

**RAPE, RAGE AND CULTURE:
AFRICAN MEN AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS FOR JUSTIFICATION OF,
AND SANCTIONS AGAINST RAPE**

by

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DECLARATION

Student number: 4628 4044

I declare that **Rape, Rage and Culture: African Men and Cultural Conditions for Justification of, and Sanctions against Rape** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE

(Mr)

DATE

ABSTRACT

This study is a cultural investigation into rape, with specific focus on the role of African men. With more than 70 000 cases of rape and sexual violence reported in a year in South Africa, and estimations that this may reflect one ninth of the actual number only, South Africa has been labelled the “rape capital” of the world. The study seeks to explain the root causes of rape, its ontological make-up and possibilities for resolving the issue by identifying cultural aspects, factors and manifestations that either justify or sanction rape.

Four concepts, namely, rape, masculinity, culture and rage, serve as the thematic lens for identifying and interrogating cultural conditions through multidisciplinary and African-centred perspectives. The analyses contained in the study are based on a mapping process involving comparing the data from a wide range of literature and also focus group interviews. Highlighting the multi-layered complexities of rape as phenomena, the study then outlines recommendations for transformative work in research, cultural institutions, communities, families and men.

Keywords:

Rape, culture, rage, masculinity, African, Afrocentricity, de-colonial theory, focus groups, sexual violence, black

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Aboru, Aboye, Abo şişe

[May these offerings be carried, accepted and bring about change]

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Aché

1. INTRODUCTION

[...] they [migrant workers in townships] existed under such stress and absorbed so much emotional pain that tears, grief, fear, hope and sadness had become alien to most of them. They were the walking dead. Stripped of their manhood, they hated the white man with every fibre in their being. Anger would leap into their eyes each time the words white man were uttered. Rage would heave their chest each time something or someone reminded them that it was the white man who kept their families away from them. Each time I saw that anger and hate, I knew that they felt a pain so deep it could not be expressed; that though they laughed and chaffed with one another, as they tried in vain to drown their sorrows in gourds of liquor, something inside them was slowly dying (Mathabane 1986:181).

1.1. Personal reflections of the researcher

Asante (1990) reminds us that no research is neutral and, thus, since the interpretation of a problem is heavily informed by the researcher's location and agency, I will share a brief introspection regarding my personal and professional interest in the topic of this study.

This study focuses on a problem of a rather disturbing character – rape. However, the study is driven by the need to find solutions to the problem and is motivated by faith that change is possible. My interest in the topic has been shaped by both personal and professional experiences. I am an African man who has attempted to navigate in a world that is, in many ways, anti-African. I come from an extended and scattered family that has been affected by the many dynamics of dysfunctionality that have come to define the African family stereotypically, namely, broken family structures, domestic violence, neglect, irreconcilable conflict, economic disempowerment and social disintegration. However, I have also experienced the possibility of transformation.

Accordingly, I have devoted much of my life to being part of social and political change, in terms of community development, youth empowerment and peace building. Looking back over a 25-year career in social development, I realise that my work has, increasingly, come to revolve around a keen interest in the African family. It has been my experience that it is not

possible for the socio-political conditions and the issues of power that sustain a world of injustice and non-peace to be radically challenged unless we learn how to create and sustain justice and peace within our own families and communities.

With a background in youth and community work, I have witnessed the destructive forces of violence and sexual abuse in general, but, even more so, the spiritual, psychological and social “death” brought by rape. This brutal offence violates not only each individual who has been subjected to it, but also the wider human environment which failed to safeguard the victim.

It would appear that, when confronted with the reality of rape, the human ability to process this information, both mentally and emotionally, shuts down and all we are able to do is to react with disgust, shock and silence. We fail to understand why rape occurs. “Everybody” agrees that it must stop and, yet, it escalates and intensifies, both in terms of numbers and in heightened bestiality.

As a social entrepreneur, one of the projects I have founded is *Shabaka – Men of Afrika*, a men’s programme seeking to provide a platform for men to reflect, share, learn, transform and develop healthy African masculinities. A key aim of this study is to contribute to the improvement of methodologies geared towards the prevention of sexual violence.

1.2. Introduction to the study

This study looks at culture as a determining social factor in understanding rape. In view of the fact that culture represents a guideline for both appropriate and inappropriate behaviour (Yon 2000), this study investigates culture in relation to African men, namely, by asking “in what way does African culture justify or sanction rape?” As rape may be seen as a result of an extreme anger or disregard leading to violence (Zillmann 1998), this study seeks to understand where this rage originates and also to examine the conditions within African culture which may provide an adequate response to managing such anger.

The focus of this study is on South Africa. However, it is hoped that the findings may be relevant within a broader African context, that is, expose needs and offer recommendations

that are applicable beyond the borders of South Africa. An African-centred or Afrocentric research methodology has been adopted. Accordingly, this research methodology is located in what Molefi Kete Asante has referred to as an African worldview in terms of which African people, culture and destiny take centre stage (Asante 1990; 2003).

1.3. Background, rationale and significance of the study

In South Africa, a slowly evolving tradition of studying masculinities has emerged from the field of gender studies. While the international field of masculinity studies is now well established, scholarly work in this field in South Africa is still in its infant stage. Interestingly, the study of masculinity has been dominated by female researchers. Nevertheless, significant contributions by both male- and female-led studies have been presented in anthologies such as “African Masculinities” (Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005), “Baba – Men and Fatherhood in South Africa” (Richter and Morrell, 2006) and “From Boys to Men” (Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema 2007). In the main, the emphasis in these studies has been on history, post-colonial/post-apartheid analyses of political power, gender identity and sexuality and few have attempted to enter the territory of sexual violence in any substantial way and describe it from a male perspective. Seemingly, the only attempts in this regard are research studies on violence and rape inside prisons (Gear, Isserow & Nevill 2006; Gear 2005; Gear 2009) with both the victims and perpetrators of violence being interviewed.

Today’s victims of abuse are generally women who are violated predominantly at the hands of men. This is a matter of grave concern to many African men (see for example Shire 2006; Ratele 2008a; Daniels 2009). Sesanti (2011) demonstrates a clear concern as he, as an African man, observes that many of the cultural traditions that were originally instituted for the sanctity of women have been gravely misconstrued and misinterpreted through a lens of Europeanised patriarchy to become cultural justifications for violence and abuse against women. In relation to the issues of sexual violence, rape and culture in Africa, few, if any, studies have been conducted by African male researchers. This, in turn, while highlighting a need to study the problems from within the “group”, may be seen as a crucial factor in that it touches on topics laced with taboos, non-communication, misinformation as well as deeper, psychological issues.

This research study has been guided by an interrogation of South African, African and African Diaspora literature. The logic of applying literature from different parts of the world to the discussion of African problems is supported by Magubane (2000). In his view, the experiences of capitalism, slavery and colonialism have created many similarities between African peoples across the continent and as regards the African Diaspora. It is important not to equate directly all situations that appear to be similar, as this could lead to grossly oversimplified analyses. However, for the purposes of this study, analytical observations regarding the relationships between rage, rape, culture and African men have been carried out in a complementary sense, and not comparatively. Although the main focus is on African men in South Africa, theory developed across the African scholarly world has been consulted.

1.4. Research problem and research question

1.4.1. Research problem

The institution of familyhood, in the sense of an extended, kinship based structure, is generally seen as the foundation of African cultures (Mbiti 1989). The premise of this study is based on what could appear to be indicators of deterioration within the modern African family: Escalating divorce rates, domestic violence, alarming statistics on sexual abuse and rape, absent fathers and the “norm” in South Africa of perceiving Black men as violent, criminal and redundant (Ratele 2008b; Sesanti 2011; Maluleke 2012) . While several studies confirm the increase in the incidences of rape and sexual violence perpetrated by men, few attempt to explain the root causes of these phenomena, and neither do they seek to find practical ways of transforming negative masculinities (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle 2009). Thus, the researcher has identified a need to challenge current understandings of African masculinity, interrogate what sexual violence, as a phenomenon, is a response to, and formulate some recommendations on how to decode the explanations and solutions articulated in African indigenous knowledge systems.

1.4.2. Research question

The main research question that is asked in this study is: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions as regards rape within the African culture, and what solutions in terms of restorative justice on the part of men may be identified?

The aim of this investigation has been to study the meaning of, and response to, rape within an African cultural context. Could there be cultural values that, if revived, would lead to a lower prevalence of rape? What are the underlying issues that trigger rage in some African men and what may be done to overcome these challenges in a healthy way?

Additional questions include:

- What is African masculinity?
- Why do African men rape? (The psychology of rape and sexual violence within an African context)
- Are there specific aspects of African culture that either promote or justify sexual violence and rape?
- Are there correlations between historical injustices, rage, masculinity, rape, identity and culture?

How may we identify relevant African indigenous knowledge which may inform our contemporary understanding and approach to rehabilitation and preventative practices in dealing with men and sexual violence?

- What is the potential role of African knowledge within our social institutions today as regards the development of methodologies to foster balanced and sound African male identities, and, eventually, resolve the issue of rape?

1.5. Cultural conditions

As culture may be seen as an organising concept which provides meaning for human activities (Rosman & Rubel 2001), this study is interested in the conditions that culture either creates or provides and which impact on morals and behaviour. Cultural conditions may be seen as referring to qualities and states of human and social life that have been impacted upon

or created by culturally motivated values, practices or events (Wamalia, Byaruhanga, Balfovo, Kigongo, Mwanahewa & Tusabe 1999). Culture, as a set of values and expectations representing a particular world view, impacts on what people do, what they do not do and on their moral judgement regarding what is done and not done. Hence, the conditions that culture creates or provides represent material, social, political, human and economic possibilities or limitations (Okere 1996).

This study is particularly interested in the types of conditions that culture presents either to justify or to sanction rape. Examples of such conditions may be linked to what Shechory and Idisis (2006) describe as rape myths. Rape myths take on a social character, and are informed by moral judgements rooted in cultural values. Applied to rape these myths would manifest as situations or circumstances where rape is found to be excusable, or even commendable, from a cultural point of view.

1.6. Research aim and objectives

In view of the fact that many of the statistics on the behaviour and actions of African men depict an alarmingly negative picture (see hooks 2004; Motsei 2007), there is a need to go beyond merely studying the numbers of offences. Accordingly, the aim of this study is to find out how African culture justifies and sanctions rape, and what components of African tradition may help us to respond to men's rage and the need for developing positive African masculinities. The purpose of this work has, thus, been to interrogate African culture; to expect from African traditions that they will offer some clues, guidelines and practical steps on how to deal with injustice, anger and extreme violations of moral codes; in this case, rape.

The aim of this study, therefore, is also to look at the relations between political history, psychology, social behaviour, cultural norms, gender identities and the potential for change within cultural knowledge and practices. Accordingly, the study's focus is geared towards approaches – rooted in African knowledge – to the development of positive African masculinities. Studies of relevant literature and the research conducted have been shaped by the need to develop a framework for further discussion and research, this resulting in programmes that will respond directly to the problems outlined in the paper.

The study is anchored in philosophy of education, and is focused on the transmission of cultural values in socialisation (so-called informal education), rather than formal institutions of learning. This is not to dismiss the importance of cultural values in formal education. It is, rather, an attempt to specifically investigate the nature of socio-cultural learning processes – and their relation to violent behaviours.

In order to realise these aims, the study investigates contemporary and traditional culture. It also looks specifically at cultural conditions for the justification and sanction of rape. In addition, it investigates the rage of some African men and its connection to rape as well as outlining some possible tools with which men may work in addressing rape from a cultural point of view. The research has a practical objective in that it has been geared towards helping to crystallise information and findings that may be of benefit to greater understanding and transformation as regards working with men and sexual violence. In addition, the study will, hopefully, serve as an educational aid in informing work carried out within – and by – research, cultural institutions, families, communities and, not the least, African men.

1.7. Conceptual and theoretical framework

The underlying concept of this study may be described as understanding rape as an extreme act of human destruction, taking place within a psycho-social context and affected by history and culture promoting a set of social norms. Rape is often perceived as a cultural phenomenon (see Herman 1995; Sommers 2004; Hari 2010) but it has rarely been explained contextually in how/why it happens within African communities. In addition, to the extent that that explanations have been attempted, the studies tend to be narrow – looking at poverty, class and economy as determinants – and problem-oriented, rather than solution-oriented (see Jewkes et al. 2009; Francois et al. 2011). There appears to be a negative assertion, almost self-explanatory, of coincidence between “African community” and the “problem”. This study seeks to turn this perception upside down in investigating the potential for change which is advocated in African traditional wisdom? In what way may this potential for change be traced, revitalised and made relevant to contemporary needs?

The intention of this study is not to pretend that it is possible to go back in time, neither is it to presume that it is possible, by collective will, that African societies will ever revert to a

pre-colonial, African way of life. On the contrary, this study takes a brutally honest look at a phenomenon which carries an enormously high social price and which requires a solution. Culture is, at the same time, regarded as both a problem and a solution. In view of the fact that culture serves as a guideline for human behaviour, this research seeks to identify its potential for social transformation.

The problems of rape, sexual violence and aggression are seen as manifestations of deeper and more complex conflicts, possibly exacerbated by historical legacies of oppression and powerlessness. These problems are also seen as taking place within a culture that enables rape to take place. The study is an inquiry into what African culture says about violence and sexual assault, and the extent to which this is common knowledge. In addition, the study investigates the assumption as to whether there may be “male cultures” in terms of which contemporary African men use culturally founded notions in order to legitimise the act of rape. In most cases rape is discussed in terms of men’s power over women. However, in the case of African men, there is a situation in which men are abusing power and yet, in many ways, they are powerless (Ratele 2008a).

The motivation for the study rests on a notion that, embedded in African knowledge, there are tools for the prevention of, and cure for, violence and guidelines for building peace and healthy relationships although these tools may now have been lost or, at the very least, their impact has been minimised. The study does, however, investigate whether these tools may be reinterpreted and revived in order to facilitate a moral regeneration of African masculinity as a function of the restoration of the African family.

1.8. Definition of terms

Three terms, which all encompass controversial connotations, feature frequently in this research. Thus, for the sake of clarity and consistency, the following definitions have guided their use in the inquiry:

Black

The term ‘Black’ appears in this thesis frequently – and often interchangeably with the term ‘African’ – in reference to people of African descent. The term, which is often used to signify

a sense of solidarity against a common experience of racism (Gordon 1997), and which sometimes refers to a state of mind rather than physical characteristics (Biko 2004) and, at other times, includes people of African, Asian and Latin-American ancestry (Sesanti 2011), is contested and not unproblematic. Used in this research the term aligns itself with the use which includes people indigenous to Africa and their descendants throughout the African continent and the African Diaspora (Buntu 2003). However, while using the term in this study, the researcher does acknowledge with concern the limitations, racist origin and tendency to identify Black people as a homogenous group inaccurately of the term.

African

In this thesis the term ‘African’ is used interchangeably with the term ‘Black’ in referring to people of African descent. The term has become particularly politicised in South Africa where it may denote ancestry (or race), citizenship or even geographical place of birth (Prah 1999). Used in this research the term aligns itself with the use which includes people indigenous to Africa and their descendants throughout the African continent and the African Diaspora (Buntu 2003). However, while using the term in this study, its multiple meanings and tendency to identify African people as a homogenous group inaccurately are acknowledged with concern.

Race

The belief in race as a biological determinant to explain human differences has been definitively denounced and proven untrue (Asante 2003). Nevertheless, race, as denoted by visible characteristics, such as skin colour, hair texture and other physical attributes, continues to inform the way in which we define both ourselves and others. In South Africa the term “race” has particularly sensitive connotations in the aftermath of the systematic racial oppression of the Apartheid policy as the government has attempted to practise nonracialism in the democratic dispensation established in 1994 (Adhikari 2005). Race-focused discourses and practices are reflected in an institutionalised social reality (Gordon 1997), impacting on all spheres of human life; the gap between rich and poor, imbalances in political power as well as practices of exclusion and discrimination (Sesanti 2011). In this study, race is used to describe an aspect of socio-economic realities in which skin colour, prejudice and racism play a significant part. While using the term in this study, its fallacy, limitations, racist origin and history of separation are acknowledged with concern.

1.9. Structure of the study

The study first investigates literature and theories about the four main concepts which are the focus of the study, namely, rape, masculinity, culture and rage. A broad approach is applied although the focus is on an African centred inquiry. As will be demonstrated, the discussion on rape involves multiple layers and categories of themes, disciplines, perspectives and theories. However, in order to retain the focus of the investigation there is a bias towards African sources although this does not negate the fact that all the concepts discussed in this research correspond with large volumes of knowledge located in other worldviews.

After the literature review, the methodology chosen and the activities involved in carrying out the research will be explained. Thereafter, a discussion on the research findings follows. The study ends by presenting the conclusions drawn and offering recommendations which reflect the understanding gained through the analysis of the research data and the theory.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW: RAPE, MASCULINITY, CULTURE AND RAGE

2.1. Introduction

The main research question outlined in this study is: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions on rape within African culture, and what solutions as regards the restorative justice of men may be identified? Attempting to answer this question, the study aims to identify cultural conditions in relation to the four major thematic concepts: Rape, masculinity, culture and rage.

In this chapter a broad range of literature is examined in light of the research questions and research objectives. The literature review attempts to explore each thematic concept with the objective of investigating its meaning, its complexity and its role in the development of cultural solutions to sexual violence. The chapter will commence by examining the concepts, thematic focus and paradigms relevant to the study as this helps to locate the inquiry within a broader framework. Each of the four concepts that guide the study will then be explored.

2.1.1. Concepts and thematic focus

The following broad questions serve as guide for this inquiry, namely, how does culture impact on rape in Africa? And how do constructs of masculinity and rage relate to the discussion on rape and sexual violence? This chapter reviews the literature which investigates rape, masculinity, culture and rage, in order to identify certain key concepts that may point to a better understanding and resolution of the phenomenon of rape within an African cultural context. While acknowledging that rape includes a wide range of sexual abuses, the focus of this inquiry is narrowed down to men who rape women. As noted by Du Toit (2009) and Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds and Gidycz (2011), rape is, first and foremost, an offence committed by men towards women. Thus, in view of the fact that it would appear that there is extensive literature devoted to studying women as the victims of rape, it was possible to identify a need to study men's attitudes, behaviours and choices. Surely if men are the predominant perpetrators of rape, then some key answers to this social problem may be found in notions and performances of manhood.

Although defined primarily in terms of criminal law, rape takes place within a psycho-social context and is affected by norms and values that are, in turn, shaped by culture and history (Zillmann 1998; Horvath & Brown 2009). As stated previously, four major concepts guide this inquiry:

1. Rape
2. Masculinity
3. Culture
4. Rage

In view of the fact that rape is the central thematic focus of the study, the objective is to broaden the understanding of rape through understanding masculinity (as notions of manhood in relation to sexual violence), culture (as a provider of tools for justifying and sanctioning social behaviour) and rage (as an emotional catalyst for violence and brutality).

Scully (1990) suggests that it is essential that, instead of focusing solely on rape victims, a solution oriented study of rape should, instead, also be concerned with the phenomenological world that men encounter. As most rape offenders are men it is, in her view, essential to understand the ontological premises of why men rape. This view is supported by Peacock and Khumalo (2007) and Horvath and Brown (2009) who also acknowledge that rape must be understood within a wider context of cultural and political dynamics. Thus, in line with these views, this study interrogates the concepts of culture, rage and masculinity in relation to rape.

This inquiry is addressing rape in Africa, and, more specifically, in South Africa. Although the study attempts to apply a broad outlook, the focus is directed mostly towards a South African context as South Africa is an African country in which it is widely asserted that rape has become a problem of alarming proportions (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle 2009). A complete understanding of the impact of rape in African countries is hampered by insufficient studies and, sometimes, culturally masked barriers that make it difficult for victims to report rape. In South Africa rape has been described as a phenomenon of epidemic proportions with some studies and reports indicating more than 70 000 rapes annually (South African Police Service 2010) and also that more than 25% of all men have committed rape (Jewkes et al. 2009).

As argued by Mignolo (2009), notions of neutrality and the ability of researchers to describe the world objectively must be questioned. There is a long tradition within academic research in terms of which the Western scholar is regarded as superior to the “Southern” academic – “As we know: the first world has knowledge, the third world has culture” (Mignolo 2009:2). Similar to the way in which Ani (1994) describes the dichotomy between “real knowledge” (seen as “mind”) and “limited knowledge” (seen as soul), the African scholar must limit his/her scope to Africa while the Western scholar has no limitation and he/she is free to speak about the world.

According to Mignolo (2009), honest scholarship involves acknowledging that the academic world has been built on a Western premise, filtered through a colonial matrix of power, conceptualised through a racial system of social classification and compartmentalised through a remapping of the world into first, second and third. Mignolo (2009:7) also identifies two emerging directions of what he terms “epistemic disobedience” within global knowledge production and social development. He refers to one of these directions as *de-westernisation* – which may be described as a countermovement within a capitalist economy in terms of which the rules are no longer defined by Western players and institutions – and the second direction as a de-colonial position – which includes various ideological streams which have in common the fact that they are based on a definitive rejection of accepting the role of “the other” and a reorientation of European centred modernity.

This study is informed by an African-centred focus which, without implying that all African experiences are the same, attempts to examine similarities as experienced by African people. As has been a long tradition in Western scholarship, there is a danger in oversimplifying both Africa and Africans (Ephraim 2003). An African-centred approach, in the view of Van Dyk (1995) and Akinyela (2006), affirms an African cultural location as the principal metaphor of analyses, speaks to the interest of African people and challenges the theoretical and cultural assumptions of universality which are prevalent in many Western paradigms.

The study first examines rape, both in general and in relation to (South) Africa. This is followed by an interrogation of notions of masculinities, as pertaining specifically to African men. Culture, as a guideline for human behaviour, is then examined for its potential as regards social transformation, but also its role in legitimising destructive values. Further, this is followed by an examination of issues around rage as a psychological response to internal

and external conflicts and as a precursor to violence. Finally, salient points are used in a wider discussion of the way in which the thematic concepts interlink. In view of the fact that the inquiry's prime motivation is to identify African solutions, the inquiry attempts to specifically, although not exclusively, examine sources that articulate African perspectives and analyses.

2.1.2. Paradigms and approaches

As explained by Strauss and Corbin (1998), paradigms are analytical tools that support the researcher in integrating structure and process. Mazama (2001) argues that, although the term paradigm is somewhat ambiguous due to its multiple definitions, it articulates helpful organizing principles around specific modes of scientific thoughts and practices. Eckberg and Hill (1980), with reference to philosopher Kuhn, describe a paradigm as a shared commitment to scientific beliefs, habits, terms and techniques within a “community” of like-minded practitioners.

A paradigm, then, becomes a scientific approach to the understanding of particular problems. The main problem under investigation in this study is rape. Applying four thematic concepts – rape, rage, masculinity and culture – in the inquiry, the study analyses not only the psychology of rape, but also social, cultural and structural dimensions of human phenomena.

More than merely examining the psychological processes in the individual rapists that make rape either possible or likely, the focus of this study is the external environment as well as the social factors and cultural processes in terms of which rape is endorsed and rendered acceptable. However, examining those factors within culture that justify and sanction male sexual violence as a result of rage, necessitates a social outlook. Socialisation may be defined as a process during which people are acculturated to attitudes and ways of behaving that enable them to participate in society (Harway & O'Neil 1999). It may, therefore, be advisable to understand rape as a social construct in order to explain the context in which meaning, perceptions, attitudes and behaviour are shaped. To this end, socialization theory provides a useful scientific approach.

As socialisation helps us to acquire moral codes, social skills and functional roles in society, it is also, as Vogelmann (1990b) points out, responsible for perpetuating sexist ideas and behaviours. When, for example, the domination of women has been a consistent component of social patterns, the process of socialisation ensures that this appears to be the natural order of things (ibid.).

This study also examines culture as a determining social factor in understanding rape. As culture represents a guideline for appropriate and inappropriate behaviour (Yon 2000), the focus of the study is on culture in relation to African men. In what way does African culture justify or sanction rape? What are the links between African masculinities, culture, rage and sexual violence? In view of the fact that rape is perceived as a result of an extreme anger or disregard leading, in turn, to violence (Zillmann 1998), it is essential to gain an understanding of where this rage originates and also to examine the conditions in African culture which may be harnessed to manage this anger.

Significant to socialisation theory is the belief that behaviour is a result of social, rather than biological, factors. However, critics of the theory argue that it does not allow for individual indifference and the possibility of making decisions which are contradictory to what has been advanced as socially acceptable (Koss & Harvey 1991). As argued by May and Strikwerda (1994), rape, although normally committed by an individual man, is likely to occur as a result of a socialisation culture in which men learn from peers that sexual coercion is linked to demonstrations of manliness and masculinity. Such a view may easily lead to a deterministic notion that, since society is oppressive to women, all men are inclined to rape. Interestingly, as pointed out by Laulimère, Harris, Quinsey and Rice (2005), rape may be a result of a socialised process but, in many instances, it is the individuality of a man that defines the majority of men who do not rape.

Central to socialisation is the way in which gender role expectations are taught and perceived to influence an individual's identity from birth (Thorne 1993). Male aggression towards women is likely to be a result of being raised in a family or a social setting where females are the targets of attitudes and behaviours that both degrade and abuse women (Koss & Harvey 1991). South Africa has a fairly rigid culture of gender roles and also promotes strong expectations, socially, politically and culturally, in regard to the way in which masculinity and femininity should be practised (Walker 2005).

Engraved in African epistemology is a strong emphasis on learning processes, in particular, the imparting of wisdom and skills from one generation to the next (Nabudere 2011). As Westernised modernity has reshaped and corrupted many of the cultural foundations of traditional society, important information and institutions for social cohesion have deteriorated (Asante 2003).

Transdisciplinary research offers a new dimension to the process of knowledge production by seeking to transcend and integrate disciplinary paradigms in order to respond to socially relevant – and not purely academic – issues (Pohl 2011). Broadening the academic research scope, transdisciplinarity is oriented towards problem fields in the life-world (Hirsch Hadorn, Hoffmann-Riem, Biber-Klemm, Grossenbacher, Joye, Pohl et al. 2008) – a position which is articulated in the observation “the world has problems, universities have departments” (Brewer 1999:328). This approach is well suited to situations where “the concrete nature of problems is disputed, and when there is a great deal at stake for those concerned by problems and involved in dealing with them” (Pohl & Hirsch Hadorn 2006:20). Examples of such problem fields include migration, violence, health, poverty, global environmental change and cultural transformation processes.

In view of the fact that every paradigm has its limitations, this inquiry aspires to apply a multitude of approaches. Nabudere (2011) advances Afrikology as an authentic platform with academic aspirations, drawing “... together all the strands achieved from all the different perspectives of the African worldview (...) and uses this to critique Eurocentric mystification” (p. 159). As a term Afrikology encapsulates both the gathering of data and the application of knowledge as complementary processes. This, as part of an African-centred approach represents a platform for multidisciplinary research, discourse and applied knowledge and adheres to what Asante has described as the necessity to “... abandon ethnocentric and racist systems of logic and, therefore, to place the undiscussed in the center of discourse” (Asante 1990:140). Thus, as a philosophy of education, Afrikology transmits theoretical knowledge into both cognitive and pragmatic currencies.

Hountondji (2002) explains the role of African philosophy as a form of methodological inquiry which relies on rational justification and interpretive argumentation with the intent to bring about a critical transformation of African thought and practice. Authenticity and purpose are central to this argument. In turn, African philosophy positions education as a

process of mediating through what Waghid (2004) terms deliberative inquiry – a structure of dialogue which allows for a combination of critical reflection, active listening and inclusive logic as it aims to reconstitute “Africanness”.

