5 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

It is recommended that future research concentrates on the perceptions, experiences and understanding of male on male rape by children that do not identify as heterosexual. This is important, because it will assist in gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon of male on male rape in general. Male on male rape is a problem that affects all men and it is not dependent on their identified sexuality. It is important to note that research on male on male rape is very sensitive, and that the participant has the right not to disclose his sexual identity.

Future researchers should conduct interviews in child and youth centres in the other South African provinces and in other South African languages. Conducting the interviews within the indigenous languages of South Africa will further facilitate putting participants at ease, and allow for the emergence of possible cultural discourses.

The importance of the centre management, and its response to the problem of male on male rape, was found to be an important factor that contributed to the problem of male on male rape. It is, therefore, recommended that preventative mechanisms that actually protect children within this secure environment, be developed and implemented. The employment of more security staff was described as ineffective by participants, because sexual violence occurred at night when there are no security guards. In addition to the development of effective preventative mechanisms, sleeping arrangements in the centre need to be reviewed. It is, therefore, recommended that all policies relating to the management of cases regarding sexual violence be reviewed.

## 5.6 CONCLUSION

It is hoped that this research study was able to shed some light on the problem of male on male rape, in the context of a child and youth care centre in the Western Cape. There are few research studies that have exclusively studied male on male rape in this context. This study aimed to explore the manner in which the phenomenon of male on male rape was understood and spoken about. The discourses of masculinity, heterosexuality, gender, sexuality, identity, gang culture, violence, power, and so forth, were foregrounded as important when trying to understand the problem of male on male

rape. It is noted that understanding the problem of male on male rape was influenced by the child and youth care context. Intra-personal, inter-personal and institutional violence is of particular importance, because it is the discourse of violence that facilitated the exploitation and abuse of other children.



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## APPENDIX A

Navrae  
Enquiries  
IMibuzo  
Telefoon  
Telephone  
IFoni  
Faks  
Fax  
IFeksi

Dr RS Cornelissen

(021) 467-2286

(021) 425-7445

Verwysing  
Reference  
ISalathiso

20080110-0019

Ms Fatima Peters  
30 Van der Bijl Street  
Belmont Park  
KRAAIFONTEIN  
7570

Dear Ms F. Peters

### RESEARCH PROPOSAL: THE PHENOMENON OF MALE-ON-MALE RAPE AMONG YOUTH AT A JUVENILE YOUTH CARE CENTRE IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Your application to conduct the above-mentioned research in schools in the Western Cape has been approved subject to the following conditions:

1. Principals, educators and learners are under no obligation to assist you in your investigation.
2. Principals, educators, learners and schools should not be identifiable in any way from the results of the investigation.
3. You make all the arrangements concerning your investigation.
4. Educators' programmes are not to be interrupted.
5. The Study is to be conducted from **22<sup>nd</sup> January 2008 to 20<sup>th</sup> March 2008**.
6. No research can be conducted during the fourth term as schools are preparing and finalizing syllabi for examinations (October to December).
7. Should you wish to extend the period of your survey, please contact Dr R. Cornelissen at the contact numbers above quoting the reference number.
8. A photocopy of this letter is submitted to the Principal where the intended research is to be conducted.
9. Your research will be limited to the following school: **Kraaifontein Youth Care Centre**.
10. A brief summary of the content, findings and recommendations is provided to the Director: Education Research.
11. The Department receives a copy of the completed report/dissertation/thesis addressed to:

**The Director: Education Research**  
**Western Cape Education Department**  
**Private Bag X9114**  
**CAPE TOWN**  
**8000**

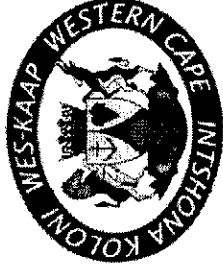
We wish you success in your research.

Kind regards.

Signed: Ronald S. Cornelissen

for: **HEAD: EDUCATION**

**DATE: 22<sup>nd</sup> January 2008**



Wes-Kaap Onderwysdepartement

Western Cape Education Department

ISEBE leMfundo leNtshona Koloni

MELD ASSEBLIEF VERWYSINGSNUMMERS IN ALLE KORRESPONDENSIE / PLEASE QUOTE REFERENCE NUMBERS IN ALL CORRESPONDENCE /  
NCEDA UBHALE IINOMBOLO ZESALATHISO KUYO YONKE IMBALELWANO

GRAND CENTRAL TOWERS, LAER-PARLEMENTSTRAAT, PRIVAATSAK X9114, KAAPSTAD 8000  
GRAND CENTRAL TOWERS, LOWER PARLIAMENT STREET, PRIVATE BAG X9114, CAPE TOWN 8000

WEB: <http://wced.wcape.gov.za>

INBELSENTRUM /CALL CENTRE

INDIENSENNEMING- EN SALARISNA VRAE/EMPLOYMENT AND SALARY QUERIES ☎0861 92 33 22  
VEILIGE SKOLE/SAFE SCHOOLS ☎ 0800 45 46 47

## **APPENDIX B**

### **INTERVIEW GUIDE**

#### Introductions:

Discuss with participants information sheet, consent form and demographic information sheet.

#### Life at home/community:

Before coming here what was life like at home?

#### Social context:

In your community were there gangs?

Do you have any knowledge of how gangs in your area operated?

What do you think about the use of drugs/alcohol?

If someone did something to you and you were very angry how would you resolve the argument?

#### Youth care centre:

Can you tell me how it came about you coming to be here at the youth care centre?

What is it like living here at this youth care centre?

Do you at times fear that other youth at the centre might hurt you?

If someone at the centre wants to hurt you, how do you think he would go about doing this?

Are there gangs here at the centre?

How do gangs function within this centre?