The reluctance demonstrated in Afrikology to be confined within Academia easily relates to transdisciplinary research, which is an orientation towards problem fields in the life-world rather than attempting to suit problem analyses within established disciplines (Hirsch Hadorn et al. 2008) Thus, rather than attempting to simplify the complexity and uncertainty of a problem, transdisciplinary research employs an intertwined, three phase, focal analyses which includes problem identification, problem analysis and bringing the results to fruition (Wiesmann, Hirsch Hadorn, Hoffmann-Riem, Biber-Klemm, Grossenbacher, Joye et al. 2008).

2.2. Rape

2.2.1 Introduction of rape as concept

With rape being the main focus of examination, this study is a cultural investigation into the links between rape and culture, rage and masculinity. Theories on how to define and understand rape, as well as writings on how rape manifests contextually are analysed in order to explain the ontological make up of rape.

As a phenomenon, rape is closely related to a number of other social problems (Zillmann 1998; Smith 2004; Horvath & Brown 2009). Issues such as oppression, marginalisation and poverty are often the underlying catalysts for violence (Eriksson Baaz & Stern 2010). In other words; violence breeds further violence. When writing about rape in an African context it is important to take note of the many stereotyped images that have been linked to this continent and its people concerning sexuality and bestial violence (Smith 2004; Motsei 2007; Crawford 2012). However, in this study, rather than being seen as an “African phenomenon”, rape is studied as a phenomenon which is prevalent in Africa. In addition, the study is not seeking to compare rape in Africa with rape in other continents, but, rather, present a qualitative examination of cultural tendencies that may be of importance in the solving of a social problem.

2.2.2 Defining rape

Definitions of rape and, also, the way in which the phenomenon of rape is explained and understood, vary in different parts of the world and at different times in history (Smith 2004). The World Health Organization (2011) sees rape as sexual assault against another person without that person's consent while the violation may be carried out using physical force, coercion, abuse of authority or with a person who is incapable of valid consent. An increasing awareness of rape and sexual violence and their implications and effects has led to a more substantial discourse internationally. According to UN Statistics (2002), the highest number of rape takes place in United States (almost 100,000 rapes per annum) while South Africa has the highest rape per capita rate with 1,2 rapes per 1 000 people. However, the reality in South Africa is probably far worse than these figures indicate, as slow legal processes, fear of stigmatisation and discouraging social attitudes result in a substantial underreporting of rape cases (Kilmartin & Allison 2007).

Horvath and Brown (2009) apply a broad definition of rape as penetration of the vagina and/or anus with a penis without consent. However, rape may also involve other forms of sexual assault, including a range of behaviours from unwanted touching to penetration with an object.

The literature about rape discusses the following seven major classifications of rape (Lori & Megan 1999; Molla, Ismail, Kumie & Kebede, 2002; Smith 2004):

1. Rape as sexual contact through attack or coercion or by threat
2. Statutory rape – rape of victims who are under the age of consent
3. Marital rape – when a husband forces his wife to have sexual intercourse against her will
4. Gang rape – when the forced sexual violence is committed by two or more perpetrators
5. Date/acquaintance rape – a term describing one partner/friend/relative coercing another into unwanted sexual contact
6. Child/baby rape – rape of small children
7. Wartime rape – rape of women as part of war

Besides the physical violation involved in rape, the crime raises several moral and philosophical issues. As noted by Reitan (2001), in terms of patriarchy, rape has been understood “primarily as a violation of the property rights of men” (p. 43) and as a concept serving “to protect a man’s right to exclusive sexual access to ‘his’ women” (p. 43). However, how this should be reflected in the debate about rape has given rise to controversy.

Sommers (2004) has criticised the rape statistics in America as flawed and based on erroneous premises simply to “scarify” the population into believing rape is more prevalent than it actually is. Reitan (2001) observes that some writers have taken issue with rape definitions, claiming that there is a feminist “agenda” to “call everything rape” while Podhoretz (1991; 1992) criticises the term “date rape” and claims that it is an exaggeration of what was once termed seduction. Sommers, Reitan and Podhoretz have all proposed a wider discourse on both the moral issues and accuracy in relation to sexual crimes.

Burgess-Jackson (1999) agrees that, perhaps, definitions of rape are vague, but, as Reitan (2001) writes, seeking a narrow definition may also mean silencing moral perspectives in the debate. In view of the fact that rape has a powerful, appraisive meaning and also the normative significance of the way in which rape is defined, it is important to understand rape as an essentially contested concept with sufficient flexibility to accommodate open moral discourse and, at the same time, apply a core meaning which helps to frame the discourse (ibid.).

Claims of hysteria in the feminist context surface from time to time (Sommers 2004). However, even if some rape statistics are, indeed, exaggerated, this should not take away the focus from the well documented fact that rape is one of the most underreported crimes.

2.2.3. Reasons for rape

It would appear that it is common to assert that rape is an act of violent frustration, either as a result of a lack of access to sex or as acting out of extreme hatred against women (Holmes & Holmes 2009). However, this may lead to an assumption that, in situations where men are deprived of sexual possibilities, the rape statistics will be high. Zillmann (1998) disagrees with this view and concludes, after referring to numerous research studies from various

disciplines that a lack of access to sex does not necessarily lead to forced sex. In his view, repression may be seen as a consequence rather than as a cause of rape.

By integrating both the theory and research from biology, anthropology, neurophysiology, endocrinology and psychology, Zillmann (1998) has studied the way in which aggression relates to sexuality and demonstrated that exposure to violence, dehumanising behaviour against women and pornographic material may exacerbate sexual aggression (ibid.). However, as Zillmann (1998) points out, Western industrialised culture metes out punitive action to those who are found guilty by law of the crime of rape, but, at the same time, contradicts itself in that the devaluation of women is both protected and advanced through the media, commercial advertisements and pornographic material.

Kilmartin and Allison (2007) have stated that intimate partner violence often takes place within a cultural context that supports the phenomenon. Thus, rape in this context is linked to cultural endorsement ruled by negative cultures of masculinity with a need for men to feel superior to women:

When there are social demands for men to display a superiority and disconnection to the feminine ideals and to women themselves, there will always be men who attack women in an attempt to assert a defence against feelings of powerlessness (...) (ibid., p. 123).

Groth (in Zillmann 1998:57) has distinguished between rape as sexual conquest, aggressive abuse and sadistic rape with the first being the most common. In terms of sexual conquest the drive for pleasure is satisfied in being able to have sex, but is obtained in a brutal manner that goes far beyond merely having access to sex. However, in criticising this assessment, feminist theory has objected to the perception of male domination and abuse of women as an aspect of sexuality (ibid.) with sexual coercion rather being described as abuse of power to relegate women to a status of inferiority.

According to Horvath and Brown (2009), a number of factors influence our understanding of rape including attitudes, definitions, social discourse, attrition, research methods and practice application. For the purpose of this study we shall not interrogate the legal, research and practice aspects as much as we shall look at the socio-cultural context in which rape is

justified, neglected and minimised. However, the study acknowledges the burden of inhumanity which rape imposes on the victim of rape emotionally, psychologically and spiritually – a burden which is prolonged and worsened by ineffective and biased judiciary systems.

2.2.4. Ontology of rape

A controversial issue in the study of rape has been whether to investigate the victim or the offender. Scully (1990) argues, in opposition to radical feminists who would focus exclusively on women's experiences, it is necessary to focus on the phenomenological world that men encounter. She maintains that, although attention to the victim is necessary, sole emphasis on the victim may lead to blaming the victim. Scully further refers to a major study conducted over 10 years with incarcerated rapists in 10 prisons in the United States and which found that 77% of the respondents felt no remorse or shame and that many perceived women to enjoy physical domination. This articulates a need to understand a rapist's self-concept otherwise there will be little hope for altering behaviour.

In contrast to the above view, Du Toit (2009:40) finds it "suspicious" to understand rape as a phenomenon based more on the rapist's intentions than the victim's experience. In her view, victims experience rape as a reinforcement of a dominant epistemological paradigm and this is also reflected in medical, legal and law enforcement practices. Hence, it is not possible to study rape on the basis of singular events of rape. On the other hand, Du Toit advances a need to study rape at a symbolic level, investigate the collective and historic sense (over time) of rape and identify what this "meaning-making" activity may tell us about our deepest held convictions about sexual identities and differences.

The views of both Scully and Du Toit are interesting, especially because it would seem that they both wish to arrive at a very similar destination– to understand how rape occurs so that it may be prevented. This speaks to the need to investigate the meaning of rape as well as the cultural conditions that justify or sanction rape. In a recent study conducted in the USA, four prevailing myths about rape were found to be dominant, namely, "husbands cannot rape their wives," "women enjoy rape," "women ask to be raped," and "women lie about being raped" (Edwards et al. 2011). A problematic aspect of rape is that it is not a momentary act of force

only but it also has a long and traumatic aftermath. As rape is largely interpreted, in legal terms, through the worldview of patriarchal male supremacy, it also touches on fundamental aspects of self, spirituality, culture and societal values (Motsei 2007).

2.2.5 Rape in the context of Africa

Rape in Africa is a complex and broad theme involving multiple conflicts and challenges on political, cultural, economic and social levels. It should be noted that this study will not do justice to the impact and intricacy of rape across the African continent, but merely state that rape is a problem of critical importance which needs far greater attention than it currently receives.

According to United Nations Statistics (2002), the United States, South Africa and Canada are the countries with the highest number of rapes in the world (ranging from 25 000 to 100 000 a year), with South Africa topping the rape per capita statistics with 1,2 rapes per 1 000 people. Smith (2004) points to statistics showing that between four and six females are raped in the Lagos State in Nigeria daily, 10 000 rapes are committed each year in Egypt while the World Health Organization (2011) reports that 70% of women in Ethiopia are sexually violated by an intimate partner and that the first sexual experience for 28% of women in Tanzania is reported as forced. Rape also plays a significant part in violations against women by soldiers in countries at war, topped by reports of an average of 48 females aged 15 to 49 being raped every hour in the Democratic Republic of Congo (Al Jazeera 2011).

However, numbers do not always portray the actual situation. In addition to the underreporting of rape, imbalances in exposure may also play a part in the way in which rape is perceived. In the reporting of rape, Motsei (2007) identifies a bias which plays into the stereotypes of Black men as “expected to rape”:

When foreign media networks descend on Soweto or Upington to document horrific stories of babies and women being raped by unemployed, browbeaten black men living off social grants, they should make an equal amount of noise about the gang

rape of innocent women and girls by white men wearing helmets, carrying rifles and backpacks in armies based around the world (ibid., p. 81).

This is not to deny the fact that rape is a problem throughout the African continent. The Encyclopedia of Human Sexuality (Francoeur 2001) confirms that although African countries have legislation which makes rape a criminal offence, the practice of law often makes it very hard for women to press charges and seek justice. In several countries girls and women are subjected to sexual violence and rape as part of educational institutions (such as boarding schools and universities), oppressive cultural systems (for example bride abduction and ritualised slavery) and political conflicts and warfare (Makisaka & Marc 2011). Additional challenges include the stigma women face when reporting rape and lack of statistical material on sexual violence in many countries, making it difficult to quantify the magnitude of the problem.

A survey from 2009 showed that an average of 77% of the population in 18 African countries see rape as a major problem, with the percentage in six of the countries (among them South Africa and Democratic Republic of the Congo) reaching 90% or higher (Delmeiren 2010). A deeper crisis can be identified in that, beyond the numbers of sexual violations, a challenge of not finding answers to the questions “why does rape happen?” and “how do we stop rape?” seem to prevail (Makisaka & Marc 2011).

2.2.6. Underreporting of rape

A number of studies on rape in Africa appear to agree that there is gross underreporting of rape and sexual violence in African countries with some of the studies attributing this to the prevalence of cultural taboos concerning sexuality, making rape a topic that is avoided in the public discourse (Francoise, McRae & Grais 2011; Hari 2010). Others locate the answer in the fact that sexual violence is perceived as a gender issue which is not accorded much priority (Motsei 2007; Du Toit 2009), while others again find the explanation in the fact that reporting rape is met with a slow judicial system with the victim’s trauma escalating, rather than being relieved (Krieg 2007; Akinwale 2010). A study conducted by the South African Medical Research Council in 2009 found that one in 25 rapes only were reported to the police (SAPA 2011). This relates to concerns that have been raised over the interplay between fear

of stigmatisation, discouraging social attitudes and slow legal processes (Kilmartin & Allison 2007) resulting in victims being reluctant to report rape.

2.2.7. Rape as culture

Rape is sometimes carried out disguised as part of cultural traditions. In many African countries, insufficient studies on rape lead to ignorance about the problem and denial of its effects and may even help to mask rape as culturally justifiable (Gessesew & Mesfin 2004). Hari (2010) tells of how rape is considered as part of some marriage customs in Ethiopia. Referred to as bride-kidnappings, a young girl who is considered ready for marriage is seized by a man who will rape her and she must then serve this man for the rest of her life. Although bridal abductions have been technically illegal since 2005, the law is interpreted extremely loosely by the police and judges, especially in rural areas. Burrill, Roberts & Thornberry (2010) make reference to a World Health Organization (WHO) study from 2005 which found that women in Ethiopia had reported the highest rate of domestic physical and sexual violence in Africa.

There is a similar custom prevalent in South Africa, exemplified by *Ukhuthwala* among the amaXhosa (Maluleke 2012). This custom involves a type of kidnapping of a young woman by a man and his friends, with the goal of exerting pressure on the woman's family to agree to marriage negotiations. It would appear that this custom is an example of a practice that has lost its original meaning and to which violence and force have been added, although both violence and force were not originally part of the practice. According to Maluleke (ibid.), *Ukhuthwala* is an old custom that was practised only rarely and which did not include violent abduction, rape or even consensual sex. On the contrary, the custom was guided by strict procedures and was understood more as an intervention to encourage young, unmarried people to marry. However, in the last few years, reports of this custom have resurfaced in South Africa, with the practice evidently being carried out with severe brutality and sexual violence (Wadesango, Rembe & Chabaya 2011; Malan 2012; Precious 2012). To some this has become a way in which to force young women to marry old men. Similarly, an additional feature of the traditional initiation and circumcision of young men has been the introduction of the young men being encouraged to "cleanse" themselves by gang raping women (Maluleke 2012).

Rape, in the context of cultural customs, is also found in African countries other than South Africa, but relatively little research has been conducted into this phenomenon. It would appear that a patriarchal worldview, in stark contrast to Africa's pre-colonial cultural norms, has invaded much of the continent.

2.2.8. Rape and warfare

Rape is often associated with war. In times of warfare and conflict, the disregard for other people's lives appears to escalate (Motsei 2007). In war situations around the world, including on the African continent, rape has become a weapon with which to attack women. A study was published in the *American Journal of Public Health*, June 2011, claiming that 400 000 women have been raped on an annual basis in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) (Francoise et al. 2011). Despite the fact that this high number has been challenged by United Nations and by numerous scholars, it is evident that there is a rape crisis in the DRC. Rape during warfare, according to the findings of Eriksson Baaz and Stern (2010), is closely related to cultural values of masculine domination over women in the society. Rape, according to the authors, does not appear solely as a "weapon of war". The "rules" of warfare justifies and intensifies oppressive norms that existed in society before the war started. In other words, ending the war might not automatically mean that rape also ends. As Motsei (2007) points out, rape is not only a weapon used in wars, but it also occurs under the guise of making peace with the many stories of rape by US troops, UN peace-keeping forces and liberation armies serving as examples.

2.2.9. South Africa as "rape capital"

In South Africa there is talk of a rape crisis, to the extent that the country is being called the rape capital of the world, with one of the highest numbers of rape incidents per capita (SAPS 2010). Statistics on rape have escalated from an approximate figure of 16 000 rape incidents annually during the 1980s to an approximate figure of 50 000 per year in the early 90s as cited by The National Institute of Crime Rehabilitation (NICRO) (Vogelmann & Lewis 1993).

The former manager of the Gender Programme at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, Lisa Vetten (2000), has criticised the lack of reliable research into the situation and has stated that “(...) it is inexcusable that we are still guessing about the incidence of rape in South Africa (...). She finds the various reports claiming that rapes occur in South Africa every 17, 23 or 83 seconds to be both unfounded and exaggerated.

The South African Police Service released statistics on crime in South Africa in September 2010, but rape was included under “total sexual offenses”, which, with its account of approximately 70 000 incidents, makes up 10% of all reported crimes (SAPS 2010). In a study undertaken by the Medical Research Council, 27,6% of the men interviewed admitted to have committed rape (Jewkes et al. 2009). This amounts to more than 1 in 4 men having committed rape. Of the number of men who admitted that they had raped, 73% indicated that they had carried out their first assault before the age of 20 (ibid.).

Online research revealed the following 10 recent rape allegations and cases in South Africa – just some of many news reports:

- 17-year-old, mentally disabled girl gang raped by seven boys and men (Smith 2012)
- Seven-year-old girl and her six-year-old brother repeatedly raped by their teacher (Skiti 2012)
- Three men hired by husband to gang rape and mutilate his estranged wife (Morkel 2012)
- Prisoner raped with baton by warder (Raphaely 2012)
- 54-year-old man accused of raping his 13-year-old granddaughter (SAPA 2012a)
- 38-year-old man arrested for rape of 74-year-old woman (SAPA 2012b)
- A man in his 20s arrested for rape of girl under 10 years old (SAPA 2012c)
- 27-year-old man sentenced for rape and murder of 32-year-old woman (SAPA 2012d)
- 59-year-old man arrested for raping 3 girls and one boy (Oelofse 2012)
- 16-year-old boy raped with broom handle by teammates on school rugby tour (*Mail & Guardian* 2012)

It is alarming that the perpetrator of sexual crimes is often a child or, at least, a young person. In a study conducted in the Eastern Cape it was found that 70% of the victims of sexual

assault were children under the age of 20 years (Meel 2008). The Ministry for Women, Children and People with Disabilities reported in 2011 that 15 000 children under 18 years had been the victims of rape over the previous three years (Nkosi 2011). It would appear that a concern about rape resurfaces in South Africa's public discourse from time to time, although, seemingly, little is said about how to stop the practice.

2.2.10. Rape and race

As argued by Davis (1982), hooks (1991, 2004), Motsei (2007) and Burrell (2010) the question of race impacts on the understanding of rape. Stereotypes and negative values attached to Black men's bodies, socioeconomic status, potential for violence and sexual "animalism" have also linked Black men to rape, as if they are almost predisposed to commit sexual assault (Hare & Hare 1993). Ironically, although race is a highly significant feature in, for example, daily life in South Africa, it is also an aspect that is highly contested and feared. Louise du Toit (2009), in her analyses of the meaning of rape, admits that she neglected the theme of race as a factor within the problem of rape in South Africa. To her, "men rape women because men are men and women are women" (Du Toit 2009:3) and, thus, she defines rape as a problem within the context of sexual politics and gender relations, with no analyses of culture, race or class. However, in view of the fact that notions of race have impacted in such a fundamental way on human and cultural values, it may be a grave injustice to omit race from the analyses of rape.

Gordon (1997b) analyses the fear white men developed of Black men raping "their" women. He maintains that the violation of rape depends on human agency for its existence. In an anti-Black world, subjectivity and, therein, also consent and dissent, are located in white masculinity. In a discourse on enslavement, as white men came to perceive themselves as the owners of white women, the possibility of white women being raped by Black men ultimately became the possible rape of the White men themselves. A White masculinity, shaped in contrast to the savagery image of Black men as sexual animals, sustained itself by emasculating – physical or imaginary castration of – Black manhood. Where agency is denied, Gordon continues, violation is possible. African women were rendered "unrapable" because they represent a redundant reality.

Describing the anti-Black world, Gordon makes reference to it, in line with phenomenological sociology, as an ideal type, i.e. a subjunctive reality and a world with strict logic and rationality where “the human body collapses under the weight of existence” (ibid. p. 129). It is a lived experience, based on two directional poles of theocratic values. As articulated by Fanon (1967), whiteness is a desired desire of optimal humanness and Blackness a rejected existence.

2.2.11. Historical injustices and rape

Salaam (2011) finds the Greek mythology of Zeus turning into a bull to abduct and “deflower” the fair maiden in the representation of a beast – also referred to as “the rape of Europe” – as a depiction of the way in which Europe came to symbolise how civilisation, from a Eurocentric perspective, is based on the domination of women. Greek culture may be celebrated for its philosophical ideas, but has also been described as highly misogynist and a cultural foundation for the contempt for women (Salaam 2011; Ani 1994; Ephraim 2003).

In an attempt to understand the meaning and quality of domestic violence in Africa, Amina Mama (1998) points to colonialism. The colonial state, she explains, separated women and men into distinct, Eurocentric, gender categories with women being relegated to private spaces in which movement was restricted while men were encouraged to work outside the home and engage in public state affairs, that is, highly monitored spaces. However, this separation created a new domestic space for violence within a colonial legal structure that condoned domestic violence by men against women and children (ibid.).

African realities of social organisation differ from the centrality accorded to the family as a nuclear unit in Western scholarship (Burrill et al. 2010). Kinship defines the African family more than do close-knit structures and may involve those who work together, those who eat together, those who generate descendants together and those who live together. This social organisation also serves both as social control – detection and correction of abusive behaviour – and as a protected space for women. However, as these systems erode, sexual violence becomes more of a possibility. Increasingly, the family is perceived as a process which translates the impact of structural change into its own sphere (Hareven 1991).

2.2.12. Summary

In this section we have attempted to highlight literature that explains rape. We have looked into definitions of rape and its close relationship with patriarchy (Reitan 2001). The impact of rape, not only as a criminal act, but also in how it is sustained through rape myths (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds & Gidycz 2011), how it escalates as part of warfare (Erikson Baaz & Stern 2009) and how it is linked to race and historical injustices (Gordon 1997b; Salaam 2011), demonstrates that it is strongly linked to cultural conditions. The problem of rape in South Africa, specifically, seems closely connected to the eroding family systems (Haneven 1991), social disintegration (Meel 2008) and the legacy of violent oppression (Motsei 2007).

This section has helped to shed light on what rape is, its prevalence and, in part, what it means. It becomes clear that rape cannot be understood merely in terms of facts and figures. Statistics help to demonstrate the magnitude of the problem surrounding violence, sexual assault and rape. However, they do not explain much about the reasons why these crimes occur and what may be done to prevent further escalation of the problem. Clearly, in order to find solutions to the rape crisis, it is necessary to adopt a multidisciplinary approach with a strong focus on addressing the cultural conditions in which rape takes place.

2.3. Masculinity

2.3.1. Introduction of masculinity as concept

As this research is an inquiry into cultural conditions for rape, it is relevant to look into cultural aspects of manhood. Without saying that most men are potential rapists, it can be said that most rapists are men; are there some leads in the understanding of what constitutes manhood that could lead us to a clearer understanding of rape?

Literature on what is expected from men and what informs their masculinity goes back to ancient times. In Africa, the “Shabaka Inscriptions”, which date from approximately 2500 BC of ancient Kemet (Egypt) and “The Book of Coming Forth by Day” from 2000 BC describe some expectations as regards ideals of masculinity. Other examples include the “Code of Hammurabi”, an ancient Greek text from approximately 1750 BC and statements by King

David of Israel in the Hebrew Bible dating from 1000 BC (Richards 1999). Notions of men's strength, leadership, ethics, courage, generosity, discipline, focus, self-control, integrity and equality feature frequently in these texts.

As regards to masculinity, the focus of this literature review is on the relationship between "modern" notions and traditional expectations of manhood in African culture. According to Bassi (2001), the notions of virility and sexual conquest have featured prominently in assertions of masculinity throughout history. This study does, however, look specifically at aspects of masculinity that relates to sexual violence.

When men violate women, it says much about the status of women in society. However, it may, perhaps, also tell a story about the way in which men are perceived in society and also about the ideals that guide notions of manhood and masculinity. Despite the fact that it is possible for men to be raped, rape remains, predominantly, a reality of women being overpowered by men (Salaam 2011). Accordingly, the high rape statistics encourage an inquiry into notions of masculinity in order to understand rape better.

2.3.2. Defining masculinity

Masculinity is often described as a set of role behaviours that most men are encouraged to perform within a society. Gilmore (1990) studied masculinity cross-culturally and found it to be an achieved status which, almost universally, includes toughness, aggressiveness, stoicism and sexuality. On the other hand, scholars discuss masculinity as a collective gender identity – one that is fluid and socially constructed, rather than a natural attribute (Courtenay 2000). Thus, in view of the fact that several understandings of masculinity coexist, there is an increasing tendency to talk about masculinities in the plural.

Ratele (2008b) points to a close relationship between levels of violence against women and masculinity based on aggressiveness and control. As noted by Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2005:11) the understanding of both masculinity and maleness is shaped by a series of explicit and implicit premises, including:

1. Masculinity and maleness are defined in opposition to feminine and female.

2. Gendered identities depend on the social acquisition of appropriate attributes.
3. Notions of “normality” in relation to anatomy, learned behaviour and desire.
4. Universalisation of biological, sexual and social connotations.

Depending on the context and social codes, to be “a real man” may imply the use of force, violence and confrontation, although it may also include reconciliation, negotiation and opposition to brutality (Cornwall & Lindisfarne 2005). The observation that there are many men who choose not to act out a violent masculinity is important in light of the fact that masculinity is normally defined in violent terms.

Akbar (1991:1–18) distinguishes between maleness, boyhood and manhood as stages of mental and behavioural maturity with maleness being seen as the biological aspect of the male gender, in addition to a psychological and emotional dependency on emotional urges for pleasure and self-indulgence. On the other hand, boyhood is described as a developmental stage which includes discipline, sentiment (feeling for others) and the acquisition of a degree of knowledge. Full maturity is reached in the manhood stage and is defined by discipline (control of maleness), responsible behaviour and altruistic concerns.

Kimmel and Messner (2007) describe masculinity as a quality traditionally associated with men and which is a socially constructed and may have slight variations in relation to identity, culture, ethnicity, context, class and age.

Although the terms do overlap to some extent, it is possible to postulate that maleness is the sex of men (biological gender), masculinity reflects the expectations as regards men’s behaviour (external gender) while manhood refers to the way in which men express and respond to notions of maleness and masculinity (internal gender).

2.3.3. Masculinity studies

It is difficult to discuss masculinity in isolation from feminist studies. Studies of men in their specificities as gendered beings have, in many ways, developed in dialogue with – or in opposition to – feminist theories (Adams & Savran 2002; Shefer et al. 2007). The study of masculinity is essentially a sociological study of power relations in which much attention has

been given to men's power over women. As discussed by Carrigan Connell and Lee (2006), an essential feminist insight would be that the overall relationship between men and women involves domination or oppression.

Despite the fact that this study does not focus specifically on feminist theories, in view of their central role in shaping masculinity studies, it makes sense to note the following: Mandell (1995) traces the origin of feminism back to the philosophical liberalism that grew out of the Age of Enlightenment in the early 1700s. However, the term *feminism* gained momentum in the Western world only in the 1890s with the notions of freedom of choice, equal opportunity and civil rights which were highlighted in liberalist thought playing a major role in the development of feminism. Influenced by – and influencing – shifting ideologies, feminism developed in the industrialised world as a fundamental critique of gender inequalities, patriarchal power and oppression through class, race and political economy.

Carrigan et al. (2006) regard the many studies on sex roles which emerged in the 1950s, for example, Parsons and Bales (1953) and Hartley (1959), as primary investigations into masculinity as a scholarly field. These studies had a somewhat biological focus, took social gender roles for granted and were based on simplified normative notions. However, interestingly, some of the basic assertions in modern masculinity studies had already been articulated at this time; Hartley (ibid.) related the absence of fathers in men's lives to anxiety towards expressing overstrained masculine behaviour, fear of being caught doing something considered feminine and hostility towards anything feminine and female.

Masculinity research has increasingly concerned itself with the questions of maleness and male gender in relation to power, resources, cultural authority, sexuality and oppression (Berger, Wallis & Watson 1995; Adams & Savran 2002; Carver 2004; Edwards 2006). However, in addition to the focus on men in relation to labour, authority and leadership, a shifting emphasis as regards viewing the male body as the main area of masculinity ideals has emerged (Mosse 1998). This aspect has become particularly dominant in the commercialisation of youth culture in which athleticism and hyper-masculinity in the media and the marketing industry have become instrumental in shaping standards for the way in which masculinity should be played out (Burrell 2010).

2.3.4. Masculinity and power

More often than not masculinity is understood in relation to power. In this respect Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2005:20–22) provide a useful overview:

1. The association between men and power is perceived as natural and is seen as virility and the ability to commodify surroundings in line with capitalist values and the symbolic value of instruments of power, for example, guns and penises.
2. Masculinised power is seen as control over resources and the interest in naturalising and perpetuating this control – the power over something or somebody, physical toughness, be like the white man and the need to boost own masculinity by brutalising someone else.
3. The attributions of masculinised power are so pervasive that they are frequently used to signify power, also in settings which have little to do with men – the gendering of rhetoric, metaphors, analyses, negotiations etc.

2.3.5. Hegemonic and multiple masculinities

Habermas (1976) and Connell (1995) have linked the attributes of hegemonic masculinities to the emphasis on power in capitalist cultures. However, as Connell points out, to identify hegemonic masculinity purely with physical aggression would be a misrepresentation as the hegemonic notion also embodies the power of reason and also claims to represent the interest of society as a whole (Connell 1995).

Both feminist and masculinity studies, having for a long time been shaped within ethnocentric moulds and according to western-based perspectives, are increasingly being challenged. Lindsay and Miescher (2003) caution researchers not to apply the term “hegemonic masculinity” – which has become fashionable in western-oriented studies – indiscriminately when studying cultures of masculinity. In addition, arguing against a universalistic approach, Ani (1994) notes that, although male domination manifests in many cultures around the world, it has a specific history in European culture, where it is linked to separation, opposition and dominance. It is normally the values of masculinity as expressed through the European conquest of the world, for example, the slave trade, colonialism and

imperialism, to which scholars refer as hegemonic masculinity ideals which have been enforced on a global scale.

Hegemonic masculinity refers to the standard against which other masculinities are defined (Cornwall & Lindisfarne 2005). Nevertheless, multiple understandings of masculinities coexist in all societies, reflecting factors such as race, class, age, religious affiliation and geographic location (Morrell 2001a). For example, in South Africa, one may state that a common expectation of men is that they should provide income and secure financial resources. However, within an economic climate of high unemployment, there are some families that agree that it is possible for men without income to play other meaningful roles within the household, including parenting, home education for children and maintenance of the house. However, even if a pluralistic nature of masculinities has been identified, not all masculinities are equal and groups construct notions of masculinity that may be enforced. As has been the case in many societies, a dominant group constructs an overarching ideal of masculinity, against which men measure themselves. This, in turn, is referred to as hegemonic masculinities (Ratele 2008b).

2.3.6. African masculinities

In common with the history of most civilisations, the popularised history of Africa is projected primarily as the history of men with stories of warrior leaders, kings, chiefs and liberation heroes throughout Africa allocating little space to African women (Walker 2006). However, even with their overemphasis on the presence of men, the stories told may not have offered a balanced picture of whom African men were, are and may become. Similar to the ethnocentric focus in many feminist works, the study of masculinity has been largely a Western-dominated analyses of the way in which White men in Europe and North America negotiate an identity in relation to expectations, positions and roles (hooks 2004). As noted by Lindsay and Miescher (2003) the study of masculinity in Africa has been carried out mainly by Western-based or Western-oriented scholars concerned with colonial masculinity and, thus, focusing on the “effeminate colonial subject” and the “manly” coloniser.

Increasingly, gender studies have take on less of an anthropological investigation of “subjects” by external researchers and become more self reflective, forward looking analyses

(Aniekwu 2006). In addition, as more African scholars have entered the field, the focus of the investigation has been broadened and deepened. The trend to move away from Western-based feminism to a more African-centred “womanism” (as outlined by Dove 2003) has also inspired a more African-founded outlook on masculinities. Thus, either in response to, or in opposition to, the adaption of Western-based feminist scholarship and interventions throughout the African continent, it is, perhaps, now possible to discern a slowly emerging tradition of African masculinity studies, for example, Shire (2006), Amuyunzu-Nyamongo and Francis (2006), Uchendu (2007; 2008), Ratele (2008b) and Adinkrah (2012). Arguing specifically within the field of gender studies, Ifi Amadiume (1997) blames Western studies of Africa for their tendency to describe and define what is seen and observed, and not necessarily what is understood. By relegating and typecasting African people, including African men with their own specific set of stereotypes, the concept of “otherness” was used to legitimise oppression.

Wilson (1990) sees the collective experience of African men, both on the African continent and in the African Diaspora, as different to the collective experiences of men of European descent. The historical injustices of enslavement and colonialism meted out to Africa and current global racism and neocolonial power imbalances have marginalised African men, both in their eyes and in the eyes of the rest of the world. Morrell (2001b) has described the construction of masculinities in Africa as both a local and a global process with globalisation reshaping the arena in which notions of masculinity are expressed, thus necessitating an in-depth examination of the transformations that are occurring in particular contexts. According to Morrell (*ibid.*), in times of change, men demonstrate either a reactive, accommodating or a progressive response.

2.3.7. The impact of African-centred analyses on masculinity

African-American discourse has a substantive history of multidisciplinary approaches to research on race, gender, psychology, culture and social reconstruction. This, in turn, has also helped to shape an African discourse on masculinities. Inspired by African-centred analyses, Black psychologists such as Wade Nobles, Na'im Akbar and Asa Hilliard have advocated a process of change that allows Black men to rise above oppression and function as liberated, rather than controlled, human beings (Nobles & Goddard 1984; Hilliard 1995; Akbar 2003).

The following points, extracted from Staples (1992), may be used to sum up three important aspects of Black masculinity:

1. Black men are emasculated.
2. The causes of Black men's oppression and their sexism are structurally related to colonialism, enslavement and the rise of monopolistic capitalism.
3. Feminism (both Black and White) fails to acknowledge the suffering of Black men and the cause of their sexism.

This is a useful view as it seeks to locate some of the challenges which Black men encounter and also summarises analyses that are prevalent in African continental discourses. However, it may be argued that Staples does not accord Black men sufficient agency. An explanatory, but problematic, tendency to blame "the system" robs the Black man of his responsibility and masks him as a perpetual victim.

Nevertheless, even if there are overarching notions of what masculinity should be in a society, different interpretations, inevitably, exist side by side. In a Nigerian study, Uchendu (2007) found that, when asked to find descriptions they associated with African masculinity, young females would use words such as violent, authoritative, stoic, independent and fatherly – the latter being associated with caring, protective and affectionate – whereas young males would emphasise work ethics, efficiency, ability to meet financial obligations and be heads of their households.

The Afrocentric paradigm in African studies has brought to the surface the question of whether traditional ("precolonial") African gender sociality was patriarchal. This question was first dealt with in depth by the Senegalese scholar, Cheikh Anta Diop (1989), who found matriarchy to be the predominant social organisation model of ancient Africa. He further identified the forced entry of Islam and Christianity, replacing traditional religions, as the point at which patriarchy emerged in Africa. However, Amadiume (1997) has challenged Diop's work for its somewhat static assumptions, but agrees that patriarchy was a social and cultural construct imposed on Africa.

African masculinities exist as a paradoxical navigation between power and disempowerment. Within a white male dominated Eurocentric world, African men have been, simultaneously

negated and over-determined through stereotypes revolving violence and sexuality (Baruti 2003). The myth of the oversexed Black brute features prominently in the colonial liturgy, and has continued to frame Black masculinity. Burrell (2010) believes that the sexual stereotypes of African masculinities have been so entrenched that many Black men find it difficult to develop a sense of masculinity beyond the stereotypes. bell hooks, in an attempt to dispel Eurocentric myths created about African men, finds that, contrary to the way in which they are projected, African men did not come from traditions obsessed with sexuality:

It is always difficult for Westerners to remember that places exist in the world where the ongoing obsession with sexuality that characterizes life in Europe and the Americas is simply not present (hooks 2004:69).

2.3.8. Masculinity in South Africa

Articulating the challenges facing African men does not necessarily mean to render men helpless or without responsibility for finding solutions to the problems they are facing. Writing specifically about masculinity in Southern Africa, Barker and Ricardo (2005) note the following tendencies:

- Masculinity holds, traditionally, a place of priority.
- Masculinity depends, often, on an older man who holds more power and decides when a young man is able to achieve socially recognised manhood.
- Masculinity, as expressed through initiation practices and rites of passage, often including male circumcision, occupies an important position in the socialisation of boys to men.
- For many young men, sexual experience is frequently associated with initiation into manhood, where violence and coercion become acceptable in fulfilling men's "right" to dominate women.
- Masculinity is responsive to the multitude of social changes, urbanisation and political upheaval, including civil unrest and, in some countries, a lack of social institutions at a national-level.

African masculinities are a collage of fragmented realities with numerous coexisting truths and experiences. However, masculinity is sometimes spoken about as if there is a general agreement about what it actually is. In most African societies the roles of African men are described in relation to the families, clans and communities from which they come, with cultural expectations regarding the specific roles they must play as sons, husbands, fathers and elders (Lesejane 2006; Mkhize 2006; Shire 2006). However, these roles vary in terms of the way in which they are expressed, understood, practised and passed on, despite numerous variations as regards regions, religions, demographics, ideologies, class and status.

2.3.9. African masculinities and violence

Any discussion of African men and violence touches on a minefield of racist assumptions and structural power relations. How is it, thus, possible to position a solution-oriented discourse about those African men who abuse, attack and rape against the over-determined myth of African men as inherently violent? Kopano Ratele (2008b) asserts that it is essential to be able to criticise violence on the part of men without condemning all men – a position that will enable us to understand without excusing. At present African societies, invariably, live with a gender culture which appears to be a reproduction of, or at the very least, heavily influenced by European hegemonic masculinity. There are, indeed, African men who engage in violence, but they are also rendered powerless. They are oppressed, and yet they also oppress. Given that violence is, without a doubt, a definite feature of many African communities, the challenge to study powerless men who are, in fact, exercising authority in terms of their domination of, and violence against, other men and women becomes critical.

The studies on African men and violence have, more often than not, reflected the voices of those researchers who are studying African men and not the voices of African men themselves (hooks 2004; Motsei 2007). In addition, the emphasis in these studies has been, primarily, on history, post-colonial/post-Apartheid analyses of political power, gender identity and sexuality. Although there are exceptions (Ouzgane & Morrell 2005; Richter & Morrell 2006; Shefer et al. 2007), few writers have attempted to enter the territory of violence in a substantial way and describe it from an African male perspective.

As suggested by Asante (1987; 2003), in a solution-driven, rather than a solely problem-focused, inquiry it becomes meaningful to, locate the process of finding solutions to problems affecting Africans in the experience of African people themselves. Asante, often referred to as the father of Afrocentricity, has provided a paradigmatic platform which evolved out of the opposition to the Eurocentric domination in research, historiography and much of the field of knowledge (Akbar 2003).

How did some African men become violent? This, obviously, is a complex question with no easy answer. Both Anta Diop (1987; 1991) and Amadiume (1997) have advanced the view that it is possible to trace extreme violence in Africa back to the brutal invasion of Hyksos into North-East Africa in approximately 1800 to 1700 BC. It may be misleading to state that violence and conflict had not occurred in Africa prior to these invasions, but it seems clear that the nature of conflict before the invasions was far less brutal and extreme, and that most societies could have been characterised as “largely peaceful” (Williams 1987:57). Furthermore, the establishment of patriarchal structures through the agencies of foreign religion, education and governance demolished the prevalence of matrilineally organised societies and positioned male bias as the norm.

Commenting on the way in which the projects of enslavement and colonisation impinged on African manhood, bell hooks (2004) sees a strong link between enslavement and colonisation and the experience of domination. She maintains that sexuality in the West is intrinsically linked to fantasies of domination. Documented in narratives by enslaved Africans in the West, the European colonisers’ obsession with sexuality and its eroticised domination and subordination were described as odd. In the view of hooks, it was as a result of the many years of being dominated that men lost their connection with a spirituality-based, African sense of sexuality and assembled a sexuality that was defined by stereotypes, desperation for power, sadness over powerlessness, loss of self and patriarchal notions. Patriarchal sex became Black manhood. The severity of the subordination resulted in a masculinity that became obsessed with gaining the power that patriarchy had denied them.

A number of factors contribute to African men’s violence, including socio-economic poverty, marginalisation and an entertainment industry which normalises brutality and, simultaneously, links it with Black masculinity (Burrell 2010). In an effort to compensate for an eroding male identity and trying to live up to expectations of power, real or imagined,

many young Black males feel forced to play out a violent form of masculinity (Haupt 2008). Hyper-masculine virility, gangsterism and gang-violence are idealised in the media and inclusion in these behaviours may enhance the street credibility and sense of power of young men. In addition, the link between the economy and power plays a central role in this respect.

Bearman (2000) states that the desire for sex involves seeking inclusion in and affirmation of humanness. This inclusion, he argues, becomes even more important to those men whose avenues for fulfilment in life are limited. There is a widespread norm in society to understand sexuality through the patriarchal exploitation of women and a youth culture in which sexual conquest equals attained manhood and legitimises sexual violence.

However, violence is not merely rooted in masculine notions of sexuality and several dynamics impact on young, African men's relations with conflict and violence. Barker and Ricardo (2005) highlight the following factors:

- Many young men have, historically, been involved in armed conflicts – warfare, resistance, uprisings etc – to such an extent that participation in conflict has become an important aspect of the socialisation of boys.
- The extreme nature and magnitude of some conflicts has made brutal violence a learned behaviour, reinforced by social structures within the community and in the family.
- There is a lack of systematic ways to deal with the traumatic after effects for young men who were recruited into rural militias and armies through coercion or else voluntarily and to help them to heal.
- There is a link between violence and masculinity in criminal activities, gang activity and ethnic-related violence.
- There is a large youth population in most regions of Africa and young men need to navigate the development of their masculinity between violent conflicts and challenging socio-political environments.

As much as conflict and violence causes social disintegration, it may also have an empowering effect on young men in that they are recognised, included and rewarded for

activities that make them “manly” (ibid.). This factor may be extremely important in societies in which the need for social recognition has increased as a result of a lack of employment.

Masculinities develop and change within cultural fluidity and are not necessarily static. It is obvious that the multiple sources of historical and political oppression have caused considerable anxiety, confusion and misdirection around African men’s identity. This presents an opportunity to challenge current understandings of African masculinity, interrogate to what violence is a response, and formulate recommendations on how to decode explanations and solutions articulated in terms of African indigenous knowledge systems.

2.3.10. Summary

This section has attempted to examine literature that explains masculinity, particularly in relation to cultural conditions linked to sexual violence. We have looked at definitions of masculinity, their relation to feminism and how notions of power, hegemony and ethnocentricity impacts on how masculinity is understood. We have found that multiple notions of masculinity occur simultaneously in society as they respond to historical and contemporary challenges. Highlighting issues of particular relevance for the understanding of African masculinities it has been found that racism, patriarchy, Eurocentric values, stereotypes and power dynamics form a fundamental part of the analysis. Within a South African context, it has also been highlighted that masculinities are both linked to – and challenged by – changes in socio-economic and cultural realities impacting on the family. South Africa’s violent history is seen as one instrumental factor in creating contemporary scenarios where a culture of domination, conquest, violence and rape continues to play a significant role.

In view of the fact that masculinity is, generally, linked to power, it is often interpreted as exploitative domination in response to capitalist ideals. However, many notions of masculinity challenge the hegemonic, patriarchal expression of manhood and, thus, it is possible to speak of a plurality of masculinities. Increasingly, African perspectives in gender studies have enriched and grounded the discourse. It has given voice to the oppressive marginalisation of African men and the way in which this impinges on the development of authentic masculinities. Traditionally located within strong networks of family and clan

relations, the role of contemporary African men is being challenged by a modernity that has corrupted cultural institutions. Racist stereotyping, negation and overdetermination are some of the areas that African men are navigating in their search for a balanced manhood; a process that must also seek to find solutions to rape through developing a culture of positive masculinities.

2.4. Culture

2.4.1 Introduction of culture as concept

The purpose of this study is to examine cultural conditions for rape. As it has been demonstrated in previous sections, the phenomenon of rape is linked to prevailing cultures of masculinities. We will now direct attention to examine notions of culture itself. What is culture and in what way does it impact on rape? We are also interested in finding a cultural model which can help us to explain how rape is understood and how to resolve it.

The term “culture” has various definitions, according to different philosophical schools of thought (Velkley 2002). Closely associated with the concept of “civilisation”, culture has sometimes been explained as a folk spirit with a unique identity and sometimes as the cultivation of free individuality (Rosman & Rubel 2001). As discussed by Delaney (2004), in the cultural anthropology which emerged in the 19th century, a tension existed between the claim that culture was universal (the fact that all human societies have culture), and that it was also particular (culture takes on a tremendous variety of forms around the world). In the later development of cultural studies, aspects such as political economy, sociology, media therapy, media theory, ethnicity, social class and globalisation were added to the study focus. However, in view of the fact that culture is seen primarily as a pattern of thought and action that influences and sanctions certain behaviours (Rosman & Rubel 2001), the main focus in this study is on examining cultural factors that may offer solutions to sexual violence and rape.

2.4.2. Defining culture and cultural conditions

2.4.2.1 Culture

According to Delany (2004), the word culture has become so contentious that some anthropologists have even suggested eliminating the use of the word. Various schools of thought, most notably, the German, French, British and American, have articulated different emphases, but tend to agree that culture is a social system that helps to organise thoughts and behaviour in accordance with normative rules and shared meaning (ibid.).

Rosman and Rubel (2001) explain culture as an organising concept of human activities. However, culture is not one dimensional and should not be seen as a monolithic entity. A holistic approach to culture focuses on the interrelationships between all sectors of human activity. In addition, culture provides meaning and symbolic patterns which are internalised and reproduced as a dialogue between the past and the present.

2.4.2.2. Cultural conditions

Conditions help to explain the situations in which a phenomenon occurs (Strauss & Corbin 1998). These situations are causal, intervening and contextual aspects of events that help to organise and explain the nature and occurrence of these events.

In relation to a social phenomenon, such as rape, cultural conditions include the opinions, notions, thoughts, values and views held by members of a society that inform the attitudes and behaviour in relation to rape (Herman 1995; Sommers 2004; Krieg 2007). In this study the focus is on both cultural conditions that justify rape as well as cultural conditions that sanction rape.

In view of the fact that culture is seen as an organising concept which provides meaning to human activities (Rosman & Rubel 2001), this study is interested in the conditions that culture either creates or provides. In this study cultural conditions may be seen as referring to those qualities and states of human and social life that have either been impacted upon or created by culturally motivated values, practices or events (Wamalia et al. 1999). Thus,

culture, as a set of values and expectations representing a particular world view, impacts on what people do, what they do not do and their moral judgement on what is done and not done. Hence, the conditions that culture creates or provides represent material, social, political, human and economical possibilities or limitations (Okere 1996). In particular, the focus in this study is those types of conditions that culture presents either to justify or to sanction rape. Examples of such conditions may be linked to what Edwards et al. (2011) describe as rape myths. Rape myths take on a social character, and are informed by moral judgements rooted in cultural values. As applied to rape, rape myths would manifest as situations or circumstances in which rape is found to be excusable – or even commendable – from a cultural point of view.

2.4.3. African culture

Any attempt to define African culture is a complex task which has continuously been oversimplified in scholarly traditions. Marimba Ani examines the pervasive, anti-Africanism that is engraved in the discipline of anthropology – a tradition of Eurocentrism which functions “to satisfy the needs of the European ethos” (Ani 1994:3). Laden with extremes, from overtly judgemental and degrading to downright romanticising and aloof, African traditions have been represented primarily as an amusing spectacle for external observation. For the purpose of this study we shall look at the worldview and social connotations involved in defining, shaping and sustaining male identity within African culture. However, in view of the fact that this is not be a comparative inquiry into the way in which African cultures differ from each other, the study refers to African culture in the singular, although with the awareness that an approach will, by its very nature obscure, and sometimes even ridicule, the diversity of customs, meaning and thought articulated throughout the African continent and its Diaspora. John S Mbiti (1989) has argued that, legitimately, it is possible to acknowledge diversity and, yet, still emphasise the commonalities and potential unity (not uniformity) within this diversity when speaking of African religiosity and culture.

The expressions of culture articulate a worldview through which people interpret the meaning of life. Mosha (2000) describes the African worldview as follows:

1. A firm belief and profound reverence for the eternal divine mystery, expressed through faith in a Supreme Being (God)
2. Ongoing human formation, reformation and transformation through spiritual, moral and human improvement
3. The intrinsic unity between individuals and communities in a two-way process that balances the individual versus the collective
4. A living, interconnected and interdependent universe with the emphasis on holistic living.

Armstrong (1975, in Nabudere 2011:70) observed that, in an African worldview, energy, rather than matter, and dynamic being, not static being, represent the true nature of things. However, as would be argued by Ani (1994), this view fails to acknowledge that African epistemologies are rooted in a symbiotic duality between scientific and metaphysical observations.

John S. Mbiti (1989) explains the universe of Africans as deeply religious, to such an extent that “... to ignore these traditional beliefs, attitudes, practices and symbolic values can only lead to a lack of understanding of African behaviour and problems” (p. 2).

Furthermore, Mbiti asserts that religion, more than anything else, colours the Africans’ empirical participation in the universe, making life a profoundly religious phenomenon. To be is to be religious in a religious universe. This is the philosophical understanding that underlines African myths, proverbs, oral traditions, symbolic values, customs, traditions, beliefs, morals, ethics and social relationships. In addition, as far as history is concerned, this traditional religious attitude maintains an almost absolute monopoly over African concepts and experiences of life (Mbiti 1989). In the words of Isizoh (1998), “[r]eligion is the means by which the Black man realises his aspirations towards freedom, justice and success” (p. 147). This may be a somewhat simplified assertion, but it highlights the centrality of spirituality in the African approach to life.

According to Igwegbe (1995), in the African world, a symbiotic relationship exists between religion and culture. Accordingly, religious culture, or spirituality, exerts an enormous influence over human beings in their personal and communal activities within society. In other words, African traditional religion is “inherently holistic” (ibid.). The understanding of

wholeness is an essential perspective in the African worldview with religion permeating almost every crucial aspect of life, including marriage, birth, naming ceremonies, initiation rites, illness, healing, and death. As observed by Mbiti (1989), it is almost impossible to distinguish the secular from the sacred, the religious from the nonreligious and the spiritual from the material aspects of life.

Boateng (1996) describes the importance of African culture as being of educational value. He maintains that the role of traditional education is to bridge the gap between the young and the old generations. The effects of colonisation and imperialism destroyed, or at the very least, weakened the role of indigenous education systems in Africa. Western education has transmitted a culture in stark difference to what African culture would have sought to transmit, and, largely, served as an obstacle to the process of cultural transmission and intergenerational communication.

There are many and varied views of the role and necessity of traditional African education. Boateng (op. cit.) defines African traditional education as intergenerational communication which, in turn, refers to the transmission and ongoing preservation of the values and traditions of a society from one generation to another. This transmission ensures a peaceful transition from youth to adulthood and creates an understanding of the roles of each generation in society. The breakdown of such communication may result in conflicting values in society and in youth rebellions.

Some common ways of facilitating this transmission include oral literature (fables, myths, legends, proverbs) and secret societies (initiation) (Mosha 2000). With particular reference to initiation, several psychological and social challenges are addressed and responded to, including gender identity, sexual development, relation to parents and psychological grounding. The young man is guided from childhood to adulthood with a distinct way of leaving childish and irresponsible behaviour behind. He is also, by being reborn into his community, relieved of some of the agonies that often overshadow adolescence in Western cultures. In addition to its spiritual significance, initiation or rites of passage also assure the young man of his potency, helping him to avoid the self-doubt which many young men experience. The young men are also trained in such a way that they will be able to uphold traditions and withstand pressures, for example, dealing with pain, fear and privation.

However, a culture of resistance and survival may also be said to have developed as Africans have had to defend themselves against the many waves of oppression and acculturation. Although some writers term it resilience, Richards, paraphrasing Leonard Barrett, suggests the term “soul-force” (1996:224), which she describes as the “basic ingredient in Black survival” (ibid.). Philosophically, soul is a conception of human nature as opposed to the Western, rationalistic, thought-oriented worldview. Western epistemology has valued thought, objectification and rationalisation and not emotional response, identification and involvement. This, in turn, affects people’s ability to feel and to express feelings. However, in an African world view the ability to feel is what makes one human. Nevertheless, this is not seen in opposition to thought, but rather as a dualism as it is essential that the two go hand in hand. Soul is, therefore, the essence of humanity in the African view and a meeting place for both the human and the divine.

As noted by Richards, a people’s worldview affects their actions:

The determining mode of the African world view is harmony. The goal is to discover the point of harmonious interaction, so that interferences become neutralized, allowing constructive energy to flow and to be received (1996:211).

2.4.4. African culture, masculinity and violence

In emphasising the people-centred values of African culture, it becomes clear that violence constitutes a grave violation of this African worldview. This is not, however, to say that African cultural practices are devoid of oppressive mechanisms, for example, female genital mutilation is practised and culturally endorsed in parts of the African continent, but, in its basics, African culture is people-centred and guided overwhelmingly by humanistic values (Mosha 2000). In addition, it must be stated that culture is not static and that it would appear that oppressive structures had become increasingly acceptable with the invasions, enslavement and colonialism by both Arabs and Europeans (Williams 1987). Thus, the question of what is traditional becomes important. How far back should one go to find “authentic” African culture?

Some researchers are of the view that traditional socialisation in Africa had a strong emphasis on non-violence and a notion of masculinity which was not based on domination. Black (1997) describes social education of boys and young men that did not allow for violent or sexual activities outside of that which was morally acceptable. In her critique of the Western definitions of the role of gender in Africa, Ifi Amadiume (1997) perceives the African, pre-colonial, traditional society as organised through matriarchy with:

(...) matriarchal values and moral systems which generated the concepts of love, harmony, peace and cooperation, and forbade human bloodshed, imposed a check on excessive and destructive masculinism (p.122).

Although this may be said to be an idealised, and even romanticised, picture of Africa, the question arises as to how unprovoked violence and rape, which were heavily sanctioned in traditional cultures, could become so prominent and widely accepted as they are today.

Domination may not be the only component of European culture and, yet, the presence of European culture in Africa has done little to challenge this notion. Enslavement and colonialism constituted a European cultural revolution in Africa, as this excerpt from a French study clearly illustrates:

“It is exceptional that a Black accepts the need to carry out his effort beyond the simple task in order to increase his gains. For that to happen, it is necessary that he has been profoundly Europeanized, that he has adopted our motivations and accepted our own necessities. In a word, that he has retained nothing African except the color” (Cooper 2003:132).

As noted by Burrill et al. (2010), a larger number of men (than women) were brutally removed from Africa through enslavement. This form of slavery reduced human beings to means of production, but also corrupted culture, spirituality and personality. As analysed in depth by Rodney (1981), Williams (1987) and DeGruy Leary (2005), this destruction had devastating consequences. Enslavement, and the later introduction to colonial governance, destabilised and rendered irrelevant the social, cultural and political structures in many societies across the continent.