Do youth use substances at the centre?

How would a youth go about obtaining substances if he wanted to?

#### Rape:

What do you think it means when someone is raped?

Do you think a man can be raped?

Do you think it means when someone is sexually violated?

What is the difference between sodomy and rape?

Here at the centre do you think some males sexually violate other males?

If a male at the centre was feminine do you think that he would be made fun of?

#### Masculinity:

What do youth think it means to be a man?

#### Concluding the interview:

Thank the participant for assisting.

Ask if he would like to hear the recording?

Does he have any questions that he would like to ask?

## APPENDIX C

### TRANSCRIPT CONVENTIONS

#### Key for transcripts

{.}	Pauses and silences
{*}	Confidential information
***	Can't hear what was said inaudible
P1, P2	Refers to different participants
F	Fatima (the interviewer)
(Quiet)	Quiet
(Thinking)	thinking



## APPENDIX D

University of the Western Cape  
Faculty of Community and Health Sciences  
Department of Psychology  
Informed Consent Form

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Dear participant

You are herewith requested to participate in the following research project. It is titled The phenomena of male-on-male rape among youth at a juvenile-youth-care-centre in the Western Cape. The student researcher Fatima Peters who is a first year student in the masters in research programme is exploring this research project.

The objectives of the research are:

- a. To develop a conceptual definition of how juvenile youth develop meaning with regard to male-on-male rape, through the use of language within the context of the juvenile youth care centre.
- b. To explore their understanding of the psychological and social impact of being raped within the institution.
- c. To develop a deeper understanding of how masculinity and gangsterism impacts on the conceptualisation of male-on-male rape.
- d. To examine the strategies implemented to reduce the likelihood of male-on-male rape in the institution.

Data will be collected through the use of semi-structured interviews. It is further requested that these interviews be audio recorded provided you agree to this.

This letter has been developed to protect you and inform you of your rights as a participant. Participation in the research project is your choice and there will be no negative consequences if you decide not to participate. You have the right to withdraw from the research project at any time. All information that is disclosed will be strictly confidential. The only people who will have access to the information are the student

researcher and the supervisor of the project. Your identity will be completely separated from the data. This is to protect your identity and uphold your right to anonymity.

Confidentiality cannot be obtained in the following situation, if you indicate an intention of harming yourself or someone else. If this is disclosed the student researcher has an obligation to report this to the institution. Please be informed that all other private information will not be disclosed.

If you agree with all the issues discussed above please sign the form stating if you agree with the conditions under which this research project will be conducted. If you need any information, please ask the student researcher to assist you. If you experience any emotional distress, you may seek psychological counselling from the psychologist at the institution.

Participant signature

---



Student researcher signature

Supervisor

---

---

Thank you very much for your participation in this research project your co-operation is valued and appreciated. If you need any additional information please contact me at the following number below.

Contact details: Fatima Peters, University of the Western Cape, Psychology department, Tel: 021 959 2854 E-mail: 2115774@uwc.ac.za



**APPENDIX E**  
**INFORMATION SHEET**

This research project is being conducted by Fatima Peters under the supervision of Mr Umesh Bawa at the University of the Western Cape. We are inviting you to participate in this research project because we believe you may have important information about living here at Kraaifontein Youth Care Center. We would like to know what do youth at the center think rape is and we hope you can assist us with regards to this. The purpose of this research project is to understand what youth believe rape is.

I am a student research psychologist and I am here to learn from youth at the center. I have been interested in this topic for a very long time and when we were told to choose a topic this is what I chose to investigate, with your assistance.

You will be asked to discuss with me through the use of an interview, what do you think rape is. An interview is like a conversation between two people. The only difference is that the participant has the answers and not the interviewer. The interview will be done here at the center. There will be no one else present during the interview except the interviewer and participant.

We hope that you will allow us to audio record the interview. The reason for this is because we would like to obtain as much information as possible. Through recording the interview we can cross check and assure that what we have written is what you have said.

Please tick the box most applicable to you:

I agree to be audio recorded during my participation in this study.

I do not agree to be audio recorded during my participation in this study.

All information, which you will provide, will be treated as confidential. The only person that will know that it is you who have said will be myself. **No** other person will have access to the information. The information will be kept in a safe place.

In addition to the interview being confidential it is anonymous, which means that the interview will not contain any information, which could personally identify you. Anonymity further means:

1. Your name will not be included on the interview transcript.
2. A code will be placed on the interview transcript.
3. Through the use of an identification key, the researcher will be able to link your interview transcript to your identity.
4. Only the researcher will have access to the identification key, no one else.

In accordance with legal requirements and professional standards we will be forced to disclose to the appropriate individuals/authorities information that comes to our attention concerning potential harm to you or others.

These may be some risks from participating in this study. You may experience emotions and feelings unknown before the interview. If these emotions or feelings are very strong and you would like psychological assistance please inform the student researcher.

This research is not designed to help you personally, but the results may help the investigator learn more about the phenomenon being researched.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You may chose not to participate at all or you may decide to stop participating during the interview. Participation or not continuing to participate will not affect your sentence in any way here at the youth care center. There will be no penalty for not participating or stopping to participate.

The research is being conducted by Mr Umesh Bawa from the Department of Psychology at the University of the Western Cape. If you have any questions about the research study itself, please contact Mr Umesh Bawa at: 021 959 2453. Should you have any questions regarding this study and your rights as a research participant or if you wish to report any problems you have experienced related to the study, please contact:

Head of Psychology Department: Mr Charles Malcom  
Dean of the Faculty of Community and Health Sciences: Prof Ratie Mpofu  
University of the Western Cape  
Private bag X17  
Bellville  
7535



This research has been approved by the University of the Western Cape's Senate Research Committee and Ethics Committee.