In the view of Burrill et al. (2010), the forced introduction to capitalism and cash crop farming in the 20th century impacted strongly on Africa's kinship culture. Widespread labour migrations led to the absence of men from homes and increased the agricultural labour responsibilities of the women. Throughout the colonial and postcolonial eras, three structural processes were instrumental in shaping domestic violence (ibid.):

1. Insertion of the household into the broader structure of colonial domination
2. Men's increased control over the labour of their wives
3. Repositioning of bride wealth and its significance

Essentially, the cultural structures that had secured complementarity between women and men were destroyed and replaced with systems that created imbalances. Increasingly the home became a place of frustration where a man was able to lash out against the shortcomings resulting from his disempowerment outside of the home. Of the many after effects of imperialism, Wilson (2002) has highlighted "amnesia" – not remembering culture, not remembering a true sense of self:

Amnesia means an undiscovered self, an emptiness, a self incapable of self-understanding its own motivations, a self incapable of self-direction and self-determination, a reactionary self, a self that does not understand others or the world in which it exists – a fatalistic, externalized self. To rediscover one's history is not only an act of self-discovery; it is an act of self-creation – a resurrection from the dead, a tearing away of the veil, a revelation of the mystery (p. 52).

Chinweizu (1987) has described culture as an immune system with an inherent defence mechanism which protects against external pressure. Embedded within this analogy is a notion that, when oppression leads to cultural loss (or amnesia), this amounts to a self-alienation which separates people from the potential to assert power. Applied to the analyses in this study; the African man becomes inherently powerless because he believes that his limited existence is his final destination.

The rites of passage ceremonies or initiation rites are an example of an African institution that has traditionally shaped African masculinity by providing a transitional journey of transforming from child to adult (Hill 1992). These ceremonies or rites are, simultaneously,

educational, preventative and restorative interventions to safeguard positive and relevant masculinity. In addition, as cultural institutions that are practised widely across the continent today, they may also represent a critical, potential transformation of African masculinities.

2.4.5. Interpretation of culture and cultural manifestations – a model

A model developed by Nobles and Goddard (1984) is applied for the purpose of discussing cultural conditions in this study. The model represents a helpful guide to understanding culture in relation to social research and its role in society. Briefly, Nobles and Goddard (1984) define culture as “a process which gives a people a general design for living and patterns for interpreting their reality” (p. 127). Thereafter, they go on to outline the following three dimensions of culture (pp. 127–132):

1. Cultural aspects
 - a. Ideology: Concept representing the instrument which provides a critique of reality – it determines how people should see their reality and influences their consciousness (provides a map which clarifies problematic aspects of social reality)
 - b. Ethos: Tone, character and quality of people’s life, its moral and aesthetic style/mode. A set of principles which define the underlying attitude which people have toward themselves in the world
 - c. Worldview: The picture people have of the way things are (in actuality), their concept of nature, of self and of society. The most comprehensive ideas of order.
2. Cultural factors
 - a. Ontology: People’s assumptions or beliefs about the nature of existence or the essence of being
 - b. Cosmology: People’s assumptions about the origin and the structure of reality (universe)
 - c. Axiology: People’s assumptions about the primary characteristics of universal relationships
3. Cultural manifestations: Overt expressions such as behaviour, values and attitudes. These may be authentic, adapted, adopted or aberrant.

In view of the fact the model draws from a variety of disciplines (psychology, sociology, historiography, economics and cultural studies) and was developed specifically as an instrument for research into families and communities, this study utilises the model in the investigation of rape and culture.

2.4.6. Summary

We have in this section explained culture as a pattern of thought and action that influences behaviour (Rosman & Rubel 2001). We have looked at the impact of cultural worldviews that present the individual with possibilities and limitations (Okere 1996). Further, we have positioned African culture as symbiosis between scientific and metaphysical realities (Ani 1994), in which spirituality plays a significant role (Mbiti 1989). In the centre of African traditions we find a culture with strong emphasis on education which responds actively to issues of violence through processes of initiation (Hill 1992), prevention (Boateng 1996) and spiritual morality (Mosha 2000). We have also seen that African culture has been corrupted through the institution of patriarchy, which, for example has made traditions of violence against women acceptable (Burrill, Roberts & Thornberry 2010). As the principled morality of African culture has deteriorated, justifications for violent and abusive behaviour have, increasingly, been normalised.

A model for analysing cultural conditions by looking at cultural aspects, factors and manifestations was identified (Nobles & Goddard (1984), which will be used further in the study to investigate culture and rape. The section has helped to explore what culture is and how it impacts on sexual violence. It has helped to sensitise the discussion to the need for a broad and multi-level approach in understanding how rape occurs, what it means and how to resolve it.

2.5. Rage

2.5.1. Introduction of rage as concept

As noted by Wilson (1990), hooks (2004) and Motsei (2007), African masculinity is strongly connoted to notions of anger and rage. Both in terms of racial stereotypes of the Black brute and the experience of violent oppression historically, African men have had to confront rage on many levels. In this section we will look specifically at rage of African men in relation to rape and African culture. Rage also enters this discussion as a description of the emotion that overwhelms the perpetrator of rape who wants to inflict harm on the victim. The discussion ties in with the study's objective to investigate cultural conditions for rape. Accordingly, the aim of this section is to establish the extent to which rage impacts on the understanding of rape and how it relates to the other concepts in this inquiry.

2.5.2. Defining rage

Rage, which is normally associated with violent anger and furious passion, sometimes to the point of insanity, may manifest in many forms (Robinson 1999). It may be expressed in quiet, loud, abusive, physical, understated, vicious, sadistic and/or unexpected ways. While anger is perceived as an emotion which may be channelled constructively, rage represents a loss of control resulting from deep indignation. Rage may occur as a response to provocation, prejudice and frustration or as an act of either low self-esteem or unreasonable fear. Some consider rage to be an emergency reaction, which exists as a prewired ability in all humans (Anderson, 2001). Rage tends to be expressed when a person faces a threat to his/her pride, position, status or dignity.

Certain psychologists, such as Bushman and Anderson (2001), argue that the hostile/predatory dichotomy that is commonly employed in psychology fails to define rage fully, since it is possible for anger to motivate aggression, thus provoking vengeful behaviour, and without incorporating the impulsive thinking that is characteristic of rage. Self-esteem is another factor in rage with evidence having shown that individuals who suffer from low self-esteem may compensate for this low self-esteem by inflicting physical harm on others (Walker & Bright 2009). Some psychologists have perceived rage as being internally

focused, constituting an attack on one's self rather than on others (King 2007). They believe this leads to the rage being more intense, less focused and longer lasting. Thus, in terms of this set of theories, rage is caused by built up anger from past traumas and a need to respond to one's past injuries. These accumulated dispositions are stored in the mind.

2.5.3. Rage and injustice

From a more philosophical perspective, Sloterdijk sees rage as closely linked with pride, validation and resentment, and maintains it as a "... basic force in the ecosystem of affects, whether interpersonal, political or cultural" (2010:227). He documents the way in which mythology, religion, heroism and political oppression have justified outbursts of rage historically. In a political analysis, Fanon (1963) has described the emotive burden of the colonised as

(...) a running sore flinching from a caustic agent. And the psyche retracts, is obliterated, and finds an outlet through muscular spasms that have caused many an expert to classify the colonized as hysterical (p. 19).

For Fanon the anger of colonial victimhood is of such proportions that, he asserts, every colonised subject carries a clear image of how "(...) to blow the colonial world to smithereens" (p.6). Is it possible to talk of a justified rage? Wenning (2009) thinks so:

Often rage is an appropriate response to injustice and serious wrongdoing. It can be a force not just of cathartic purification from holding a grudge and reestablish sovereignty, but also a major tool for creating justice and gaining power of the oppressed (p. 94).

Revolutions and uprisings in the interests of justice would, historically, not have been possible without rage. However, the correct way in which to overthrow exploitation and domination remains a complex question which this study will not attempt to solve. A more humanistic, culturally grounded stance would advocate that conflict, inclusive of the anger it may have aroused, may be prevented and resolved through dialogue, reconciliation, consensus, tolerance and redress (Malan 2002). A fundamental precursor to the successful

outcome of such processes may be that the imbalances between the oppressor and the oppressed are eradicated.

2.5.4. Rage and African masculinities

Fanon may have poignantly articulated a state of mind to which many African men are able to relate intimately when he wrote:

I came into this world anxious to uncover the meaning of things, my soul desirous to be at the origin of the world, and here I am an object among other objects (1967:89).

Amos Wilson has described the existential outlook of many African men as being "... a frustrated man (...), an angry male; an enraged man, whether or not the anger and rage are consciously acknowledged" (Wilson 1990:117). However, the context for this frustration is not only a historical background, but, in the view of Gordon (1997a), the continuous navigation in a world that questions, marginalises, over determines, excludes and negates the Black existence – an anti-Black world (p. 6). Fanon (1967) described this world as a world in which Whiteness appears as a desired aspiration of optimal humanness and Blackness as a rejected existence. The experience of being Black in an anti-Black world may lead to a deep sense of fear-based rage and a tendency to act out on hate against the oppressor or the self (Cress Welsing 1991). Degruy Leary (2005) has examined the way in which injustices meted out to Africans over many generations during enslavement and colonialism have manifested as a legacy of reproduced social ills.

As observed by Motsei (2007), it would appear that some African men harbour a deep seated rage which sometimes manifests in violence and which may be seen as a multilayered response to hundreds of years of oppression. bell hooks asserts that Black men are often "... stuck in the place of rage". And it is the breeding ground for the acts of violence, large and small, that ultimately do Black men in (hooks 2004:60).

Burrell (2010) believes that a theory of Black inferiority has been advanced, to the extent of having become a "brand", through a history laden with racism and colour consciousness. By ascribing to stereotypes of Black male behaviour and a multitude of dysfunctional social institutions, in which violence and disintegration form the basis of African men's self image,

a cycle of hatred against self and others has become a norm. In addition, as observed by Ratele (2008b), constant exclusion from the institutions and life processes that, in modern culture, define manhood, for example, employment, material wealth and power to influence society, breeds a traumatic experience of powerlessness.

It is, thus, possible to pose the question as to whether rage against oppression is a healthy or an unhealthy reaction. Psychiatrists, Grier and Cobbs, in their historic study, “Black Rage” (1968), wrote that Black rage is a “healthy cultural paranoia” which has been developed by Black men as a coping mechanism to deal with constant racial stress. This may, in turn, mean that rage can be seen as an emotional resistance, assisting to defend and protect the self’s ego-function. The rage expressed by African male leaders such as Marcus Garvey (1992), Thomas Sankara (1988) and Steve Biko (2004) was motivated by a consciousness towards collective liberation and the regaining of power. There may be a strong link between this “righteous rage” and the underlying – healthy – anger that consumes many Black men, even if some men demonstrate this rage in unhealthy ways. Some outlets for anger, such as violence, crime, suicide and substance abuse do little to process aggression constructively. The end result of each action rarely changes the power structure against which it is directed or of which it is a result. Invariably, the person will end up being more of a victim of his own actions than an empowered change agent. Nevertheless, these behaviours continue to be manifestations of inner traumas. bell hooks (2004) describes a situation in which Black men are driven to enact “rituals of blood” in a desperate effort to attain patriarchal manhood through violence aimed at dominating and controlling:

If Black males are socialized from birth to embrace the notion that their manhood will be determined by whether or not they can dominate and control others and yet the political system they live within (imperialist White-supremacist capitalist patriarchy) prevents most of them from having access to socially acceptable positions of power and dominance, then they will claim their patriarchal manhood through socially unacceptable channels (pp. 57–58).

Political changes in the post-enslavement scenarios of Africa have also shifted the cultural functions of family and community. Eurocentric dogmas of hegemonic and oppressive masculinities have been enforced to such an extent that it is almost as if they inherent in

African social organisation. In many parts of the continent one may find proverbs, allegories and symbolic language that justifies, and even promotes, violence.

2.5.5. Summary

We have in this section looked at rage as loss of control (Robinson 1999), a response (Anderson 2001) and, when faced with injustice, an appropriate reaction (Wenning 2009). Rage is by several authors seen as part of the African male experience, in relation to encounters with oppressive mechanisms creating systemic experiences of inferiority, powerlessness and exclusion (Wilson 1990, hooks 2004, Degruy Leary 2005 and Motsei 2007).

Fanon (1967:17) explains how the African man has been written out of history, to the extent that he appears to have no culture, no civilisation and no significant historical past. The question, thus, arises as to the way in which this realisation affects the self-perception of African men, and what a constructive model for processing – and transforming this – would be?

We have seen that rage can lead to destruction and that it plays an important role among African men who violate and rape. But rage can also carry streams of hope for developing a culture of positive masculinities when oppressive mechanisms are removed and African men's anger is constructively channelled. Focus on rage, therefore, is essential in the broader understanding of cultural conditions for rape and its resolve.

2.6. Summary of literature review

Having examined a broad range of literature on the study's main concepts, namely, rape, masculinity, culture and rage, a picture of the complexity of rape emerges. Focusing on African men in South Africa, it is essential that rape be understood in light of a macro-perspective, including historical, economic, philosophical and socio-political factors.

Reviewing literature on sexual violence in an African context exposes the complexity of conflicts involved; a long history of repeated layers of domination, conquest and societal upheaval, racist notions, stereotypical imagery and the continuous, derogatory type-casting of the African male. This minefield is characterised by the disconnections between “traditional culture” and contemporary notions/worldview which impact on gendered identities and a legacy of loss which includes male confusion, exacerbated by a deep seated, accumulated and unresolved anger. In addition, to some men, rape appears, in as much as there is general outcry against it, as a meaningful, yet sanctioned, emotive response to the need for power emanating from the aforementioned. The multiple layers, disconnections, confusion and notions of rape feed into a cycle which is repeated, criticised and discussed, but never broken, as it has become integral to socially acceptable, cultural views.

Despite the fact rape may not to be seen as pertaining to sexuality, issues around sex are still part of the broader picture of understanding rape. Steve Bearman (in hooks 2004) states that the desire for sex involves seeking inclusion in and experiencing affirmation of humanness. This inclusion, he argues, becomes even more important to men whose avenues for fulfilment in life are limited (p. 71–72). In the view of hooks, historical segregation opened up an area for sexual exploration and, increasingly, domination and abuse with the Black male being perceived, paradoxically, as both a demon by white sexist stereotypes, and an erotic pleasure seeker/giver in Black segregated culture (bell hooks 2004:70).

The study has looked at some of the many factors that impact on the role of men and the understanding of African masculinities with the major concern being a critical examination of the challenges African men face in a world that denies them access to full humanity. It emerged that the violence which African men both inflict and encounter has multiple sources and meanings and also that it is possible to respond in culturally appropriate ways to the challenges which many African men are convinced they are not able to articulate. In other words, there is a Pan-African, cultural approach to what African masculinities should mean in the 21st century.

African culture, in its rich diversity and deeply rooted humanism, provides tools that may be revived and further developed in response to current challenges. Rites of passage have been mentioned as an example of an African cultural institution which encapsulates educational, preventative and restorative potential of great contemporary relevance. Allied with a keen

awareness of the deeply rooted moral philosophy engraved in African knowledge, there is a need to reinvestigate its roots in order to identify tools for the prevention and the cure of, violence and to provide guidelines for peace building and healthy human relationships. However, the question arises as to what it takes to apply and sustain functional cultural resources in order to resolve the issue of rape? The study returns to this question when it compares the data from the research with the relevant literature.

3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3. 1. Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the methodological framework used in this study, outlining the steps and procedures that were followed. In doing so, the study seeks to connect the rationale of the choice of methodology with the Afrocentric paradigm and the research questions guiding the research.

The main research question in this study is: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions on rape within African culture, and what solutions as regards the restorative justice of men may be identified? Accordingly, the research work aims at identifying opinions about cultural conditions while using the study's major concepts as the appropriate lenses for investigation. With the aim of gaining a better understanding of the complexity of rape, the interviews focused on masculinity, identity, culture, anger/rage, the psychology of sexual violence, cultural traditions and possible solutions.

The chapter will first outline the paradigmatic approach adopted in the study, and then explain the research design and activities involved in the data analysis. Finally, the chapter will consider on the study's reliability and the researcher's own experience as a researcher.

3.2. Afrocentricity as both paradigm and approach

As explained and discussed in Asante (1987; 1990; 2003), Asante and Mazama (2002), Mazama (2003) and Mkabela (2005), Afrocentricity, as a theory for social transformation located in African agency, is the underlying paradigm throughout this study. Essentially, Afrocentricity is a philosophical approach to social and cultural interpretation and founded on classical African civilisations as the starting point for analyses of African people and their history. Although it developed in opposition to Eurocentrism, Afrocentricity does not seek to establish itself on the same premises with Eurocentrism being seen to be based on a narrow and exclusionary world view, and yet claiming universalism (Akbar 2003). On the other

hand, Afrocentricity – or African Centred studies as it is also referred to – does not claim universality but, rather, a centred approach to the African experience.

Largely spearheaded by Dr Molefi Kete Asante, Afrocentricity has organised the tenets advanced in the philosophies of Garveyism and Negritude, Frantz Fanon's existentialism and Cheikh Anta Diop's historiography into a paradigm (Asante 2003). The method shares similar characteristics to qualitative research methods in that both Afrocentric and qualitative methods assume that people employ interpretive schemes which must be understood and that the character of the local context must be articulated. However, the focus is not so much on complementary methods, but on the development of an alternative paradigm and the ontology of understanding the world and what it is to be human (ibid., p. 188).

Afrocentricity as multidisciplinary research, discourse and applied knowledge, has become both an academic field and a praxis, which can become accentuated through Afrikology – a term that encapsulates both the gathering of data and the application of knowledge as a complementary process. Afrikology envisions:

(...) an Africa with scholars based on Afrocentric studies in socio-economics, philosophy, religion and spirituality, governance, technology and science – dedicated to the development and advancement of Africa, her people, and competent of representing and presenting Africa in forums of nations (Koka 2002).

3.3. Research design

3.3.1. Selecting the research methodology

3.3.1.1. Frame of reference

This study required a methodology that has both an African agency and location in addition to advancing strong elements of transformative development (Asante 2003). However, in order to avoid an arrogant researcher dominated project, the methodology used in the study was grounded in participatory processes during which the participants were invited to be part of both the reflective and the interpretive inquiry and not mere informants. In addition, a

people centred research approach guided the work in seeking to be of relevance to the community as well as the socio-cultural activities with which the work was concerned (Mkhabela 2005).

The methodology was based on ontological assumptions rooted in Afrocentric anti-essentialism with the facts being seen to not be given, but a result of interpretations, and meanings seen as socially constructed (Taylor 2008). The study's epistemological position focused the research towards social constructionism. In addition, a transdisciplinary outlook enabled the phenomena of power and meaning related to culture and cultural knowledge to be studied in terms of how they are socially constructed (Ani 1994). The anti-essentialist approach was motivated by its inherent rejection of Western/modernist analyses and its commitment to analyse the conditions that give rise to the construction of meaning (Taylor 2008).

3.3.1.2. Qualitative methodology

Within academia there are generally two approaches to conducting research, namely, the quantitative and the qualitative methods. While quantitative research is concerned with numbers, qualitative methods focus on words. In addition, quantitative research is based on a deductive approach while qualitative method is inductive and is a more sensitive approach (De Poy & Gitlin 1993; Silverman 2000). In view of the fact that the research questions in this study are concerned with views, qualities, information, analyses and not "hard facts", the quantitative methods were considered both unsuitable and inappropriate. On the other hand, qualitative methods were found to be appropriate as they give more validation to the views of each participant and align themselves with concepts such as advocacy, self-help and cooperation (Adams 2008). Such approaches help to place people at the centre of the research process (Evans & Beresford 1999);

Humans engage with their world and make sense of it, based on their historical and social perspectives. Thus, qualitative researchers seek to understand the context or setting of the participants through visiting this context and gathering information personally. They also interpret what they find, an interpretation shaped by the researcher's own experiences and background (Creswell 2009:8-9).

Qualitative research is sometimes criticised for not possessing accuracy and rigour (Brink 2006) and, hence, reliability and validity become important. Reliability refers to consistency and stability in the data collection process while validity refers to the accuracy and relevance of scientific findings (ibid.). These principles may be addressed through the application of activities such as triangulation (use of a variety of resources), peer debriefing and the involvement of the participants.

3.3.1.3. Focus group

Focus Group was the selected interview format for this study and is described by Freitas, Oliveira, Jenkins & Popjoy (1998:2) as follows:

Focus group is a type of in-depth interview accomplished in a group, whose meetings present characteristics defined with respect to the proposal, size, composition and interview procedures. The focus or object of analysis is the interaction inside the group.

The process normally involves a semistructured, group interview facilitated by a moderator and guided by a set of research questions aimed at finding out what people feel, know and construct, based on their experiences (Ferreira 2010). As regards the utilisation of the focus group as a method it is both understood and actively encouraged that the participants influence each other through their answers to a question, that the moderator plays a role in stimulating the discussion and that the research data include not only transcripts from the interviews, but also from the moderator's own reflections.

Ferreira (2010) sees the focus group as particularly appropriate when the aim of the research is to explore new research areas, issues that are difficult to observe, themes of a sensitive character, perspectives of people who may be marginalised and when investigating attitudes, ideas, opinions and perceptions.

3.3.2. Research design

A research plan was developed in line with the research objectives and research questions. Initially the plan was to hold three focus group interviews with young men in three different areas. However, for the purposes of triangulation and a wider scope of references, it was decided to include one more interview – with young women. The plan was developed and refined in communication with peers while two assistants were included as part of the research process.

A question guide was developed in accordance with the research questions (see appendix B4). Each interview was recorded and transcribed although the members of the research team also took their own notes. Debriefing meetings were held after each interview and as the process of interpreting the data unfolded. The research data was analysed with the help of Grounded Theory.

The role of dialogue was carefully thought through as the intention was to interview young men and women who were not “professional experts”, but “regular people” in their communities and who could hopefully represent the diversity of views one would encounter in social settings. In order to secure sampling from different backgrounds and areas, the four interview sites differed, both in terms of historical origin and current demographics.

Four areas were chosen as sites for the interviews, namely, Daveyton, Hillbrow, Orange Farm and Soweto. These areas were chosen based on their differences as regards the type of residential areas they represent and also because the researcher had already done some previous work in the areas and was, thus, able to rely on help in mobilising participation in each area. Some brief details about the four areas will now follow:

Orange Farm is a township situated in semirural surroundings and located 45 km from Johannesburg. It is the largest informal settlement in South Africa and also one of the youngest settlements. The original inhabitants were farm workers who were laid off work and moved there to live in 1988. The area has poor infrastructure although it is home to more than 1 million people. Almost half of the residents are unemployed.

Soweto was given its name from the English abbreviation of South Western Townships and is an amalgamation of approximately 30 smaller townships. Soweto was first established in 1934. It is estimated two to three million people live in Soweto. While many parts of Soweto remain dilapidated, there are some areas that have become suburban meeting points with nightlife and shopping centres.

Daveyton is a township in the Ekurhuleni municipality of Gauteng. Established in 1952, it is one of South Africa's largest townships with an estimated population of 1,5 million.

Hillbrow is an inner city, residential area in Johannesburg, known for its high levels of population density, unemployment and crime. From being a White only area in the 1970s, it quickly became one of the first areas in Johannesburg where people from different ethnic groups lived together. After a middle class exodus in the 1980s, the area became overpopulated and its buildings are poorly maintained. The area also has numerous residents from other parts of the African continent and the overall population is estimated to be approximately 300 000 people.

3.3.3. Purpose of the focus group and focus group questions

The objective of the focus group was to obtain an insight into the views, constructs, experiences and solutions articulated by African men in relation to rape, culture, rage and masculinity. A key motivation for using focus groups was the notion that opinions are often formed relative to other people's beliefs and attitudes and, hence, the interaction between group members themselves would help to stimulate the expression of more deep seated views and opinions. This was an intervention in light of the experience that views on rape and culture may easily be articulated in alignment with what "society expects", while underlying attitudes are not expressed.

The researcher made every effort to ensure fairness and confidentiality, free from bias. With many years of experience in work with youth, communities and social problems, the researcher was aware of his own non-neutrality as regards the topics under investigation. It is for this reason that the researcher developed a question guide with as many open questions as

possible and planned that the role as investigator would entail asking information-seeking, open questions only.

The purpose of the research study was to investigate the meaning of, and response to, rape in an African cultural context. Is it possible that there may be cultural values that, if revived, may decrease the prevalence of rape? What were, in the opinions of young people in South Africa, the underlying issues that trigger rage in some African men and what could be done to overcome these challenges in a healthy way? The specific questions were selected based on the study's research questions, aims and objectives, and were phrased in such a way that they would shed light on the four thematic concepts: Rape, masculinity, culture and rage. (See Appendix 4 for the interview guide with questions.)

3.3.4. Role of the participants

The role of the participants was that of taking part in an inquiry exploring notions in relation to rape, masculinity, rage and culture. Throughout the interview the moderator sought to ensure that each participant was heard, noted and respected for his/her view.

3.3.5. Role of the research team

The research team consisted of one moderator – the researcher – and two research assistants. The role of the researcher as moderator was to ask as open questions as possible, to ask the questions with as much clarity as possible and to invite diverse responses. The role of the one research assistant was to manage the audio and video equipment for recording purposes while the other research assistant was there to help set up the room, welcome the participants, introduce the interview format, manage the attendance register and prepare refreshments.

The research team communicated closely and held briefing sessions both before and after all focus group interviews. Notes were taken during each interview and discussed afterwards. This was a great help in the further analyses of data, as it provided a mechanism to note and discuss details such as non-verbal communication, body language and “the energy” in each interview.

3.3.6. Sampling method

Padgett (1998:52) states that the

... sample sizes in qualitative studies can range from one to as many as the researcher needs (and can pursue), given the constraints on time and resources.

At the onset of the study it was deemed ideal to have a minimum of 32 participants (an average of eight in each group). The researcher identified one contact person in each area and worked closely with them to help set up the respective interviews (see letter of request for assistance, appendix 1). The four contact individuals were instructed to invite people to participate. It was decided that these participants should be predominantly from the youth bracket – 18 up to 35 years of age – but it was agreed that a few people over this age would not constitute a problem. With the realisation that not everyone who is invited will show up for the actual interview, it was decided that the contact persons would identify at least 12 people in their respective areas. The contact persons had been selected because of their comprehensive knowledge of their areas and also because they had some previous experience in mobilising members of their respective community for workshops and seminars. With their knowledge and experience, it was believed that they would be able to identify relevant participants for the research.

It was deemed instrumental to the quality of the study to obtain a sample that represented diversity in terms of the participants' awareness of the themes to be discussed. Cresswell (1998) refers to this as theoretical sampling. Apart from the age bracket, the only other criteria was that the participants not belong to the same "clique" of friends or colleagues and that should represent as much diversity as possible. In terms of language background, income level, residential area etc. The researcher communicated closely with each contact person, they provided feedback and solutions were found immediately if any challenges were identified.

Cresswell (1998) suggests that the researcher should start by selecting a homogenous sample – in this case African men. Then, from this homogenous group, a heterogeneous subsample should be selected – in this case young African men from different communities around Johannesburg. Although the initial aim had been to interview men only, this was later

broadened to include one interview with women. The rationale behind this decision was that, although the researcher was particularly interested in men's views, the participation of women may actually enhance the quality of data. Women are well aware of what men think as they interact with men and they live with them for most of their lives. Also, it was only after the interview with women that it was felt that theoretical saturation had been reached.

A total of 41 people participated in the focus group – 33 males and eight females. The smallest group comprised eight people and the largest 14, with an average of 10,25 people per interview. The youngest participant was 18 years of age and the oldest 48 with an average age of 27,35 years. Of the participants, 13 were self-employed, eight were employed and 19 were either unemployed and/or students (see overview in Appendix 6).

The group from Hillbrow consisted exclusively of West African men, most of whom were from Nigeria, while the group from Soweto consisted of South African women only. The group interviews conducted in both Orange Farm and Daveyton were attended by men only, with the overwhelming majority being South Africans.

3.3.7. Procedure

Four semistructured interviews were conducted (see programme outline, Appendix 3) with the interviews being guided by the overarching research questions. The two research assistants opened each interview by thanking the contact person who had helped to identify the participants. The research assistants then introduced the research team, explained the format of the interview, asked permission to record/film the proceedings and explained the issue of confidentiality in detail, emphasising that everyone would be free to excuse themselves from the process at any time, without any further questions. The second assistant also assisted with translations, when needed. Before the interviews started consent forms were distributed (see Appendix 2), explained and the participants then signed them if there were no further questions.

This was followed by a brief ice breaker and the participants then introduced themselves. The interviews started immediately after this. As moderator the researcher's function was to ask clear and brief questions without leading the responses. Most of the questions started with "in

your view, how do you understand ...” or “in your opinion, what do you think about ...”. This was intended to stimulate personal reflections and contributions, instead of eliciting “definition” responses.

The protocol consisted of the four major concepts of the inquiry:

1. Masculinity/manhood
2. Culture
3. Rage
4. Rape

The core questions are outlined in the interview guide (see Appendix 4 for details), although flexibility allowed the moderator to follow up and clarify those issues that the participants had elaborated upon and emphasised. Despite the fact that the main concept of the study was rape, rape was dealt with in the last question, and the first concept addressed was manhood/masculinity in order first to locate a reflective discussion in the “world of men”. Subsequently, as the interview progressed, links were established between views on African men and the questions about culture, then rage and, lastly, rape.

The interviews lasted between 80 and 100 minutes. All the interviews were conducted using a digital voice recorder, although the interviews were also video recorded and notes taken. As the interviews progressed, the research assistants were encouraged to become more active in the interviews, asking questions and helping with some thought provoking/probing commentary. All the interviews were conducted in English although the participants were encouraged to express themselves in any way in which they felt comfortable and many seemingly found it easier to express themselves in their home languages. Although the researcher is not fluent in the languages used in South Africa, he does, nevertheless, have a good understanding of these languages and was able to pick up most of what was said, if not always in specific detail. One research assistant helped with translations where needed.

All the interviews closed with the following, final question – “Is there anything we have not talked about that you would like to add?” After thanking everybody for their participation, refreshments were served and the participants were free to go. However, most of them remained for some time, some for up to 2 hours, after the interviews. This was somewhat

surprising to the research team and the research team had anticipated that, after approximately two hours, everyone would be tired of talking. However, the topics discussed had, apparently, triggered further reflections and, literally, each post-interview talk became a combination of debriefing, further self-reflection and meaningful analyses of culture and identity.

3.4. Data analyses

3.4.1. Data collection methods

All the interviews were recorded on audio and/or video, with the permission of the participants. Prior to and immediately after each interview, the research team gathered to share observations, discuss concerns and reflect on outcomes. After the interviews the discussions were transcribed ad verbatim from the recordings. All the data was then organised and stored with attention to strict anonymity before the data analyses commenced. All the recorded interviews were erased once they had been transcribed.

Statements articulated in vernacular languages (predominantly isiZulu and a few instances of seSotho) were first translated by one of the research assistants, and then examined and verified by one external assistant with an African language teaching background. The transcripts were then read several times by the researcher in his role as the principle researcher and parts were discussed with the research assistants, both for clarification and in order to uncover the thematic details, key points, important quotes and meanings emerging from the interviews. A large volume of literature was also consulted and a dual process of comparing existing theory and identifying emerging theory from the research data ensued.

3.4.2. Data analyses

The interviews produced almost 200 A4 pages of transcripts as well as several pages of notes and pointers, comprising a large amount of data that had to be sifted through and interpreted.

Grounded theory was deemed to be a relevant tool in the interpretation process as it is regarded as particularly well suited for investigating the lived experience of participants (Strauss & Corbin 1997). Grounded theory combines inductive and deductive strategies to access views through detailed coding processes. In addition, it achieves a balance between a relativist approach, seeking to be influenced minimally by pre-existing realities, and a pragmatic worldview, which acknowledges the influence of historic events on theory (Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006). This was perceived as important in relation to the objective of the study which sought to examine “not so well” documented aspects (cultural conditions and men’s perspectives) of a well-documented phenomenon, namely, rape. In line with a grounded perspective, the participants in the research were regarded not merely as informants, but as active investigators and knowledge-holders who would contribute to a deeper understanding of the subject matter.

As explained by Mills et al. (2006), a number of characteristics of grounded theory set it apart from other approaches to knowledge production. Firstly, grounded theory includes a theoretical sensitivity which allows the researcher to discover complexities as well as interpret and reconstruct meaning through questioning techniques. Secondly, its analyses of literature regards already existing theory as a contributing voice – rather than unquestionable truth – and includes non-technical notes and reports. Thirdly, grounded theory involves various coding and programming processes in order to compare and interpret data. Lastly, the process should result in an emerging theory which integrates all the aspects discovered and represents a story line that becomes a conceptual label.

Charmaz (1995; 2000) notes that constructivist grounded theory rejects notions of objectivity. The researcher is aware that research is an interpretative process and, hence, that data does not provide a window to reality. Instead, a discovered reality arises from the research process. This discovery process took place throughout the research period through repeatedly rereading and comparing the data from the interviews, research notes and the literature containing theory of both direct and indirect relevance.

The data analyses include both a coding structure and a coding process (Strauss & Corbin 1998). Normally, the analyses takes place via three processes, namely, open coding, which organises a broad list of themes emerging from data, axial coding, which involves a focused

construction of concepts and, finally, the outlining of the themes which are explored through the way in which they relate to each other and how they set forth new perspectives.

Rather than merely collecting information, this approach is geared towards developing new perspectives and building new theoretical insights through both coding and constant probing. Fernández (2004) maintains that the “groundedness” of grounded theory refers to an expectation of new theory emerging from the data.

In view of the fact that this study sought to go beyond existing knowledge, a working format presented by Harry, Sturges and Klingner (2005:5–6) was adopted. This mapping process, which involves six steps, starts by identifying open codes arising from the interviews. These codes are developed into categories and then narrowed down to themes. The themes are then tested and probed for reliability – against each other and existing literature. Next, interrelations between the themes are studied and identified. The final result will be new theory, encompassing results from the entire mapping process. The data analysis process is demonstrated in Figure 3.1 below:

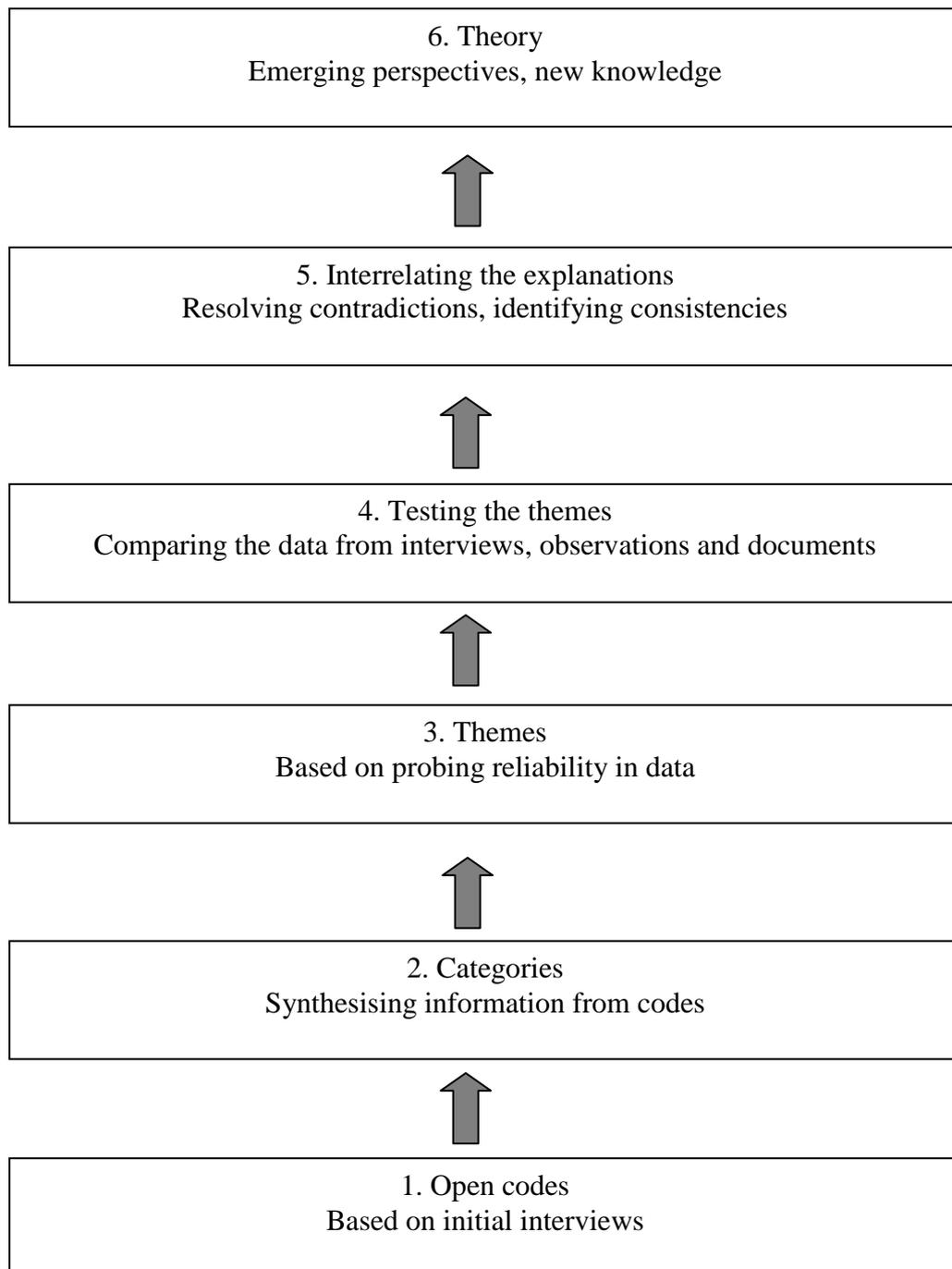


FIGURE 3.1: *Data analysis map (adapted from Harry et al. 2005:6)*

3.4.3. Results

The structure of each interview interrogated one concept at a time and then moved to the next concept. The data coding was done by extracting key concepts, first line by line, and then merging codes for similar concerns and notions. Then, in the data analysis, the data from all

the interviews was investigated, both interview by interview and by extracting the thematic responses to each concept in all the interviews. The selection of codes, their meaning and importance, were discussed repeatedly with the research assistants.

A total of 241 codes emerged (see Appendix 5A) from the examination of the interview transcripts. In the analysis, which extracted the thematic responses to each concept in all the interviews, the following number of codes identified:

Rape: 64 codes;

Men and masculinity: 50 codes

Culture: 54 codes

Rage: 70 codes

Cross-sectioned: 3 codes

Through probing and cross-analyses, 18 categories, reflecting the four concepts, were developed while five overlapping categories were discovered and merged into a total of 13 categories from the original 18 categories (see Appendix 5B).

The four concepts were then dissolved as they were seen to be “too static” in the overall analysis and a more fluid approach, in terms of which it was possible for all four concepts to appear, be identified and serve as interpretive tools across the study, was adopted. After more probing and cross-analysis between the interview data and the literature, it became apparent that a definitional overview of culture was a suitable analytical tool for streamlining the themes that now emerged. Signifying, on one hand, three approaches to the understanding of culture (cultural aspects, cultural factors and cultural manifestations) and, on the other, justifications for and sanctions against rape, a matrix involving a comprehensive understanding was developed. A total of 9 cultural conditions for the justification of rape and 9 cultural conditions for sanctions against rape (see Appendix 5C) were extracted from the analysis (see Appendix 5C). The cultural conditions were discussed in relation to aspects, factors and manifestations of culture and guided by key concepts from the overall data, presented in the thematic matrix (see Appendix 5D). From this process, the results emerged as new perspectives and new knowledge.

3.4.4. Reporting

The reporting process was based on a continuous comparison of data, theory and notes. However, the emergence of consistencies and discrepancies changed the reporting structure and revisions had to be made. The transcripts from the interviews were read several times and the data compared. In reporting the findings, attention was given to an objective process which was capable of producing credible analyses. Although it is difficult to discard preconceived ideas, the researcher's personal opinions were set aside to enable the data analysis to proceed with an open mind. However, a degree of interpretation follows the application of grounded theory analyses and, thus, the data was analysed several times, from different perspectives. In reporting the opinions of the participants the words used were carefully chosen as to not give a false impression. For example, instead of quoting numbers or percentages, the views were reported as "several participants were concerned about ..." or "most participants responded ..."

3.5. Considerations regarding the study's reliability

3.5.1. Ethical considerations

As regards research ethics are principles that guide the research process on '*what ought to be done and what ought not to be done*' (Denscombe, 2002:175) with the protection of the participants' integrity and anonymity being perceived as paramount. Accordingly, care was taken to ensure that the study complied with both generally accepted standards and South African legislation on research and confidentiality. Complete anonymity, within the parameters of the nature of this research study, was granted to all the participants and names and references that could identify individuals were removed from the transcripts while the audio and video recordings were erased after use. All research input and output took place in consultation with the participants. Clear information was provided to the participants who also had to sign a letter of consent (see appendices). In addition, participation in the study was on a voluntary basis and the participants were informed that they had the right to excuse themselves from the project at any given time, without any particular explanation. Regular updates, briefings and adequate follow-up interventions were conducted. In addition, a deep

respect for the integrity, experiences, knowledge and opinions of the participants, research assistants and every individual who contributed to the study was upheld at all times.

3.5.2. Reflexivity

Qualitative research is motivated by a reflective stance, which also requires of the researcher to examine critically his/her personal values (Rice & Ezzy 1999). Critical and reflective thinking enhances a research work as it helps to challenge beliefs, judgements and values (Brown & Rutter 2006). Reflexivity in this study meant that the researcher had to think deeply about how and what he thought, why he had undertaken certain actions and how this had impacted on the answers to the research questions.

In his role in the research process the researcher sensitised himself to any potential threats, dangers, harm and compromising situations to which participation in the study may have exposed the respondents. The researcher then did everything in his power to avoid these dangers. The researcher was also aware that his coming in as an external researcher may have created an atmosphere of intimidation and distance and also that there was a possibility that participants could have shaped their responses to what they perceived he would want to hear, rather than giving their honest opinions.

As a facilitator the researcher conducts workshops and community discussions regularly, and has done so for many years. In the process the researcher has developed a facilitation style which is fairly expressive, creative and interactive. However, as regards this research study the researcher's role was not to interact, but to listen attentively and follow the direction participants were taking. Prior to the interviews the researcher was concerned as to how effectively he would be able to moderate the interviews without much interaction, and whether the participants would feel validated if his responses were minimal. In addition, he was worried that the experience of participating would be "technical" and leave the participants feeling that they had just been drained of information and viewpoints. Accordingly, the researcher took care to create an environment of trust and loyalty before the interviews started.

Against this background it was quite interesting that, after each of the four interviews, the participants remained for a debriefing and expressed their gratitude for having been able to participate in the interviews. Some of the debriefings led to a post-interview dialogue which lasted up to two hours. Based on the responses from the participants, contact persons and research assistants, it was clear that, without exception, all the interviews had represented much more than just interviewees answering the questions of an interviewer and that the interview sessions had become platforms for awareness, reflection, information sharing and self development. Even with minimal active feedback, the researcher and the research assistants left each interview feeling enriched and hopeful, having helped to start a reflective process. Feedback from the contact persons in each region also confirmed that the interviews had initiated something positive. It was clear that the interviews had helped to bring out in the open some thoughts, questions and answers of considerable importance, and, thereby, had given validation to both opinion and change processes.

With a lengthy track record in fields relating directly to the topics of the study, the researcher was aware of his own potential bias and non-neutrality. Accordingly, throughout the study he developed the habit of thinking about every issue on two levels – being aware of his own thoughts and analysis and also opening himself to listen and read with openness and a nonjudgemental attitude. The researcher also minimised bias through ongoing consultations, briefings and discussions with peer-groups, colleagues, youth and people in general throughout the research project.

3.5.3. Reliability and credibility

The criticism is often levelled against qualitative research that it lacks both reliability and accuracy (Brink 2006) and, thus, it is important to state that these concerns were addressed throughout the research study. Credibility is described as “how vivid and faithful the description of the phenomenon is” (Beck 1993:264) and relates to the trustworthiness of the findings (Carpenter Rinaldi 1995). In this study, despite the fact that broad samples of data were investigated, the data was narrowed down appropriately to ensure a practical focus. In addition, a wide variety of literature, both of direct and indirect thematic relevance, was consulted and existing theory, paradigms and sources of information were explored and respectfully acknowledged.

The researcher took into account the factors involved in the data analysis of grounded theory as mentioned by Strauss and Corbin (1990) and Chiovitti and Piran (2003). Accordingly, the participants were, as far as possible, encouraged to guide the inquiry process, theoretical constructions were checked against participant meanings and the views and phrases of the participants were used. Triangulation was applied by consulting information from multiple sources and discourses, including books, articles, video material, post interview briefing notes, research journal notes, formal and informal conversations and seminars. The reliability and validity of this thesis was ensured through a consultative peer-review process with co-students and colleagues throughout the course of the study. In addition, monitoring and constant feedback from scholars, research fellows, advisors and practitioners were instrumental in ensuring both vigour and credibility.

3.6. Summary

This chapter has explained the thought processes which had informed the various activities involved in choosing, and carrying out, the methodology used in this study. In response to the objective of the study to understand cultural conditions for rape, an African centred approach was applied to inform the study as a whole. As the research aimed to go beyond mere numbers in its understanding of rape, guidelines informed by ethical and value-based considerations has been implemented.

The study has positioned four major concepts throughout its inquiry; rape, masculinity, culture and rage. As an investigation of cultural conditions for rape, the research has aimed at examining African culture – conditions that justify and conditions that sanctions rape – and look for approaches in African knowledge that point to solutions. We have established that the aims of the study best can be achieved through qualitative methodology, as it takes into consideration the reasons for rape, not only “hard facts”. Focus group has been chosen as the qualitative method that best can help to record how rape is understood by people and what solutions they identify within African culture. Strengths and weaknesses explaining the study’s reliability have been carefully analysed and, in addition to explaining the various research activities carried out, the chapter has also explained the researcher’s observations and experiences.

4. DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

4.1. Introduction

The main research question in this study has been: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions on rape within African culture, and what solutions as regards the restorative justice of men may be identified? In line with the study's aim to examine this question through four major concepts - rape, masculinity, culture and rage – this chapter will discuss key findings in the qualitative research carried out through four focus group interviews. As the paradigms informing the research include African-centred analyses, socialisation theory, transdisciplinarity and Afrikology, a wide a comprehensive lens has been used in order to answer the research questions.

The data analysis presented a significant number of key words and categories that were, in turn, developed into themes (see appendices 5A, 5B and 5C). The interviews were structured in terms of the four main themes of the study in the following order (see appendix 4):

1. Masculinity (men/manhood/African men)
2. Culture (culture in general/African culture)
3. Rage (understanding of rage/rage and African men)
4. Rape (understanding of rape in the light of masculinity, culture and rage)

The aim of this study has been to investigate how culture impacts on rape, and how masculinity and rage relate to this discussion. Also, an objective in this research is to identify the potential for change in cultural knowledge and practices. This discussion will first present the way in which the researcher arrived at a thematic matrix for the interpretation and presentation of the data. The chapter will then present the findings by highlighting relevant quotes from the interviews and bringing in relevant literature that will help to position the study findings within a theoretical-practical framework. The inclusion of theory will also help to fill in blanks and complete the understanding of the way in which cultural conditions impact on rage, masculinity and rape.

In view of the fact that the main analysis focuses on commonalities, synergies, overall explanations and recommendations emanating from the interviews, the interpretation of the data will commence with presenting outcomes that were either similar or different across the four interviews. This was done in order to highlight the subtle and explicit differences based on nationality, gender and the group process. Although all of the four interviews were conducted in a similar way, the processes did also contain slight differences that may have been missing in the overall analysis.

The chapter will then present and discuss the main outcomes in accordance with a thematic matrix for interpretation. Pertinent and action-oriented points are summarised at the end of the chapter and serve as a basis for the concluding comments which are presented in the subsequent chapter.

4.2. Points of similarity and difference in the interviews

Four interviews were conducted in four quite different areas and with diverse groups of participants. Factors such as age (30 year discrepancy between the oldest and the youngest participants), gender (three interviews were with men only, one with women only), socio-economic background (one interview took place in the city centre, two in townships and one in a semi-rural area) and nationality (one group was composed exclusively of West Africans, mainly Nigerians while the participants in the three other interviews were mostly South Africans) may have influenced the discussions in a way that a general analysis would not record appropriately. At the same time, the inquiry is focused on general ideas and does not go into a detailed analysis in terms of which these factors are interpreted. The researcher made an effort to ensure that no individual became the spokesperson for any particular group. Accordingly, the researcher avoided presenting a female participant's statement as representative of all women or a Nigerian respondent as the voice of all Nigerians.

Certain specific points were identified, both as similarities and differences between the four focus group interviews. Before moving on to examine the general outcomes, these similarities and differences will be discussed.

4.2.1. Similarities

There was agreement on a number of points in all four group interviews. These points of agreement included the following opinions and observations:

- Rape is a serious problem which affect everyone
- South Africa is a violent society
- African manhood/masculinity is linked to roles such as that of provider, leader, protector
- Rape is non-consensual sex between any two (or more) partners
- The average South African man is less culturally inclined than men from other parts of Africa (and to some this also meant that they were “less manly”)
- African men are angry, for historical reasons and also as a result of political-economic conditions and for their inability to voice the problems they are experiencing
- Culture is important as it prescribes a way of life and fosters identity, but there is uncertainty as regards the way in which traditions may help solve problems such as rape
- Culture is sometimes corrupted and misconstrued
- Cultural traditions are not properly understood by young men/people
- All, or most African men, are angry as a result of historical oppression and present socio-economic marginalisation, but not everyone express this anger in rage

4.2.2. Differences

In the interview with the participants from Hillbrow – predominantly Nigerians – there was mention of the way in which the participants perceived South African men as lazy, dependent and buying into a 50/50 equality agenda with women. In their eyes, the latter makes South African men. Nevertheless, the participants located the weakness they observed in South African men as primarily the result of the oppressive impact of Apartheid and the legacy of imbalance this had left, resulting in considerable anger and incapacity on the part of African men. The group had few concrete solutions to the issue of rape, but suggested that “more talks like this” may be very helpful.

In the interviews with the groups from Orange Farm and Daveyton, which consisted predominantly of South African men, many of the respondents perceived South African men as weaker and less culturally inclined than men from other parts of the African continent. The opinions which were voiced in the two interviews were fairly similar. The solutions to rape that were suggested included the necessity for women to more respectful and African men to become more culturally literate, guidance from elders to be given prevalence, the role of parents (especially fathers) to be strengthened and mentorship for young men to be developed.

In the interview with the respondents from Soweto – South African female participants only – a remarkably different view of what constitutes a man was discussed. The participants’ approach was more emotional than that of the other groups, both in the way in which they had experienced men themselves and also as regards what they knew about the way in which men perceive themselves. Some of the respondents maintained that 60 to 70% of men are “useless” while others stated that 70% are “good”. Several viewed other African men (West Africans) as capable of according women more respect than South African men do. They felt that South African men lacked confidence and that they harboured extreme anger as a result of their inability to obtain or possess the qualities expected of them. The participants expressed concern about men not talking or opening up about their problems.

Interestingly, while the participants in the male groups had all acknowledged the possibility of men being raped by women, this theme caused considerable contention in the female group. In addition, the female group were of the opinion that solutions to rape would not be found in culture, as they maintained that traditions had failed them as women and were, in any case, abused by men in order to further their power over women. On the other hand, they maintained that solutions to rape would be found in the ability to create a new culture.

4.3. Interpretation of the data

As the objective of the study was to investigate how African culture justifies and sanctions rape, and also to look at cultural responses to processing rage and forming positive African masculinities, a comprehensive tool for analysis was needed. The processes involved in

grounded theory are expected to lead to a “groundedness” in which new theory can emerge from data (Fernández 2004; Harry et al. 2005).

Although the interviews all followed the same thematic structure, there was, nevertheless, flexibility as regards exploring subjects in greater depth as they came up in interviews. In the data analysis, open codes were first extracted and then developed into 18 thematic categories (see Appendix 5B). These categories were structured in accordance with the four main themes.

4.3.1. Thematic categories

It emerged during the data analysis that the responses in the interviews cut across, and could also be separated from, the four thematic concepts. The concepts had, thus far in the study, served as guidelines to gaining an insight into understanding the phenomenon of rape. However, as it then appeared that the concepts may have a limiting effect on the discussion it was decided that they would be applied more organically and become integrated into a broader discussion. This brought the investigation back to the main research question of the thesis – What are the *cultural conditions for the justification of rape* and *What are the cultural conditions for sanctions against rape* and the decision to interpret the research topic through Nobles and Goddard’s (1984) three level model for understanding culture in social research, namely, cultural aspects, cultural factors and cultural manifestations. At this point the literature was also referred to in order to deepen the research analyses.

The interpretation process was guided by the following objectives:

- In-depth analyses of what was said and suggested in the interviews
- Deepen the data analysis with comparisons with and amplification from relevant literature
- Identify cultural conditions for and against rape
- Align research findings with a research model that could be used to interpret outcomes (deliver)
- Adopt a results orientation and seek recommendations

4.3.2. Matrix for interpretation

The decision to use Nobles and Goddard’s (1984) three level model for understanding culture as a lens for interpretation helped a matrix to emerge from what had been investigated so far. The matrix, inspired by the three level model, was developed from codes, categories and concepts in the interviews and was then used as an analytical tool to identify both justifications for and sanctions against rape. The matrix was structured as follows (also see Appendix 5D):

| | Cultural conditions for justification of rape | Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape |
|---|--|---|
| A. Cultural aspects Ideology, ethos and values. → “ <i>What we see</i> ” | A1. Conflicting morals and values | A4. Moral balance |
| | A2. Oppression consciousness | A5. Victory consciousness |
| | A3. Powerlessness and hyper masculinity | A6. Grounded manhood/masculinity |
| B. Cultural factors Ontology, cosmology, axiology and epistemology → “ <i>What we believe</i> ” | B1. Cultural amnesia | B4. Cultural awareness |
| | B2. Material focus | B5. Spiritual focus |
| | B3. Impunity and individuality | B6. Collectivism and responsibility |
| C. Cultural manifestations Expressions through behaviour, values and attitudes → “ <i>What we do</i> ” | C1. Normalisation of negative behaviour | C4. Cultural mentorship |
| | C2. Physical representation | C5. Social control |
| | C3. Unhealthy and dislocated cultural practices | C6. Integrated wisdom |
| | | |

The results from using this interpretation matrix of analysing, on one side cultural aspects, factors and manifestations, and, on the other, cultural conditions for justifications and sanctions of rape, are presented below.

4.4. Discussion of findings

A discussion on the findings from the interviews will now follow. This discussion will focus specifically on cultural conditions and will be structured in line with Nobles and Goddard's (1984) explanation of culture in relation to social research. This structure was applied by grouping the concepts and themes that emerged from the coding of the interview transcripts.

In the discussion, each theme is developed from certain key concepts that are based on the codes and categories identified from the interviews, in addition to the relevant literature. Care has been taken to extract quotes from the participants' contributions that illustrate important viewpoints and opinions. Although it will become clear that the points highlighted had the support of the majority of the respondents in the interviews, the intention is not to measure the amount of support for each argument but, rather, to look for meaning in what the participants shared during the interviews and to link this to relevant literature in order to build an evolving theory in regards to the impact of cultural conditions on rape.

In accordance with the matrix outlined above, the discussion below is presented in terms of the three approaches to culture:

- A. Cultural aspects
- B. Cultural factors
- C. Cultural manifestations

Six themes under each approach are discussed – three (1, 2 and 3) explaining cultural conditions for the justification of rape and three (4, 5 and 6) explaining cultural conditions for sanctions against rape. Certain key concepts, arising from the process of mapping codes and comparing the data guiding each theme, are discussed.

A. Cultural aspects

Ideology, ethos and values.

“What we see”

Cultural conditions for the justification of rape

A1. Conflicting morals and values

Key concepts: *Women are sexual objects, men are superior, men’s right to women’s bodies as commodity.*

Some of the participants expressed a strong belief in the notion that, simply because they are men, they are automatically entitled to assume an authoritative role over women. The following statement articulates this notion:

[...] I believe that men were born to be leaders. [...] Not to become followers or to become the people who hurt their followers. [...] I think women were born to be a helping hand to the leaders.

(P8, male, Orange Farm)

The statement is a testimony to what Cornwall and Lindisfarne (2005) describe as masculinity defined in opposition to what is perceived to be feminine or female. However, the same participant also recognised that this notion may lead to rape:

Because, as men, we are taught that woman are under us. We own them. So other people, they tend to take that thing to a further stage. Whereby they even sleep with them by force. Like abduct them because they think that they own the women.

(P8, male, Orange Farm)

This is an interesting juxtaposition of ideas as it would appear the participant both accepts and criticises the point he is making. This, in turn, may indicate a sense of powerlessness,

engendered by the perception of a hegemonic masculinity to which men must adhere, even when they do not agree with it (Ratele 2008b).

Although most of the participants agreed that to act out the intention to have sex when one partner does not agree does constitute rape, some disagreed, especially if this happened within a marriage:

Sometimes I question that my wife who I've paid lobola [dowry] for... doesn't mean I have to abuse her... she is my wife. I want to sleep with her, she's not in her periods. I want to sleep with her and she tells me that not today. I want it that time and she's telling me that not now. What's the problem if I sleep with her and she's not okay. Without forcing her or hitting her?

(P8, male, Daveyton)

Justification of rape is closely linked to the value which society at large accords to women. According to Motsei (2007), it is not only men, but women themselves who may be influenced by a male supremacist, patriarchal culture and, thus, contribute to the oppression of other women by questioning the legitimacy of women who maintain they have been raped (p. 30) or by buying into the common stereotypes about women as easy sexual targets (p. 31). The statement of one of the female participant may be seen in this light. She was responding to the argument presented by some men that women invite rape by either their clothing or their behaviour:

We sometimes bring rape amongst us

(P6, female, Soweto)

The participant may here have referred to a self-identified responsibility for rape among women, a notion which Motsei (2007) describes as a human phenomenon in terms of which the oppressed internalises the negative views of themselves. The statement could also be seen in line with a rape-myth in society which claims that women, through behaviour and intent, ask to be raped (Edwards, Turchik, Dardis, Reynolds & Gidycz 2011).

Several male participants were concerned that women falsely accuse men of rape and maintained that there is a culture which expects women not to engage sexually and, thus, when they do, willingly, they disagree afterwards and claim rape. This was a real concern to

many of the male participants. These statements bring to the fore the issue of morals. It may be assumed that many of the participants came from a Christian background – according to the South African Consensus of 2001, 80% of South Africa’s population belong to Christian faiths and, hence, many, young men and women face a moral dilemma as regards navigating between Christian ethics and a sexualised society (Dalfovo, Beyeraaza, Kaboha, Kigongo, Mwanahewa, Wamal et al. 1992). As stated by Lindeggar and Maxwell (2007), there is pressure on both young men and young women both to have sex and to perpetuate hegemonic standards for masculinity.

However, in some cases, as confirmed by Ampofo and Boateng (2007), this may lead to young men forcing themselves on women. It was not possible to find any literature that documents whether women do, indeed, “fake rape”, but it is well documented, for example, by Shechory and Idisis (2006) and Edwards et al. (2011) that this notion exists as a widespread rape myth.

A2. Oppression consciousness

Key concepts: History, politics, economy, colonialism, apartheid, imperialism,

Several participants articulated strong opinions about the reasons why African men are angry, including historical injustices with one participant stating:

[...] slave trade brought a lot of things into Africa. Because a lot of people lost people...you know. Members of their families, you know. And, when they become frustrated, they can do anything, they can kill anybody just because like that. You know, because something has happened to them [...].

(P7, male, Hillbrow)

We come from slavery to start with and [for] some of us that has affected us in such a way that some of us are not working, some of us never go to get proper education. Some of us...like there’s a whole lot of things that affect us, referring to what happened. You know what I mean? [...] Most men in Africa [are angry]. [...] Yes. I

mean you look at Mugabe . He's angry and I'm still angry too. You know what I mean. Sure.

(P10, male, Orange Farm)

The admission of anger is fairly significant as other participants also acknowledged that several contemporary challenges evoke rage in African men:

[...] lack of education[...]. And then lack of work. Less job.

(P2, male, Hillbrow)

Asante (2003) refers to culture as enabling a person to possess a sense of consciousness with one aspect of this consciousness being the ability to “*verbalize the condition of oppression*” (p. 64). Through this oppression consciousness, a person is able to state and exemplify important challenges and obstacles. However, if left in this state of consciousness, the problem analysis will tend to resemble victim statements and not necessarily prescribe how to emerge from the problem stage to a solution. It is possible to know what is going on in society but, at the same time, not to know how to solve the problems.

This oppression consciousness, in turn, brings in the aspect of powerlessness. As noted by Groes-Green (2009), the dominant ideals for masculinity in most African countries see men as the natural providers for the family, the ones who control the land and also decide about sexual and reproductive issues. However, certain anthropologists (cf. Arnfred 2004; Amadiume 1997) are of the opinion that many of the current gender roles and divisions of labour were put in place by the colonial regimes while Groes-Green (2009) sees the contemporary ideals for masculinity in Africa as a result of historically inherited notions and modern ideals of a “... male consumer with access to material symbols and commodities” (p. 293).

Although not one of the respondents indicated that the rage experienced by African men justifies either sexual violence or rape, they did, nevertheless, see a close connection between the two. According to Groes-Green (2009), there is a strong correlation between violence against women, the social marginalisation of men and historical suppression. As noted by Morrell (1998; 2003), the power aspects of British colonialism in addition to the suppressive structures of Apartheid shaped a particularly violent South African masculinity with the

violence meted out against women by South African men taking place within relationships informed by social despair, misogyny and notions of entitlement to women's bodies.

However, in line with Asante's view, an awareness of oppression does not necessarily lead to knowledge of how to escape from of the predicament. The observer may even use the observation about oppression as justification for the reason why he/she violates other people with, as Motsei (2007) notes, Blackness being seen as a learnt helplessness in terms of which men must rape as they cannot help themselves.

A3. Powerlessness and hypermasculinity

Key concepts: Failed masculinity, authority in absence of power, need to control and terrorise, media, performance, shallow, self-hate, psycho-emotional void, no outlet for pain, hard men.

In a study of hegemonic masculine ideals conducted among young Mozambican men, Groes-Green (2009) discusses the number of men in Africa who are deeply affected by their inability to live up to the 'breadwinner ideal', in terms of which men are expected to provide economically for their female partners and families in order to have authority. The study found that men who are unemployed feel they are both worthless and unmanly.

Income disparities and not being able to function as the provider often result in some men perceiving women as a threat. One participant articulated this as follows:

[...] woman rule us as men. It's as if they are the heads of the house now. When you look at it closely.

(P8, male, Orange Farm)

Another participant sees the issue of men as providers this as not being able to live up to the example set by previous generations of men:

You know the fact that most guys can't get jobs. You know if you take a look at back then. Our fathers say that round about the age that we are in – most of them, they

were married and they had houses back then. But with us it's different, we are growing old and some of the guys do want to get married. But you do not have the means. And now that is very frustrating to one. You can end up living with rage.

(P3, male, Daveyton)

Yet another participant indicated that he felt as if he were not only failing his family, but also the higher powers:

First, one thing you need to understand is that you are born a man. That means you are a man. From your birth you are born a man [...] Nowadays we all know brothers, we are under pressure. Sisters are working, sisters have cars and if you don't have a salary, you don't have a car, and if you don't earn the salary that she's earning that means you are not a man. Unfortunately from birth you are born a man. Your destiny, that comes from God. He has said you are the head.

(P4, male, Daveyton)

Thus, this participant is articulating the impossibility of, on one hand, having to “be a man” and, at the same time, not being able to “be a man”. Ratele (2008a) addresses a similar concern when stating that the majority of studies on gender:

[...] fail to look closely into how the effects of little or no income for males interacts with other psychosocial experiences, and, in turn, flows into burdens of masculinity, prompting violent reactions against women's independence and feminism. (p. 517)

The notion of men being failures was also addressed in the female focus group in Soweto, where the following responses were recorded:

- *They are not protectors, they are bashers (P3).*
- *They are failures (P6)*
- *70% are failures (P3)*
- *That's too much, you are giving them too much credit (P1)*

These assertions were not, however, representative of everyone in the group:

[...] *My own thoughts on this whole situation is that men are not completely negative. I think it falls on both sides [of] negativity. Men choose to be negative. It's not all men who choose to be negative. Just like women who choose to be negative instead of positive.*

(P2, female, Soweto)

Another participant differentiated between men's experience of not living up to what is expected from them and violence, asserting that this:

[...] *ends up causing the insecurities in the men. Some of them, [...] things that maybe happened in their childhood and what not, and they built up to that point where they are about to burst. What happens is that because these things have been stored inside for such a long time. It gets to a point where....ya, it explodes.*

(P4, female, Soweto)

The statements above are validated by writers such as Wilson (1990; 1991) who talks about the anger which men harbour even when they are not aware of it, Degruy Leary (2005) who sees rage as an after effect of historical injustices and Ratele (2008b) who writes about men's fury when they are not able to deliver on what "real manhood" expects from them. The level of insecurity caused by the void of not being a real man may lead some men to an intense hatred of self and this is further projected onto women in the form of either abuse or violence (hooks 1981).

Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape

A4. Moral balance

Key concepts: Judgement, ethics, information, knowledge

Throughout the interviews it was noted that the participants were well informed about rape, were concerned about its impact on society and saw it, unquestionably, as wrong.

The following statements demonstrate the way in which the participants defined rape:

[...] when you force somebody to get what you want [...], when you force a lady to sleep with her.

(P8, male, Hillbrow)

Sex with no agreement. Doesn't matter if it's a man or a woman.

(P7, male, Orange Farm)

Non-consensual sex.

(P7, male, Daveyton)

Rape is rape. I don't care how you define it. I don't care how you sugarcoat it. Rape is rape.

(P2, female, Soweto)

It was evident from the participants' responses that they knew that rape is wrong and, with few exceptions, were not able to see any justification for rape. Their views conformed, generally, with the perspectives found in most of the literature on rape. This may, nevertheless, be an indication that issues of rape are frequently condemned in churches, organisations and in formal activities where young people frequently spend time. However, the question arises as to whether the youth is actively speaking up against rape, for example, within their peer groups, to ensure that, as a phenomenon, it is socially unacceptable. The following view was articulated by a man who appeared to be deeply troubled by the fact that there are many men who rape:

I believe that a man don't supposed to commit a rape if you are a normal man.

(P1, male, Hillbrow)

The interviews established that it is "normal" to be against rape. However, in view of the current rape statistics, it is fair to assume that rape also has been normalised among many individuals. Accordingly, an understanding of the values and norms that support a strong aversion to rape may help to cement a cultural zero-tolerance to sexual violence.

The participants clearly demonstrated that logic defies them when they try to find reasons for rape with rape appearing as an unthinkable terror to most of them. One participant blamed rape on a lack of education:

A lot of men are illiterate. They don't know what they are doing.

(P10, male, Hillbrow)

However, this statement may be interpreted in several ways – to be “illiterate” may mean to be both analphabetic (not having undergone formal education) or to be socially illiterate (not being able to read socially accepted codes for acceptable behaviour). Hence, the statement by this participant may be a plea for a greater awareness of rape in formal education or it may be a call for the general strengthening of social awareness in society through information campaigns and social responsibility. However, either way, it points to the important role of education, both formal and informal, in combating rape and violence. A point the same participant illustrated by his own “illiteracy” in assuming that a major factor in South Africa’s rape crisis is women who “expose their bodies”.

A5. Victory consciousness

Key concepts: *Rebelling against constitutive rules, responsibility, ability of choice, emancipation*

In order to achieve a full sense of consciousness, an individual must, according to Asante (2003), develop a consciousness towards victory in addition to a consciousness of oppression as one without the other will not develop a complete problem analysis. .

Asante further states that “*culture is the most revolutionary stage of awareness*” (Asante 2003:64). However, it was clear from the interviews that few of the participants had any in-depth knowledge of the cultural concepts and traditions that could challenge the many oppressive mechanisms in both history and society with most speaking of traditions as if they had heard about them from friends and acquaintances, rather than from close family relations.

Concepts from literature, such as matrilineal organisation (Amadiume 1997) and indigenous knowledge (Mosha 2000) were not mentioned as available “tools” by the participants. However, even if few participants gave detailed explanation of how African culture is integrated in their lives, many expressed the fact that the African culture plays an important role in solving social problems.

In the view of several of the participants, rage is the aftermath of historical injustices and also stems from contemporary challenges in, for example, African governance. Some of the participants expressed the belief that there are healthy – and important – ways of expressing rage, especially when the expression of rage leads to uprising and rallying against the authorities that people feel have let them down.

Several respondents maintained that it is not wrong to act on rage when the government is not keeping its promises or not delivering on these promises. In addition, although crime is never right, it is understandable because of the fact that governments in Africa are, as one participant expressed it, “pushing some people” (P1, male, Hillbrow).

This concern is in line with what Fanon (1963) says when he talks about the fact that a channel to release aggression must exist in every society. If not, he warns the pent up energy emanating from the colonial experience, will be expressed and released among the oppressed themselves. When there is no outlet, the oppressed will have a fixation on releasing the anger:

The dreams of the native are always of muscular prowess; his dreams are of action and of aggression (ibid., 52).

As this fixation often lacks strategy, in the view of Fanon, the oppressed may focus the aggression inwardly, a process which leads to Black on Black violence. The consciousness towards victory would, then, lie in the ability to articulate issues of concern and deprivation effectively to those institutions that will take these issues seriously.

Another participant pointed out that a victory consciousness was expressed in the notion many respondents articulated, namely, that, in terms of qualitative masculinity, strength does not equate to a physical, muscular appearance:

You still muscular in your brains. Ya. Fit inside.

P1, male, Orange Farm

The ability to be “muscular in your brains” and “fit inside” finds resonance in what Akbar (1991) describes as self-knowledge and self mastery – an inner quality of confidence in which the man is able to “... establish authority over yourself” (ibid., p. 59).

One participant expressed concern for those men who do not find a way in which to process the emotions they carry inside:

They are rock hard. Try and break it and you can't. You breaking yourself

P2, female, Soweto

This quiet “brokenness” is articulated by Burrell as “slow suicide” (2010:107) in terms of which the man literally shuts down to such an extent that he becomes a threat to the his own health and the health of those close to him. Connecting the interrelations between historical injustices, experiences of powerlessness, unhealthy lifestyles and depression requires a process where men acknowledge the multiple problem sources, the multi-layered effects and channel them positively into self-healing. This process exemplifies the combination of oppression and victory consciousness.

A6. Grounded manhood/masculinity

Key concepts: To protect and respect, rape = death/pain and less manly (looked down upon), fear of prosecution and stigma, not bring shame to family

Several participants articulated that you are less of a man if you rape – a notion that is both supported and contested in literature. To some extent rape and the abuse of women are looked down upon and, yet, at the same time, cultural codes exist which defend, and even actively encourage, rape (Krieg 2007). Asiyanbola (2005) perceives this the tendency to not fully sanction rape within African culture as part of a rigid patriarchy that has come, gradually, to define the family structure across the African continent, even in the so-called “traditional settings”. Rather than being a woman’s partner, the man has become her owner.

Implicitly, the paradox in cultural values as pertaining to rape may come from an understanding that forcing oneself “just like that” (i.e. with no “justifiable reason”) on a woman would be seen to be desperate, bestial and uncivilised. However, in view of the fact that most rapes are committed by someone who is known to the woman, there are clearly factors (i.e. incidents that are seen as “justifiable reasons”) that may have led up to the rape. In terms of a power dynamic which favours men, this is where myths such as “she must have wanted it”, “she was dressing inappropriately” and “women do not know what they want” come in (Payne, Diana, Lonsway & Fitzgerald 1999). A strong awareness of the issues of cultural codes that justify rape would be a key component in educational campaigns. If men are to identify these codes – and realise their impact – it is important that this information is developed and presented by other men.

In line with the notion of men as protectors and providers, rape appears as a direct violation of these roles. However, it is possible that a lesson in distinguishing responsibility from domination may be learnt here. It may be, as explained by Hare and Hare (1983, that the role of protecting the family and providing for its members does not have to equal “ownership”, exploitative power or brutal force and may, perhaps, be one important aspect of a dynamic balance. Culturally, African wisdom provides balance and complementarity between partners, rather than a continuous fight for domination.

An understated, and yet prevalent, theme in the interviews was the lack of awareness and knowledge of self among the men. This was alluded to by several of the respondents as feelings of insecurity, confusion, immaturity and irresponsibility. Akbar (1991) points to the role confusion that develops when African men are not educated into, or expected to, play a significant role in the lives of younger men when it comes to values and the development of self identity.

One of South Africa’s sages, *uBaba Credo Vusamazulu Mutwa*, speaks about the role of *uMalume*, which translates to uncle, but with a far greater spiritual responsibility attached to it than the modern understanding of an uncle’s role (Motsei 2007). According to Mutwa *uMalume* is a responsible man within the clan who plays a significant role in the education of the children. This “uncle”, who does not have to be related to the family by blood lineage, becomes a compassionate and caring teacher of morality, justice and respect for self and

others. As Mutwa points out, the teachings of uMalume were, originally, far removed from the contemporary interpretations of African culture that equate women with an object of men's ownership and, indeed, these teachings were based on a life-affirming understanding of nature's elements, submission to order and a groundedness in sacred knowledge.

The institution of uMalume's educational development of children – which is completely absent in many families of today – was briefly touched upon by some of the participants when they spoke of initiation schools. However, while initiation is a transition ritual for a short period, uMalume's impact lasts for a life time and is part of an ongoing, systematic care system (Motsei 2007).

The participants clearly did not advocate for a masculinity based on exploitation and abuse. However, reasons why such violence would be seen to be unacceptable were, sometimes, implicitly explained as fear of transgressing the law with some of the participants alluding to legal processes, indicating that it is the fear of being prosecuted that prevents men from abusing women. On the other hand, some spoke of before and now scenarios, indicating that certain types of violence against women, for example, gang rape, were less common today because the perpetrators may be sent to prison. However, in the analysis of Krieg (2007) this notion would be opposed as she asserts that the criminal system is somewhat ineffective as a result of the patriarchal values on which it is built. However, it should be noted that the cultural values underpinning legal practice should be investigated.

B. Cultural factors

Ontology (nature of people), cosmology (worldview), axiology (values) and epistemology (source of knowing)

“What we believe”

Cultural conditions for the justification of rape

B1. Cultural amnesia

Key concepts: Complete loss of cultural self

Several of the West African male respondents perceived the lack of traditional culture among African men in South Africa as less manly – in the sense of a weak male identity – and also directly related to the prevalence of social problems in the country.

In South African culture the value of being an African is quite lacking, the way I see them with my own point of view. They have been brainwashed, the African culture is not there.

(P8, male, Hillbrow)

[...] In Nigeria we don't run away from our responsibilities, which South African men usually do here in South Africa and, apart from that, I know they only depend on their government [...].

(P9, male, Hillbrow)

While these statements positioned the loss of culture as a South African problem, others saw it as a broader, African problem:

[...] This western life and western way of things is stealing African culture away from Africa. We try to imitate.

(P8, male, Hillbrow)

The loss of culture, to the extent that it is no longer part of living memory, has been described by Wilson (2002) as cultural amnesia which is typified by an “undiscovered”, “reactionary” and “incapable” self (p. 52). Several participants expressed strong opinions about the impact of losing culture:

I think it's a bad thing because, most of the time, the name culture as us as a youth we don't understand the name culture. Because if ever you are...I want to practise culture and I don't perform it in the fullest way. It's not...obviously, it's not culture because sometimes we can slaughter. Maybe I don't believe in slaughtering, but I have to slaughter. I will slaughter, but at the end there are some things I don't do properly. (P14, male, Orange Farm)

This statement is validated by Mosha (2000) when he states that culture is an ongoing process of education and affirmation. The dominating presence of Western cultural preferences has caused African traditions to wither and resulted in cultural amnesia. Wilson (2002) points out the importance of relearning one's history in response to this amnesia. However, as was highlighted by one participant, sometimes one wants to forget history:

History is so painful, I don't want to get hurt. It's not all of us that follow history. Because some of us are afraid of being hurt. I myself am afraid of getting my heart hurt. Because I know, once I get to think about the past, I will develop anger and it's unnecessary anger, you see. (P2, male, Orange Farm)

Interestingly, while many of the male respondents were concerned about the loss of African culture, several female participants expressed the fact that they perceived culture as the selective practices of men, often construed and presented to their own advantage in dominating women. The examples mentioned included polygamous marriages, avoiding household chores and unreasonable expectations of women. With this as the prevalent view, most of the female participants did not advocate bringing culture back.

B2. Material focus

Key concepts: No deeper meaning, live from day to day, I am what I have

Some of the participants made a distinction between tradition – which they perceived as customs, knowledge and heritage – and culture – which they saw more in terms of the values by which they live or observe in their surroundings. In this sense, the everyday culture of the status acquired in relation to material possessions becomes the qualifying factor for manhood. However, this also impacts on the way in which relationships – and women – are perceived. Masculinity becomes a value the individual is able to, and, indeed, must act out and “show off”, even at the expense of a woman’s integrity. A woman, instead of becoming a partner, becomes a commodity.

For those who are not able either to act out or show off within this context because they lack the means and resources, the resultant frustration may lead to rage with the abuse of women becoming excusable, because young men are poor. In other words, engaging in violence becomes unavoidable because, with the scarcity of resources, there is not enough room for everyone.

Fanon (1963) points out that, as a product of a colonial society, the African person’s identity is inextricably linked to its colonial limitations. For the African, history has stopped. It belongs to the settler. However, to the colonised, history is not available, and the strongest urge is not to reclaim history, but to take over the space which the coloniser possessed and to mimic and copy the European. Thus, as a colonial instrument of power, violence becomes part of the African’s daily experience. Violence is never hidden, it is always present. In this scenario, Fanon postulates, the coloniser structurally effectuates the eradication of the colonised while, with its totalitarian character, settler colonialism crushes indigenous culture and creates a “native” – an inferior being who doubts his/her own existence.

In addition to a negated presence, the effect of stereotypes also contributes to a breakdown process within the African male self:

Seen as animals, brutes, natural born rapists, and murderers, black men have had no real dramatic say when it comes to the way they are represented (hooks 2004:xii).

B3. Impunity and individuality

Key concepts: No respect for law (social decay), not seeing self as part of larger entity

Several participants mentioned that, as a result of the loss of culture and a political history that has led to social disintegration, people care less about each other.

Individuality – in its extreme sense – robs the individual of accountability to others. What the person does – even, at least to a certain extent, if this involves inflicting pain to someone else – is seen solely as an individual concern. As argued by Perkins (2005) the absence of collective responsibility and inter-relating communities lead to social disintegration. When society becomes defined by social disintegration, a certain of lawlessness develops and a culture of impunity proliferates.

In addition, if men feel that the law is failing to protect them from the dangers they face every day, it is not likely that they will respect either the law or the authorities that enforce the law. In addition, as noted by Munwini and Matereke (2010), if rape is motivated by reclaiming a sense of patriarchal manhood, is it possible to expect men to abide by law?

One participant stated:

Women have no say when men are angry
(P7, male, Daveyton)

This statement exemplifies a mindset that, when a man is angry, this will justify any action he may take, especially toward a woman with her right to have an opinion ceases at that point. The psychology of warfare is also relevant to this notion with rape often being described as a war culture (Vogelmann 1990a). On the other hand, Winter (2000) sees rape as a war tactic in societal cultures where men's power is obtained through conquering women by culturally endorsed aggression, force, coercion, exploitation, abuse and sexual conquest. Thus, to Motsei (2007), rape is part of a war against women, exemplified through infanticide, dowry deaths, honour killings, female genital mutilation, denial of reproductive rights, human trafficking, the gender factor in sexually transmitted diseases and violence (p. 38).

However, there is also a war being wages against men that is sometimes not acknowledged. It is asserted that every man has access to, and takes advantage of, the privileges of patriarchal power, but, as highlighted by hooks (2004), Black men are disempowered, emasculated and continue to exist on the outer margins of power.

It is this sense of nonpower to which Fanon (1967) refers when he describes the process of alienation in terms of which the Black person internalises the gaze of the White other. To Fanon, the Black man becomes a despised “other” in his own eyes and to whom he attaches hatred. In addition, as Wilson (1991) points out, someone who regards him/herself as extremely lowly is likely to harbour contempt for others. Thus, according to Fanon (op. cit.), to the colonised Black self, there is no real way to escape and he must accept his dependency or, through education and work, face his inferiority complex by looking constantly to the White man for recognition.

Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape

B4. Cultural awareness

Key concepts: Matriarchy, taboos

Most of the respondents saw the prevalence of rape in relation to the fact that cultural values have become less important. Both the West African men and the South African men saw the West African men as “more cultured”, thus implying that they possess a more qualitative masculinity. Although few direct examples were mentioned, it was possible to infer from the statements of the participants that the culture which men found to be lacking in South African men encompassed both qualities, for example, responsibility, honesty, pride and hard work and also the characteristics of men’s role in society, for example, being fathers, husbands and leaders. Understated notions of West African men being more free – as in more self-determined and confident – and South African men being less free – as in dependent and insecure – featured in the interviews.

Neither the West African men, nor the South African men, spoke of relating closely to anyone from the other “group”, although they did have strong opinions about each other. This indicates that the statements made were presumably based on assumptions based on how they perceived representatives from the other “group” in society, what they picked up from the media and what they heard other people from their own “group” say about members of the other group. An underlying element in the male participants’ interaction with each other seemed to be an interest in understanding themselves through the other.

It may also be, as Biko (1978:45) observes, that there is a tendency to exaggerate the “lostness” of African culture:

(...) African culture has had to sustain severe blows and may have been battered nearly out of shape by the belligerent cultures it collided with, yet, in essence, even today. one can easily find the fundamental aspects of the pure African culture in the present day African ... One of the most fundamental aspects of our culture is the importance we attach to Man ... a Man-centred society...

B5. Spiritual focus

Key concepts: *God-consciousness, laws of nature, holistic world view, church (fear of hell)*

Some of the participants saw spirituality and faith as the solution to violence:

[...] as African man and African woman, we must kneel down and pray. Because there’s a whole lot of things that are happening around. Some of them there are things bigger than rape that are happening, that we cannot find solutions as individuals and as a group as well. But the only solution is the most high. I know not all of us believe in God, but whatever you believe in. Just kneel down and pray. Jah! Jah! Help I n I!

(P10, male, Orange Farm)

Arewa (1998) notes that African cosmology is based on the interconnectedness between physical/material and spiritual/metaphysical realities. The participants also acknowledged a spiritual dimension to both rage and rape.

When that spirit is angry you just want to smack someone
(P2, male, Hillbrow)

This statement – which followed another statement in which the participant had just likened rape to a drunkard who is enslaved to alcohol – describes rape as reaction when something within the individual is triggered – an “evil” spirit. Asante and Nwadiora (2007) explain how the concept of evil is often seen as a manifestation of a society’s shortcomings while the response to evil is not to control it, but to ward it off. Accordingly, rituals, ceremonies, offerings and herbal science become essential actions to diminish and minimise the power and presence of evil.

Sometimes one is not able to understand the spirit of anger, as articulated by another participant:

You know a man is angry, but not why
(P2, female, Soweto)

The statements above speak to the spiritual nature of both problem analyses and problem solving. Clearly it is essential that something beyond reason, for example, a spiritual intervention, must also be articulated in the work against rape within an African context.

B6. Collectivism and responsibility

Key concepts: *Oneness of being, Ubuntu, Ma’at, respect for law*

One respondent articulated a sense of taking responsibility for Africa’s problems:

Everything that we have is a problem of Africa
(P1, male, Hillbrow)

Implicit in this statement is an acknowledgement that a problem to some is a problem to all. This clearly illustrates the sense of collectivism and co-ownership which are essential components of African cultural values (Ramose 2002; Akinyela 2006). Thus, collective responsibility may constitute an important building block in the resolution of any social problem, including rape.

The need for open and direct information about the complexity of the problems related to rape was also suggested by some of the respondents. This is challenging as rape touches on both taboos and individual integrity. Asked to explain what rape is, one respondent described it as follows:

When your heart is not open

(P4, male, Daveyton)

This statement was further explained by the participant to mean situations where one person is using “force” and “manipulation” as part of sexual violence. This – to take advantage of someone whose “heart is not open” – can serve as an example of violating core values articulated in African philosophies. *Ma’at* is an ancient Kemetic (Egyptian) deity, representing the key elements of human perfection, articulated through seven virtues that must be respected in all spheres of life: Truth, justice, propriety, harmony, balance, reciprocity and order (Arewa 1998). These virtues can also be likened to values expressed in the philosophy of *uBuntu* – described as a quality and dignity of humanness which is a fundamental element within African cultural axioms (Koka 2002). *Ma’at* and *uBuntu* are examples of the values within African culture that strongly sanctions violations – including rape – and the use of force and abuse.

C. Cultural manifestations

Expressions through behaviour, values and attitudes

“*What we do*”

Cultural conditions for the justification of rape

C1. The normalisation of negative behaviour

Key concepts: *Perpetuation of powerlessness, absence of fathers/mentors, low expectations (no social control)*

The role of the community in the reinforcement of negative behaviour was mentioned by one participant when explaining the contextual expressions of manhood:

It depends on the community you live in. Because in some places it's always normal to present yourself as a man, by smacking your wife or your brother. And, generally, how you behave as a person reflects how people think about you. So it's...it's obviously going to be influenced by one of the two: either the community or you yourself as an individual. But, most of the time, it's a community thing. If men this side speaking loud in front of you, you eventually adapt to that. Because if a woman speaks loud to you, your masculinity then is in question.

(P7, male, Daveyton)

The same participant located masculinity in the process of the male aligning himself to what appears to be the dominant cultural expectation. The notion of manhood, to him, has to do with:

[...] whose power is measuring the men in that community. Once you are close to that power, you would've been graduated into being a man.

(P7, male, Daveyton)

To shape notions of manhood in what seems to be a the over-arching ideas about men in a society is described as hegemonic masculinity by both Ratele (2008a) and Groes-Green (2009). Seeking validation by attempting to copy what appears to be the accepted norm was also articulated by the same participant:

African men copy what they see others do. Ya. Mina, how I feel actually about this topic. I think we were just to jump into African culture vs. our normal culture. I think it is common knowledge that in South Africa or in Africa, most of us will never be able to do anything innovative for inventions maybe are beyond our own financial capability. But innovation to better your own environment. Due to one thing. For Africans to act they need motivation. You need to jump in the lake first, then I will jump after you. So it is common behaviour that African culture is not about creating a trend, it's about following a trend that was set for you.

(P7, male, Daveyton)

This statement indicates a perception of African culture as non-dynamic, conformist and unable to respond to challenges as they appear. Thus, it follows that the individual would be tempted to follow whatever is projected by the community in which he/she lives. Accordingly, what “others” do is also legitimate for each individual to do. Similarly, if a particular negative behaviour – for example rape – is not sanctioned, it would appear that it is endorsed. Negative behaviours flourish in the absence of clear modes of sanctioning and become acceptable.

To one respondent, fatherlessness provides an example of such negative behaviour. He describes fatherlessness as having become a culture in South Africa, with dramatic consequences:

That's why we go back to saying that the reason you don't know yourself culturally is that your roots where you come from, your seed was crushed before it could grow. Meaning that your father ran away after giving birth to you.

(P4, male, Daveyton)

In his view, when several fathers are absent and the community has grown accustomed to this reality, fatherlessness becomes both normal and expected. Another participant draws a similar conclusion in relation to women abuse:

You know what, another thing as he was saying. I grew up seeing many men abusing women in front of me. So I saw that I must also slap her.

(P1, male, Daveyton)

In other words, when violence becomes normal, it may also become the expected norm for those to whom violence is meted out:

It's our culture and women didn't love you if you didn't hit them

(P8, male, Daveyton)

In addition, as another participant points out, the way in which an individual grows up shapes the individual to the extent that he/she copies the traits observed or experienced:

I just want to say that our upbringing has contributed a lot. I live around (name of section). This place was rough in another way. The violence that I have to beat up a women, I got it from there. I learnt it from there. Not seeing that it was wrong. And from older guys, then me, there was no platform whereby a guy may say. 'Hey man! Don't do such a thing.' The only thing they would tell you is 'You letting your woman speak to you like this? You are stupid. What did you do about it? You must act. Show her you are the man.' Now that's wrong.

(P8, male, Daveyton)

The next statement was made by a participant who indicated that he had gone through a transition from being a victim of violence to an offender to somebody who now understands that what he experienced and what he did is wrong. However, this has not resolved his problem as he is now worried about the way in which his own sons will grow up:

I'm saddened when I look at my two young boys. I'm afraid how they are going to survive out there. The world is a rough place.

(P8, male, Daveyton)

Underlying the statement one may detect a concern about how to be a good father – in the sense of giving parental guidance for survival “out there” and providing shelter from the world as a “rough place”. Further, it could be interpreted that the respondent almost have given up (being “saddened” and “afraid”), which may speak to a view of society in which negative behaviours are normal and to be expected.

C2. Physical representation

Key concepts: Blackness as shallow, materialism, inappropriate dress codes

The sexual stereotyping of Blackness, as described by Marriott (2000), Richardson (2007), Stadler (2008) and Haupt (2008), may have a strong negative effect on the development of Black masculinity. The violence of objectifying Black men which, even in its glorification of a hypermasculinity, feminises the Black male body; the object of the gaze, with the Black male body being a representation of the dangerous, the forbidden and the volatile. Thus, the Black man, in an anti-Black world, simultaneously represents revulsion and desire and is both very present and very absent at the same time. Du Bois (1996) has introduced the term *double-consciousness* – “this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others” (p. xiii).

However, African women face a similar burden of physical stereotyping (hooks 1991; Motsei 2007). Several men in the interviews made a connection between rape and women not “dressing appropriately”. This rape myth also underpins the following statement made by a female participant:

You said if you touch a man he gets aroused, so don't you think that by wearing a mini-skirt you are also provoking? That's the point I want to make. If you are saying that if you touch a man and it automatically goes up, I'm not saying that it's right for them to go and rape. But don't you think that when we wear certain ways we also provoke them. Not saying it's okay what they do after they rape you but...

(P4, female, Soweto)

C3. Unhealthy and dislocated cultural practices

Key concepts: Lost meaning, ineffective or even wrong cultural manifestations

Some of the respondents confirmed that they are aware of phrases and sayings in the African languages that promote violence, for example, that you should fight back if provoked and that a stubborn woman must be “broken” etc. The question of whether these values should be adopted blindly was responded to in the following way by one of the participants:

[...] *we choose what to promote actually.*

(P10, male, Orange Farm)

However, the element of choice, as voiced by this participant, implies that a person would require a certain amount of individuality in order to adopt a moral position. However, it appeared that several of the participants saw culture as a discipline, a force, something one is obliged to follow or perform, even if it conflicts with one’s own values. This, in turn, creates confusion around one’s own cultural affiliation and pride, especially as regards cultural practices that have, as a result of misinterpretations, shifted from their original values. *Ukhuthwala* (wife abduction) is one such example.

Because in Africa, maybe, like Ukhuthwala, there’s a culture which allows you to rape. But, at the same time, it’s cultured.

(P14, male, Orange Farm)

Maluleke (2012) discusses the impact of harmful cultural traditions, custom and laws on gender equality, but also analyses the way in which they have been diluted, corrupted and changed by “*the influence of colonialism, imperialism and apartheid on the African culture*” (p. 3)

Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape

C4. Cultural mentorship

Key concepts: Education through ceremonies, support structures, initiation

One participant articulated a strong belief in the help that may be offered by traditional healers and leaders:

Now, my solution is this one. As African man, we meet up with all our African traditional healers. Probably we go to a mountain and we burn whatever that needs to be burned as Africans. We pray, we fast between that space of time when we are praying, then we also fasting. I guess that would be the only solution even though people won't believe in that. But, for me, that would be the solution. That is the solution actually.

(P10, male, Orange Farm)

Another respondent focused on what could be done in terms of mentorship:

Basically a mentor should have a mentor. These boys, they need us as mentors. We also have to go because there are places we are stuck in.

(P4, male, Daveyton)

Akbar (2007) talks about the importance of “transmitting acquired immunities” (pp. 12-13). In other words, each generation should be able to pass a set of skills on to the next generation, so that, collectively there is growth and an ability to deal with problems. Akbar (2007) sees this as an essential aspect of education and discusses the way in which this has been taken care of through what he terms “ritualised education” (p. 13); rites of passage, ceremonies and the role of the elders.

The importance of rituals is further explained by Asante and Nwadiora (2007:58) who see African rituals as having two functions:

- (1) *To recreate the first occasion when the ancestor founded the community*
- (2) *To establish the authority of the spiritual forces in the ordinary lives of humans*

The second aim is of particular relevance to the discussion on how to diminish the presence of evil. There is one ritual which involves the purification and cleansing rite and which may include oaths, recommitment, physical actions, music, drums, herbs and chants.

All things that are considered important in African culture can be ritualised, given meaning and power (ibid., p. 65).

Some of the participants mentioned initiation as an intervention to teach responsible manhood with this rite-of-passage process, as a transition ritual from child to adult, assisting the boy to become a man. Hill (1992) has outlined the following ten basic principles of education which found throughout Africa as guidelines for rites of passage and initiation:

1. Separating the child from the community and the routines of daily life
2. Observing nature
3. A social process based on age
4. Rejection of childhood
5. Listening to the elders
6. Purification rituals
7. Test of character
8. Use of special language
9. Use of a special name
10. Symbolic resurrection

Although practised widely throughout South Africa, initiation schools have been criticised for becoming risky institutions that no longer teach the relevant wisdom they once did (Shefer et al. 2007) with discourses on whether initiation schools should continue resurfacing from time to time. One participant shared that he had observed young men “*go to the mountain*” (initiation) and, when they return, “*still behave like a twelve year old boy*”. Hence, to him:

Masculinity is not fetched at the mountain
(P8, male, Daveyton)

This indicates that responsible masculinity is a long process which must be accorded proper attention.

C5. Social control

Key concepts: Honour, interconnectedness

Although all the participants obviously regarded rape as unacceptable, a few only articulated a clear understanding of the way in which rape is perceived in African culture. According to Asante and Nwadiora (2007), rape is seen as one of the most horrible violations of moral codes in African societies. In their book “Spear Masters”, they look at how the concept of evil is explained in African culture, asserting that Africans do not see evil as a result of a mystical power, but as deriving from malicious intent. The African worldview positions equilibrium as the ultimate condition of life and, thus, to uphold this balance in society, all citizens are expected to uphold ethical and moral codes. Thus, an evil act is a deviation from the norms of a society and constitutes a disintegration of balance and the destruction of community life.

Accordingly, the cultural fabric should provide a network of relations that represent a form of social control that, ideally, absorbs and resolves conflicts before they escalate to disastrous levels.

C6. Integrated wisdom (usable culture)

Key concepts: Access to relevant information, usable culture

When asked what type of solutions African culture could offer as regards resolving the problem of rape, a few of the participants offered recommendations.

One suggested that more talks “like this” could be held to inform and sensitise men:

These platforms lead us to become better South African men. To get out of that rage.

(P1, male, Daveyton)

Other participants supported this idea. While the elders were mentioned as being able to provide some guidance as regards solutions, not one of the respondents mentioned the role that traditional healers, rituals or ceremonies could play. There may be different reasons for this, but there was a sense in the responses that these are outdated interventions with limited relevance for “modern times”.

The female focus group responded with a unanimous “no” to the question as to whether it may be possible to use African culture to resolve rape. This may be linked to their experiences as women with culture being presented to them as an excuse for men to force them to do what they do not want, for example, issues around decision making, showing respect and gender roles etc. In fact, one respondent saw culture as holding her back:

Culture these days is slowing me down

(P2, female, Soweto)

Wilson (2002) maintains that reclaiming and becoming acquainted with one’s history and culture affirms a sense of self as well as providing direction and purpose. However, an important question arises, namely, “What if young South Africans do not agree with this? What if they are not interested in African culture?”

However, the Soweto focus group offered a suggestion that when short of “relevant traditional culture”, one should “create our own”. Nevertheless, how this should be done and what outcomes may be expected from such a process requires further investigation and discussion.

4.5. Theoretical notions emanating from the investigation

The following notions arose from the investigation as a result of the interviews and literature review and provide a synthesis of responses to the main research questions of this study. The four concepts of rape, masculinity, culture and rage are used as guidelines.

4.5.1. Rape in (South) Africa

- Rape is a huge problem in (South) Africa, which, due to its complexity, leave both researchers and the general populace despondent as to what should be done to fully resolve it
- Rape constitutes any form of non-consensual sex between two or more persons of any gender which most people agree is unacceptable and, yet, it happens at such a rate that many have come to see it as “normal”
- Rape in (South) Africa happens for the following reasons:
 - Prevalence of violence as part of society’s social fabric, stemming from historical injustices and political oppression
 - Distorted masculinities, deprivation of authentic manhood and confusion over gender roles
 - Perpetual anger and resentment, stemming from repeated experiences of invalidation, powerlessness and poverty
 - Men who have been abused themselves are likely to abuse others
 - Some men believe they have the right to control and abuse women while culture is also sometimes used to justify this belief
 - South African (men) have lost their cultural identity
- Rape is linked to a multitude of causes and effects and its resolve cannot be located in a one-dimensional approach
- Rape is of great concern to women, but also to men. However, there are few suggestions being articulated as to what men can do to stop rape
- Solving rape is a community responsibility and must be taken seriously by all, including acknowledging that men may also be raped

4.5.2. African men and masculinity

- African masculinity/manhood refers to the ability to fulfil the expectations arising from a set of roles, for example, being a provider, protector, leader and initiator
- A majority of African men, due to being marginalised politically, economically and socially, cannot live up to these expectations, which leads to a conflict between how masculinity is perceived (desired) and how it is experienced (lived)
- The collective experience of enslavement, colonialism, Apartheid and imperialism has affected and challenged African masculinities in particular ways, including the

weakening of cultural institutions that previously provided educational processes for men to develop positive masculinities

- African men have abandoned their culture while many have either misconstrued or misunderstood original values and have reshaped certain cultural aspects to suit an abusive agenda
- Some South African men are proud of their African heritage and have found a balanced way in which to express their masculinity. However, there are many South African men who are also insecure and confused about their identities
- Some African men from other parts of the continent are more “in tune” with their African masculinity and have stronger relationships with family, culture and identity than South African men
- African masculinity/manhood also encompasses a willingness to live according to certain values, to be caring, innovative, supportive and attentive, and to have integrity, although these qualities are often challenged by cultures of masculinity that expect “real men” to be rough, pushy and demanding
- Many African men admit that they find popular definitions and expectations to African masculinity to be narrow and destructive, yet they struggle to develop alternative modalities
- The collective experience of powerlessness experienced by African men is rarely given credibility in the public discourse and remains a “silent truth”, although there is now an emerging awareness around these issues and also some voices articulating this message
- It is essential that African men take responsibility for developing positive African masculinities and that this process is done in cooperation with their female counterparts

4.5.3. African culture

- Culture refers to a way of life and includes values, life style and the powers that influence people’s choices
- African cultural traditions are powerful, but are largely misunderstood and “forgotten” with society as a whole being deprived as a result
- Many South African men are not culturally literate, neither are they aware of how traditions and culture can be of benefit to them and their livelihood

- Culture in South Africa is heavily dominated by Western influences and has created a desire to become more Western than African
- Several conflicting value-systems co-exist in South Africa and create confusion and hopelessness; this situation delay and complicate processes for collective, practical responses to socioeconomic problems and, by extension, issues of violence and rape
- Notions of oppressive masculinities, violent behaviour and misogynist values are often supported by making references to cultural values. It is also clear that in many communities, a culture which allows, justifies and excuses rape prevails
- Due to the process of Westernisation, many South Africans develop an attitude towards African culture characterised by alienation. Increasingly, culture is seen as non-progressive and many fail to see how culture can provide solutions to societal problems
- Culture, potentially, holds essential keys to the resolve of rape and can, if forming part of a holistic approach, influence the development of mechanisms for both preventative and curative measures against sexual violence

4.5.4. Rage and African men

- Rage is extreme anger, aggression, cruelty and fear, often expressed violently
- Many African men vent their rage on each other, on their families, on women, on children and on themselves
- Many African men are extremely angry – a psycho-emotional state created by
 - Historical injustices and political manifestations thereof
 - Economic disparities, poverty and marginalisation
 - Lack of access to power and influence
 - Corrupted sense of self and identity
 - An inability to live up to what is expected from them
 - Stereotypes, predetermination and negation in an anti-Black world
- The continuous cycles of social problems escalate the level of rage from one generation to the next, for example, fatherlessness, abuse, poverty etc
- Nevertheless many African men who are angry have found constructive ways of expressing their anger, for example through political activities, economic empowerment, transformation processes and providing mentorship

- Many African men feel “trapped in their anger” and – whether they deny their anger or affirm it – find it difficult to find constructive ways to process rage, largely because the reasons for their anger are not seen as credible in the wider society

4.5.5. Solutions to rape

The following solutions are extracted from the notions above. They represent elements that, when combined and presented through educational initiatives, can constitute a broad attempt to establish culturally grounded responses to rape and sexual violence.

- Create a relevant and effective scholarship by stimulating discourses and research to focus thoroughly on underlying issues related to rage and rape, and develop culture-based interventions
- Develop and strengthen initiatives to boost entrepreneurship and income generation to eradicate poverty and marginalisation
- Reclaim cultural identity through awareness, exposure and information about history through trans-disciplinary and de-colonial perspectives
- Develop increased awareness and sense of responsibility on the part of men, through workshops and campaigns
- Create spaces for communication where individuals may gain a clearer understanding of how to complement each other (mutual empowerment and cooperation) as women and men, and be sensitive to each other’s experiences and challenges
- Develop platforms for healing, anger management, awareness and transformation processes for men
- Establish forums for men, support groups for fathers and mentorship programs for boys
- Include issues of historical injustices and their impact on social, political and cultural life, including rage and rape, in teacher training curriculum
- Engage men in responsible mentorship programs (for boys and girls) as an integral aspect of “community-focused fatherhood”
- Develop review and research mechanisms to revise content in initiation schools (research)
- Engage community leaders, including leaders from faith-based and political organisations, traditional leaders, business leaders and academic leaders in

constructive dialogues to improve the understanding of the rape crisis and find solutions to solve it

- Provide single mothers who are raising boys with support to facilitate awareness around issues of masculinity, rage and rape
- Expand the focus of South Africa's annual national campaign, "16 Days of Activism for No Violence Against Women and Children" to also include insights into the reasons for (sexual) violence, prevention and restorative justice
- Establish methodology development forums where traditional healers and scientists work in unison to identify holistic perspectives and approaches
- Create research initiatives that, through a wide range of "modern" and "traditional" knowledge can give insights into indigenous knowledge and responses to issues relating to rage, rape and masculinity
- Incorporate issues of patriarchy, historical injustices, cultural awareness, violence and gender into school curriculum, with the aim of impacting on gender socialisation at an early age
- Develop training material for community leaders and mentors to address culture and violence
- Form community forums, including Councils of Elders, that can help to prevent, inform and intervene in situations of violence
- Engage traditional leadership and members of community in cultural awareness workshops where cultural notions are reviewed and, possibly, affirmed or revised
- Motivate and stimulate scholarship, research and media awareness on problems of, and solutions to, rape
- Develop early awareness and intervention programs for young boys to address rage, violence, sexuality and masculinity
- Include practical responsibilities to be performed by initiates after graduating from Rites of Passage programs, focusing on awareness, attitudes, values and behaviour
- Investigate best-practices from other countries and parts of the world, compile resource material and make them available
- Develop a courageous and practical, Afrocentric model, rooted in the indigenous knowledge of (Southern) African cultures and responding clearly to contemporary needs – and apply this model to all suggestions outlined above

4.6. Summary

In this chapter the data from the research interviews was extracted, codes and categories identified and then developed into themes and then analysed in relation to cultural aspects, cultural factors and cultural manifestations. In addition, the chapter attempted to illustrate some of the cultural conditions for the justification of, and sanctions against, rape. Lastly, the chapter summarised some of the main findings in relation to the four concepts that were used to guide the inquiry.

The purpose of this study has been to investigate cultural conditions for rape. Four concepts have served as anchor points and thematic outline. Rape, obviously has remained the central theme of investigation. Masculinity was chosen as a second concept, as most perpetrators of rape are men, and it would be meaningful to analyse concepts of manhood. Further, rage was included as a third concept since it is widely asserted that rape is triggered by hatred or the intention to violate another person. Lastly, culture presented a fourth concept which has helped to locate the investigation in patterns of thought and action that influence behaviour (Rosman & Rubel 2001).

The chapter has helped to highlight how the four thematic concepts impact on each other and can be used in the analysis of cultural conditions and rape within an African context, with specific focus on South Africa. Important aspects of the study's purpose have been to explain what rape means, how it is understood and how this understanding can help to develop solutions to rape, founded in African knowledge and culture.

A cultural matrix, explaining cultural aspects, factors and manifestations, proved helpful in presenting findings from the four focus group interviews, highlighting cultural justifications for and sanctions against rape. The discussion, in line with guidelines for grounded theory, also returned to literature to compliment a broad, transdisciplinary analysis of data. Afrocentricity, socialisation theory and Afrikology, as paradigmatic guiding points, have been applied throughout the study and the discussion of findings. The objective of transdisciplinary research has helped to anchor the investigation in the objective of knowledge production, by seeking to transcend and integrate disciplinary paradigms in order to respond to socially relevant – and not purely academic – issues (Pohl 2011). In line with African philosophy's emphasis on educational processes, the study has extracted several

points that demonstrate the need to reposition African cultural education in the prevention and combating of South Africa's current rape crisis.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

To stand up as African men is a declaration of war.

(Akbar 1991:30)

There is nothing ordinary about a real man

(Akbar 1991:51)

5.1. Introduction

The main research question interrogated through this research has been: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions on rape within African culture, and what solutions as regards the restorative justice of men may be identified? At the centre of the investigation, four thematic concepts have been posed as lenses for investigation; Rape, masculinity, rage and culture. Through previous chapters, literature has been examined and research carried out to better understand the multiple relations between the main concepts and how a broader understanding can help to develop practical solutions to rape.

The aim of this chapter is to bring together the findings of the thesis. After summarising the central issues which emerged from this inquiry and which were, thus, highlighted by the inquiry the limitations of the study will be discussed. Lastly, the chapter will present a list of recommendations for further studies and then conclude the study.

5.2. Central issues

The study confirmed the complexities inherent in the causes of rape, what rape means and the ways in which it is justified and sanctioned. In an attempt to extract certain central issues that were analysed in the course of the study can be summarised in three points. The researcher will here attempt to articulate these points through a less academic language by applying a mode of writing that seeks to express the spiritual and motivational energy emanating from the research:

1. The magnitude of rape

The study showed that rape overwhelms human beings. It appears beyond reason and conventional analyses. It numbs the spirit. We denounce rape, yet it moves closer every time we attempt to chase it. There is something in the fabric of society that has not been attended to properly – a wound that keeps growing, a violent scream, deafening in its silence. It is, thus, essential that we hear differently so we are able to speak differently.

In the words of Salaam (2011:1):

Part of our tasks as writers is to explore our realities, but I think another part of our task is also to give voice to the silent, to reveal what has been hidden, to communicate that which has been conveniently ignored. In this way, just as rape is a metaphor for the terrible state of social relations in the south today, a literature which accurately deals with rape will produce liberating metaphors, liberating language.

2. The need for affirmative African masculinity

The study confirmed the confusion prevalent in society as regards men. Men are on top, but they are also on the bottom. Men rule, but they are also being ruled. Men want to belong, but they do not know how to build the premise of belonging. The remaining pillars that constitute manhood are outdated and are withering away. Thus, a man's only option is to threaten the world to acknowledge him or to give up and die slowly. However, men can – and must – bring to life a masculinity from the spirit within, because there is an alternative to the type of masculinity that is built on capturing that of someone else.

In the words of hooks (2004:134):

To build the self-esteem that is the foundation of self-love Black males, necessarily, engage in a process of resistance, during which they challenge existing negative stereotypes and reclaim their right to self-definition. To achieve that end they must do spiritual work.

3. The cultural potential for transformation, restitution and justice.

As members of an African family, the study exposed our promiscuous relationship with culture. We keep coming back to culture only when other lovers refuse us. We keep praising African culture as a mystic place behind a door to which we no longer hold the key. We hold shallow memories up in pride, take offense when they are questioned and hide them in shame when outcomes are requested. We do not dare to sit culture down and interrogate it. Also, it is not a respectful fear we are demonstrating, but that of a coward who has no place of authority. It is, thus, essential that we reconcile with culture, renew our marriage vows with culture and communicate clearly what we want from it.

In the words of Motsei (2007:192):

It is believed that people who are not in touch with their life-force are prone to committing atrocities against themselves and others. Efforts aimed at addressing widespread spiritual disconnection are critical in a crime prevention strategy. Crime is also perceived as a human error that requires corrective intervention from families, the community and elders. To correct such wrongs, the offender is expected to show remorse by making a public apology as well as by engaging in public and private acts that demonstrate a commitment to making things right. This means that within indigenous law the offender is given a chance to heal and change.

The study has demonstrated that it is not possible to understand rape in a one dimensional way and gender studies, feminism, socialisation theories, cultural studies, political ideology, philosophy, economics and theories on development all have important contributions to make to both the understanding and the resolving of rape. However, if taken in isolation, they all have shortcomings. Therefore, it would be a definite step forwards to locate the study of rape not within any particular discipline, but across and between disciplines. In line with the transcending of knowledge production through transdisciplinary research (as outlined by Pohl 2011), an epistemic disobedience and de-colonial position (as defined by Mignolo 2009), and an integrated cognitive focus through Afrikology (as described by Nabudere 2011), it will become possible to understand rape and rape, as a phenomenon, will be forced to bow to the force of spiritual humanity.

The destination point would then be beyond feminist doctrines and masculine domination and would assume a currency that both womanhood and manhood serve, build and from which they take their mandate – a place that Amen (2003:15–16) describes as *humanhood*, which is fully attained when God-in-man and Goddess-in-woman are unified through will, being, spiritual power and intuitive consciousness.

5.3. Limitations and delimitations

The study has attempted to explore and gain practical meaning within a vast and sensitive field. The focus on Afrocentricity and on social and cultural paradigms, although attempting to be both transdisciplinary and multilevel, may have left little room to investigate more political, structural and materially founded perspectives. In focusing on a few young men and women the research may have failed to provide a complete picture in relation to age, cultural diversity, socio-demographic factors and political demarcations. In addition, the strong focus on men may also have left out valuable considerations by women.

Eliciting new perspectives from a few interviewees only constituted a challenge inherent in this study. In addition, there was the potential risk of oversimplifying African culture, generalising issues that required a much more detailed examination and overlooking details that may have been captured in a quantitative research design. In an increasingly individualised world, there was a good chance that the participants in the study also had highly individualised views on, and experiences with, African culture. This, in turn, may have created vague notions and made it difficult to synthesise cultural tools or solutions.

There is always a possibility that an interdisciplinary approach may result in a shallow study in which none of the subjects or disciplines were explored in depth. In addition, a transdisciplinary attempt could have failed both to provide an adequate grasp of the real world and to engage the real world in a meaningful way with the theoretical. Also, to refer to African culture as if it were one set of easily identifiable determinants may also have been a potential trap. Although the study was located within South Africa it drew a few representatives only of the many African cultures that are represented within the country. Also, the researcher's lack of fluency in the indigenous languages of South African on the

part of the researcher may have limited the access to a depth of cultural thought and symbolism.

The utilisation of an African-centred/Afrocentric focus, rooted in an African worldview, also presented a challenge in terms of identifying relevant literature with African ideas at the centre of the analyses and awareness of history, heritage and cultural ideas. In view of the fact that the academic field of knowledge is vastly Eurocentric, the research was forced to adopt a critical stance towards it although not be consumed by opposing institutionalised and systematic ideas.

The study also ran a risk of oversimplifying questions of a complex nature. In looking at the broad concepts of “culture”, “masculinity”, “rage” and “Africans”, it was a challenge to give adequate attention to details and, at the same time, identify generalisations. For example, to talk meaningfully about “African men” would imply an in-depth study of the variations and complexity that African men represent while to articulate African traditional culture is also to define what elements should be seen as traditional versus modern, original versus imposed and authentic versus copied.

A heavy reliance on African American literature in describing the (South) African situations was, at best, problematic and the researcher was forced to navigate carefully between the pitfalls while articulating an all-present consciousness of the need for sensitivity and accuracy. Nevertheless, the study does not claim to have found out everything about each component and did not apply one, generalised view to all the phenomena or situations studied. It has been asserted that all studies are relative and are able to expose partial truths only (Yon 2000).

5.4. Recommendations

Rape is a manifestation of conflicts at a macro-level. Accordingly, in a solution-oriented discourse, it is essential that advanced and practical discussions about governance, economics, exploitative power and the relevance of democracy and development be located in such a way as to cater for the needs of African communities. Many of the social ills plaguing African communities, including rape, are manifestations of global power

imbalances. Thus, without addressing the wider imbalances and radically redressing these imbalances, the many streams of exploitative power that lead to rape will not cease.

However, to abdicate all responsibility to the structures of governance would be detrimental to a belief in the human spirit. Accordingly, the following recommendations are rooted in a people-centred, action analysis in terms of which individuals, groups and communities reclaim a sense of leadership. These recommendations arise from the analysis undertaken in this study and indicate some direction for further inquiries.

The role of research (both inside and outside of academic institutions)

- Widen the scope of gender studies
- Design effective awareness campaigns
- Relate the understanding of rape to the economy in order to come to an understanding of the huge deficit which rape causes to human, social and moral capital
- Acknowledge limitations within current studies on feminism and masculinity
- Exercise intellectual and epistemic bravery
- Balance oppression consciousness with victory consciousness
- Break out of the comfort zone of the academic confines
- Demonstrate an allegiance to the communities where solutions are needed
- Establish accountable, grounded and usable research and knowledge processes

The role of cultural institutions (custodians, trainers, healers etc)

- Institutionalise value-based educational processes
- Work in close collaboration with those institutions that influence communities, for example, local governments, businesses, faith organisations, schools, and health authorities etc
- Conduct dialogue with the custodians of traditional culture
- Reposition traditional wisdom with accuracy and reliability
- Renew, broaden and “upgrade” rites of passage – the journey from boy to man
- Develop and protect instruments for transformative and cognitive justice

The role of the family and community

- Reclaim control over the environment – distinguish unacceptable behaviour and values from desired behaviours
- Reposition the values of familyhood and locate the family within the wider community
- Empower the family – dedicated focus on building strong families
- Hold community talks and solution-oriented interventions for and by men
- Position uBuntu as an instrument for radical justice and spiritual healing
- Embrace entrepreneurship in order to combat unemployment and poverty
- Create alternative family structures and reclaim extended family structures
- Empower boys in their journey towards manhood (mentorship)

The role of African men

- Reposition a grounded self-definition which is not determined by external sources
- Understand and challenge patriarchy
- Provide a platform to listen to and internalise the experiences of women
- Develop a broadminded, interactive, spiritual strength
- Revive models of cooperation, solidarity and mutual exchange – the majority of men are non-violent and are capable of helping to institutionalise the building of peace
- Develop key strategies for misdirected young men and do not simply perceive them as lost
- Interrogate masculinities and transform – in balance and equality with women
- Establish channels/platforms for the healing and empowerment of men
- Establish new rules for communication and mutual learning exchanges with the youth, women, elders and leaders

5.5. Conclusion

This inquiry has attempted to investigate rape from an African perspective, with the objective of identifying solutions to resolving this problem under the auspices of African cultural wisdom. Four main concepts guided the study, namely, rape, masculinity, culture and rage.

The following main research question was interrogated throughout the study, namely: What are the cultural conditions for the justification and application of sanctions on rape within African culture, and what solutions as regards the restorative action of men may be identified? In an attempt to reply to this question, a wide range of literature was examined and focus groups conducted and analysed based on the principles of grounded theory. A number of cultural conditions, both for the justification of, and sanction against, rape were identified, analysed and discussed. In applying an African-centred perspective, the role of African men was the main focus of scrutiny.

Additionally, the study has looked at correlations between historical injustices, rage, masculinity, rape, identity and culture and investigated cultural conditions that inform notions of masculinity and rage, and how these concepts impact on rape. It has sought to explain why African men rape and what rape means within an African cultural context. Attempting to find cultural solutions to South Africa's rape crisis, the study has presented both critical and affirming approaches to cultural aspects, factors and manifestations. It has positioned the educational elements of African culture as having potential to develop methodologies that can foster balanced and sound African male identities and resolve the issues of rape.

In particular the study investigated the responsibilities of African men in relation to rape. It was established in the introduction to the study that the premise for the inquiry was not to establish whether African men rape less or more than other men, nor to verify or otherwise that South Africa is, indeed, the rape capital of the world, nor to buy into stereotypes as regards the perpetual Black male rapist. Neither was it the study's motivation to indicate whether African men are able to resolve the issue of rape in isolation. Instead, the study outlined certain possibilities, which would be fully effective only when placed alongside and integrated with other measures, as regards specific responsibilities that African men could take upon themselves in finding solutions to rape and sexual violence. .

Although much may be expected from the African man, it is essential that the African man, in terms of change, also expects much:

We cannot talk about male privilege and not address the legacy of racial discrimination which is reflected in the high numbers of unemployment and poverty among Black men: Until such time that Black men triumph over the social conditions

that force them to participate in their own massacre, we cannot claim to be free (Motsei 2007:33).

An important premise in this study has been the view of the family as a ground pillar in African socio-cultural organization of society and rape as a violation against this. In line with the aims and objectives of this study we have gone beyond mere numbers, seeking to understand the role of African men – particularly in South Africa – in relation to rape, sexual violence, rage and rape. It is my hope that this inquiry has helped to contribute greater clarity about rape – in an African context – and resulted in recommendations that can contribute to the improvement of methodologies for rehabilitation and prevention of rape offenders.

It is essential that the work against violence and rape continue and that this work be motivated by a firm belief in the possibility of culture assisting in forging new and sustainable realities in terms of which men and women work together for balance and not in oppositional attempts to dominate the other.

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APPENDIX 1
Letter requesting the assistance
of contact persons

Baba A. O. Buntu

Dear _____

ASSISTANCE NEEDED IN CONDUCTING FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEWS ON AFRICAN MEN, CULTURE, RAGE AND RAPE

I am currently carrying out a research study at UNISA and looking into culture, men, rage and rape. As part of the research I am conducting focus group interviews with young men in different communities. Gaining an insight into their attitudes and perceptions about why rape happens and what may be done to stop it will help greatly in developing practical approaches for the prevention of rape and change. As a person who has worked with me and the SHABAKA – MEN IN AFRIKA project previously, I know you have a good grasp of what is happening in your community and also that you know how to mobilise people from different walks of life.

I would like to ask if you be would able to help to identify participants and secure a suitable venue for an interview to take place in your community on _____ (date). The group should comprise 8-10 African men, preferably in the age bracket 20-30. The men should represent as much diversity as possible in terms of socio-economic background, education level, language group, field of interest etc. In addition, it is extremely important that they are “recruited” from different areas and environments. The objective is to interview various African men about what they THINK of the themes mentioned and, thus, they should represent the diversity of South African men out there.

From experience we know that there are always some people who change their minds at the last minute and, therefore, to ensure that it will be approximately 8 participants, it may be advisable to ask and confirm with about 12 guys.

The focus group interviews will last for a maximum of 2 hours and will be conducted by myself, together with two research assistants. Everything will be strictly confidential and all the data we obtain will be used anonymously. Participation is entirely voluntary and the participants may withdraw from the study at any time. This would not be held against that person or yourself. This is extremely important, because we want participants to be honest and not to say what they think we would like to hear.

I have no funding for this programme, but we will offer some refreshments/snacks during the interview as a way of saying thank you for the help. I will also compensate you for telephone calls and administration costs.

Your assistance in this would be greatly appreciated. For any questions you may call me on _____

Best regards,

Baba A. O. Buntu

CONSENT FORM

Johannesburg, 7 November 2011

Dear Sir/Madame,

My name is Amani Olubanjo Buntu and, as part of a Master's Degree research study in the Philosophy of Education at UNISA, I am currently conducting focus group interviews. The aim of the interview is to investigate men's views about African culture, masculinity, rage and rape. Apart from myself, my research team consists of two research assistants, Tshogofatso I. Ragophala (observer) and Siyabonga Lerumo (technical assistant).

Your participation in the research project is both voluntary and confidential. You may refuse to answer any questions with which you are uncomfortable and you may withdraw at any time without any further inquiry or your withdrawal being held against you. Under no circumstances will the identities of the participants be made known to others and no documents produced from this research projects will reveal anything about your identities. In addition, as part of the group, you are also requested to treat any information shared during the discussion as confidential.

For the purposes of capturing information the interview will be audio/video-recorded. The tapes/files will be stored safely and accessible to the research team only. The interview will be transcribed so that the data gathered may be analysed. Once the transcriptions have been made, the tapes/files will be destroyed. No documents will be produced which reflect either your names or other ways of identifying you.

I have been informed and understand what this research involves and what is expected of me.

I understand that:

- I may refuse to answer any questions that I feel uncomfortable answering.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time and it will not be held against me in any way.
- Participation in this interview is entirely voluntary and no information that may identify me will be included in the research report.
- Any information shared in the group interview will also be kept confidential by the researcher.
- I will keep any information shared by other participants in the group interview confidential.
- The tapes will be seen, heard and processed by the research team only.
- All the tape recordings will be destroyed after the research has been completed.
- No identifying information will be used in either the transcripts or the research report.

I hereby consent to participating in this research project and to the group interview being recorded (audio/video). I give the researcher permission for my responses to be used in the study.

Place: _____ Date: _____

Participant's name: _____

Participant's signature _____

PROGRAM – FOCUS GROUP MEETING: Rape, Rage and Culture – African Men and Cultural Conditions for the Justification of and Application of Sanctions on Rape

1. Opening: **BABA BUNTU**
 - a. Welcome all participants
 - b. Introduction of researcher/research team
 - c. Introduction of theme and objective of the interview

2. Ice breaker: **PITSI-RA**
 - a. All participants introduce themselves
 - b. Ice breaker “Who Am I?”

3. Explain ground rules: **PITSI-RA**
 - a. Speak one at a time
 - b. Considerate and respectful dialogue
 - c. Agree to disagree (no arguments, no mocking)
 - d. Anything you want to add?
 - e. Explain the attendance register

4. Consent form: **BABA BUNTU**
 - a. Explain the research process (recording, notes, transcripts, report, thesis)
 - b. Explain format of interview
 - i. Voluntary: You may refuse to answer, you may leave at any time
 - ii. The objective: To record what men think and feel about the research topics
 - c. Explain confidentiality:
 - i. The use of video recording (deleted after use)
 - ii. The use of audio recording (deleted after use)
 - iii. Safe storing of information, no names will be reproduced in documents, members of the research team only will know your identity
 - d. Any questions?

5. The recording process; **SIYABONGA**
 - a. Explain why we record. Is anyone uncomfortable with video recording? You can “stop” during the session, or ask me to pause.
 - b. Explain about audibility

6. Start-up: **ALL**
 - a. Pitsi-Ra sends around attendance register and consent forms
 - b. Siya starts recordings
 - c. Baba Buntu introduces first question

7. Interview starts
8. Interview ends
9. Debriefing: What do we as African men think/feel about what we have discussed today? (Off camera)
10. Thank you
11. Post-interview debriefing with research team.

QUESTIONS FOR FOCUS GROUPS; Baba Buntu, M.A. Research

1. MASCULINITY

- **In your opinion, what does it mean to be a man? To be masculine?**
- **In your view, what is African masculinity?**
 - How do you see African masculinity in relation to other men's masculinity (European/Asian etc)? How is African masculinity seen by other people?
 - What influences our views on African masculinity? Is it inborn or learnt?
 - How do you see (Black) South African masculinity as compared to the rest of the continent?
- Are you able to give examples of behaviour/attitudes that you see as more in line with African masculinity or less in line with African masculinity?

2. CULTURE

- **In your opinion, what is culture?**
- **What is African culture?**
 - In your view, what does African culture say about African masculinity?
- **In what way do you think culture is important to African men?**
 - How is culture important to South African men vs. other Africans?
 - What are the differences in the way in which culture is viewed by African men and women?

3. RAGE

- **In your opinion, what is rage?**
- **What relation do you see between African men and rage?**
 - What do you think causes rage among African men?
 - Under what circumstance could rage justify an action?
 - What do African men do to deal with anger/rage?
- **In your view, what does African culture say about rage?**

4. RAPE

- **In your opinion, what is rape?**
 - In what way is rape a problem? In Africa? For whom (men/women)?
 - What conversations do African men have about rape?
- **What relation do you see between African men and rape?**
 - What do you think causes African men to rape? What would be a justifiable reason?
 - Who commits rape?
- **In your view, is there any relation between masculinity, culture, rage and rape?**
 - Is there any relation between rape and African masculinity?
 - What role does rage play in rape by African men?
 - Does African culture say anything about rape? For? Against?

4. SOLUTIONS

- **What would you suggest as solutions to some of the problems that have been mentioned today?**
- **In your view, what role could African culture play in response to rage and rape among African men?**
 - What aspects of African culture may lead to possible problems/possible solutions?
- In light of the themes discussed (African masculinity, culture, rage, rape), what do you think are the difference in the qualities possessed by African men who rape and those who do not?

5. CLOSING

- **Of all the matters we discussed today, what is most important to you? Any additions?**

CODING - OVERVIEW

OPEN CODING

MEN AND MASCULINITY

| African men | African masculinities | South African men | Other African men |
|-----------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------|
| Blackness | Do not know | Weak on culture | Strong on family |
| Tradition | <i>Skhondlakhondla</i> (big guy) | Jealous (of African men) | Strong on culture |
| Culture | Physical strength | Dependant (Government)) | More men than SA men |
| Language | Mental strength | Accepted 50/50 | Physically stronger |
| Taught by parents | Smart/knowledge | Brainwashed | Smarter |
| Culture/tradition | Physical strength | Less men than other African men | No difference |
| Rituals | Principles/character | No difference | Provide for women |
| Nationality | Appearance/style | No difference | Satisfy more, sexually |
| Culturally rooted | Contextual/fluctuates | See women as objects | No difference |
| Give direction | Defined by a "power" | | Value women more |
| Failures (most) | Individuality | | Worship women |
| Troubled | To not cry openly | | |
| Disempowered | Act tough, feel manly | | |
| Insecure, feels small | | | |
| Acts like a child | | | |
| Feels useless | | | |

CULTURE

| What defines culture | African culture | Culture & African men |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Way of life | Level of culture in SA is low | SA men too informal SA men lack respect for others |
| Self actualisation | Follow tradition | |
| Behaviour | Rituals and customs | SA men are lazy |
| Way of living | Remember past | SA men no hospitality |
| Way of life | Pay lobola | SA men low culture |
| Contextual/dynamic | Initiation school | African men uphold culture |
| Clothes/style | We must not lose it! | Contextual norms |
| Norms | Ignorant youth | Question initiation |
| Behaviour | Lost entrepreneurial culture | Manhood is NOT circumcision |
| Status | Africans are followers | Manhood NOT tough |
| What you do | African culture is stagnant | African men prouder |
| Traditions | Is used to control | SA men lost |
| Ubuntu | Cultural hypocrisy | TV – major influence |
| Connection (human) | Men use it to suit themselves | SA men into culture |
| Caring | | SA men not into tradition |
| Way of life | | SA men – fatherless |
| Values | | No father, no self |
| Life style | | SA men not into culture SA men inconsistent/undecided |
| Customs/habits | | SA men confused Abuse in name of culture |

RAGE

| What defines rage | African men and rage | African culture and rage |
|------------------------|---|---|
| Anger | Laziness | Rebel against state |
| Aggression | Unemployment | Anger everywhere |
| Outrageous behaviour | Lack of skills/education | Violent crimes |
| Bad/outrageous | Historical oppression | Rage is African problem |
| Cruelty/no mercy | Tribalism/jealousy | We need dialogue |
| Good rage possible | Xenophobia | Political anger is OK |
| Rage always bad | African dictatorship | Killing/robbing not OK |
| Rage as reflex | Corrupt governments | We need peace |
| Angry person | All humans have rage African men have the most rage | Alcoholism |
| Insecurities | | Cultural justifications |
| Extreme anger | Historical oppression | We have choice! |
| Psychological violence | Trying to avoid pain | We do not have a choice! |
| Emotional violence | Challenges in life | Women abuse |
| Fear | Enslavement | Road rage |
| Abuse | Colonialism | Burglaries |
| | SA men are very angry | Physical violence |
| | SA White men also angry | Damage property |
| | Cannot find job | Child abuse |
| | Cannot get houses | Rape |
| | Cannot start good family | Women have no say |
| | Absent fathers | Men's issues are invisible |
| | Apartheid legacies | Men's issues appear irrational |
| | Powerlessness | Men do not know how to talk |
| | | Men do not know how to receive comfort |
| | Marginalisation | |
| | We see it everyday | Men are just like that! |
| | Emotional tensions | All anger has a source |
| | | Men do not dare to self- reflect |
| | Living up to expectations | |
| | Disappointments/greed | Trauma from oppression |
| | Men in general are angry | Boys and men are sidelined |

RAPE

| African men and rape | Rape vs. African men, culture, rage | Solutions to rape |
|--|-------------------------------------|--|
| Bigger problem in Africa | Reaction to life conditions | Appropriate dress code |
| Biggest problem in SA | Forced to prove they are men | Fear of God |
| Not really a problem in Nigeria | Powerlessness | African cultural education |
| It is a global issue, not just African | Inappropriate dress code | Avoid alcohol/drugs |
| Gang rape used to be rife | Illiteracy (do not know) | Personal commitment |
| I grew up witnessing violence | Demonical influence | Positive parenting |
| Seeing violence == doing violence | False rape charges | Fear of law |
| Rape has become African culture | Alcohol/drug influence | Appropriate dress code |
| Women expect violence | Possible in marriage | Women must know their place |
| | Not possible in marriage | Men must return to be the head of the family/community |
| | It could happen to a man | Women must not rule men |
| | It cannot happen to a man | Mutual respect |
| | Rape has no place in African cult. | Men need cultural guidance |
| | African rapist is not a man | No solution in culture |
| | Some women dress to provoke | Solution is outside of culture |
| | Rape always has a reason | Talk among men can lead to change |
| | Some girls tease, claim rape | Bring back cultural unity |
| | Culture justifies rape | Discuss and share |
| | Patriarchy | Older men advise younger men |
| | Rape is NOT African culture | Mentorship of boys |
| | We are culturally lost now | Create our own culture |
| | We have lost cultural response | |
| | Rape came from the West | |
| | Husband has RIGHT to sex | |
| | Wife has RIGHT to say no | |
| | Rigid laws destroy marriage | |
| | Men are not able to stand rejection | |
| | Some women manipulate | |
| | Rape because we have lost culture | |
| | Some women tease | |
| | Some women dress skimpily | |
| | Women should be careful | |
| | Women must be free | |
| | Dress code not cause of rape | |
| | Men must have self control | |
| | Culture will not resolve rape | |
| | Abuse is justified by culture | |

Other

You are not a man when you cannot live up to expectations
 I grew up around violence, internalised it, and was never corrected
 We learnt abuse from previous generation

CATEGORIES

| MASCULINITY | CULTURE | RAGE | RAPE |
|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| | | | |
| Performance/expectations | Cultural values (2) | Male psychology (1) | Violence |
| Spirituality | Customs | Rebelling (2) | Society/economy/history (2) |
| Physical manhood | Rebelling (1) | Society/economy/history (1) | Male psychology (2) |
| Identity | Africanness/identity | Cultural values (3) | Cultural myths/notions |
| Cultural values (1) | | | Solutions/change |
| | | | |

1. Performance/expectations *MASCULINITY*
2. Spirituality *MASCULINITY*
3. Physical manhood *MASCULINITY*
4. Identity *MASCULINITY*
5. Cultural values (appears thrice) *MASCULINITY + CULTURE*
6. Customs *CULTURE*
7. Rebelling (appears twice) *CULTURE + RAGE*
8. Africanness/identity *CULTURE*
9. Male psychology (appears twice) *RAGE + RAPE*
10. Society/economy/history (appears twice) *RAGE + RAPE*
11. Violence *RAPE*
12. Cultural myths notions *RAPE*
13. Solutions/change *RAPE*

THEMES

9 Cultural conditions for justification of rape

- Conflicting morals and values
- Oppression consciousness
- Powerlessness and hypermasculinity
- Cultural amnesia
- Material focus
- Impunity and individuality
- Normalisation of negative behaviour
- Physical representation
- Unhealthy and dislocated cultural practices

9 Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape

- Moral balance
- Victory consciousness
- Grounded manhood/masculinity
- Cultural awareness
- Spiritual focus
- Collectivism
- Cultural mentorship
- Social control
- Integrated wisdom

THEMES - MATRIX

Developed from codes, categories and concepts emerging from interviews

| | Cultural conditions for justification of rape | Cultural conditions for sanctions against rape |
|---|--|---|
| A. Cultural aspects Ideology, ethos and values. “What we see” | A1. Conflicting morals and values Women are sexual objects, men are superior, men’s right to women’s bodies as commodity, | A4. Moral balance Judgement, ethics, information, knowledge |
| | A2. Oppression consciousness History, politics, economy, colonialism, apartheid, imperialism, | A5. Victory consciousness Rebelling against constitutive rules, responsibility, ability of choice, emancipation |
| | A3. Powerlessness and hyper-masculinity Failed masculinity, authority in absence of power, need to control and terrorise, media, role performance, shallowness, self-hate, psycho-emotional void, no outlet for pain, hard men | A6. Grounded manhood/masculinity To protect and respect, rape = death/pain and less man (looked down upon). Fear of prosecution and stigma, not bring shame to family |
| | | |
| B. Cultural factors Ontology (nature of people), cosmology (worldview), axiology (values) and epistemology (source of knowing) “What we believe” | B1. Cultural amnesia Complete loss of cultural self | B4. Cultural awareness Matriarchy, taboos |
| | B2. Material focus No deeper meaning, live from day to day, I am what I have | B5. Spiritual focus God-consciousness, laws of nature, holistic worldview, church (fear of hell) |
| | B3. Impunity and individuality No respect for law (social decay), not seeing self as part of larger entity | B6. Collectivism Oneness of being, Ubuntu, Ma’at, respect for law |
| | | |
| C. Cultural manifestations Expressions through behaviour, values and attitudes “What we do” | C1. Negative behaviour normalisation Perpetuation of powerlessness, absence of fathers/mentors, low expectations (no social control) | C4. Cultural mentorship Education through ceremonies, support structures, initiation |
| | C2. Physical representation Blackness as shallow, consumerism/materialism, inappropriate dress codes | C5. Social control Honour, interconnectedness |
| | C3. Unhealthy and dislocated cultural practices Lost meaning, ineffective or even wrong | C6. Integrated wisdom Access to relevant information Usable culture |

INTERVIEW STATISTICS

Hillbrow

| | |
|---|---|
| Area: Hillbrow Participants: 10 Gender: All males | Self-employed: 8 Employed: 2 Unemployed: 0 |
| Average age: 33,9 | 29 y/o: 3 32 y/o: 2 33 y/o: 1 34 y/o: 1 36 y/o: 1 37 y/o: 1 48 y/o: 1 |

Orange Farm

| | |
|--|--|
| Area: Orange Farm Participants: 14 Gender: All males | Self-employed: 3 Employed: 2 Unemployed: 8 |
| Average age: 25,3 | 18 y/o: 2 19 y/o: 1 22 y/o: 1 23 y/o: 1 24 y/o: 2 25 y/o: 1 26 y/o: 1 27 y/o: 1 28 y/o: 1 29 y/o: 1 33 y/o: 1 38 y/o: 1 |

Daveyton

| | |
|--|---|
| Area: Daveyton Participants: 9 Gender: All males | Self-employed: 1 Employed: 3 Unemployed: 5 |
| Average age: 26,9 | 20 y/o: 1 21 y/o: 1 24 y/o: 1 25 y/o: 1 27 y/o: 2 31 y/o: 2 36 y/o: 1 |

Soweto

| | |
|--|--|
| Area: Emdeni, Soweto Participants: 8 Gender: All females | Self-employed: 1 Employed: 1 Unemployed: 6 |
| Average age: 23,3 | 20 y/o: 2 21 y/o: 1 23 y/o: 1 24 y/o: 1 25 y/o: 2 28 y/o: 1 |