Exploring the Effect of Male Child Sexual Abuse on a Sample of Men in Zimbabwe

by

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Declaration of Originality

I declare that **Exploring the Effect of Male Child Sexual Abuse on a Sample of Zimbabwean Men** 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.

I further declare that I submitted the dissertation to originality checking software and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at UNISA for another qualification or at any other higher education institution.

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Dissertation Abstract

Several studies suggest that sexual assaults are experienced differently by males than by females. In dominant discourses in which sexual perpetration is associated with males and sexual victimisation with females, males are expected to practice and exhibit hegemonic masculinity. This gendered perception of sexual assaults means that female perpetration of male child sexual abuse often goes unrecognised and that male perpetration is particularly problematic for male victims. Using a feminist critical paradigm and critical discourse analysis as a research design, this study explored how a sample of male victims in Zimbabwe experienced sexual abuse as children and how they were affected by it. The study, further, explored how the male victims of childhood sexual abuse sought to reconcile the experience of victimisation with their identity as males. Nine men participated in the study. The sample was, due to the sensitive nature of the topic, purposively selected using letters describing the nature of the study and inviting participation. The letters were distributed through diverse channels, including a newspaper with national coverage. Most participants reported experiences of female perpetrated abuse. The study found that, in keeping with dominant discourses of hegemonic masculinity, the participants struggled to construct themselves as victims. Many of the participants were considerably and negatively affected by having been sexually abused. Participants utilised a variety of methods to come to terms with the fact that they were males who had been victimised.

Keywords: Critical discourse analysis; Disclosure; Effect of child sexual abuse; Feminist critical paradigm; Female perpetration; Gender, sex and sexuality; Male child sexual abuse; Male perpetration; Masculinity; Zimbabwean men.

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In the beginning, God created the heaven and the earth.

And the earth was without form, and void; and darkness was upon the face of the deep. And the Spirit of God moved upon the face of the waters.

And God said …

(The Holy Bible)

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Definition of Key Terms

These key terms are used in this study and are defined as follows:

- Gender

Gender, in this study, is assumed to be an outcome of material conditions (Holmes, 2007). The term is used to refer to the socially constructed characteristics that are conferred on, and expected of, people in different societies based on whether they were born male or female. Gender includes the “sometimes habituated, sometimes reflexive practice in which people engage in relation with each other” (Holmes, 2007, p. 7) emanating from their biological sex.

- Child

A child is defined as a person below the age of 18.

- Child sexual abuse (CSA)

Child sexual abuse includes the violation or exploitation of a child by sexual means (APA Dictionary of Psychology Online). More specifically, in this study, sexual abuse is defined to include kissing, oral sex, exposure to pornographic material, solicitations to engage in sexual activity, attempted and actual sexual intercourse and simulated sexual activity engaged in by a perpetrator either believed, by the victim, to have been at least 5 years older than the victim and/ or who was in a position of authority or influence over the victim at the time of the abuse.

- Childhood sexual abuse

Childhood sexual abuse, distinguishable from child sexual abuse, is sexual abuse that an adult was subjected to in his or her childhood (Papakyriakou, 2017).

- Sex

Sex refers to sexual activity (APA Dictionary of Psychology Online), and encompasses

the range of activities listed within the definition of sexual abuse in this section. Sex is also used in this study to refer to the traditional biological binaries of male and female (APA Dictionary of Psychology Online) and acknowledges the entrenchment, within those binaries, of discourses that associate the male with an elevated nature in which culture and mind are more highly developed than in the female, and females with negative and less valued characteristics than those found in males, and in which nature and the body are viewed as predominant (Nicholson & Fisher, 2014).

- Sexuality

  Sexuality is, variously, defined as both an identity, an orientation and an activity (Rubinsky & Cooke-Jackson, 2018). It includes a person's "ability to experience or express sexual feelings" (Cambridge Dictionary Online).

- Perpetrator

  A perpetrator is "someone who has committed a crime or a violent or harmful act" (Cambridge Dictionary Online). A perpetrator, also termed an offender, is, in this study, the individual, male or female, identified by a male child sexual abuse victim as conducting the assaultive behaviour characterised as sexual abuse.

- Victim

  A victim is "an individual who is the target of another person's … assaultive behaviours" (APA Dictionary of Psychology Online). Pertinent assaultive behaviours, for the purposes of this study, are those that have been defined as sexual abuse.

The term 'victim', as opposed to 'survivor', has been purposefully used to refer to participants. Whilst I am supportive of the concept and term, 'survivor,' to refer to males who have survived sexual assault (Javaid, 2018d), because this research is focussed on developing an increased understanding of how males experience sexual victimisation, I have maintained the use of the word victim throughout this work.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

Acronym/ abbreviation	Description
CSA	Child Sexual Abuse
CCORE	Collaborating Centre for Operational Research and Evaluation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
MSM	Men who have Sex with men
NBSLEA	The Zimbabwe National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents
NIBRS	National Incident-Based Reporting System
PALERMO PROTOCOL	The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons
STI	Sexually Transmitted Infection
UNICEF	United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
ZIMSTAT	Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency

Chapter One: Introduction

This study sought to explore the impact of childhood sexual abuse on male victims in Zimbabwe. The purpose of this study was to explore with a sample of adult male participants how they perceived, were affected by and resolved the child sexual abuse (CSA) they had suffered as children. It was anticipated that the study would provide insight into a topic on which there had been limited research and would increase the understanding of this phenomenon. Deepening our understanding and appreciation of this phenomenon will, it is hoped, bring increased recognition of the impact of CSA on males and will affect policy and clinical interventions to better address the challenges that arise from this phenomenon.

Background and context

Whilst there has been increasing research into the extent and impact of CSA on females, accompanied by policy, prevention and clinical interventions tailored towards females, there has been limited research on the extent and impact of CSA on males (Bowman & Brindige, 2014; Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell & Dunkle, 2011; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005; Turner, Taillieu, Cheung & Afifi, 2017). In addition, much of the research on male CSA has been undertaken to compare incidence and prevalence rates and outcomes for males with those for females (Cohen, 2014). Whilst these comparisons are useful (and have been used in this study) they, perhaps unintentionally, feed the dominant discourse that sexual victimisation in general, including CSA in particular, is a 'female issue' (Cohen, 2014).

This study was, in part, motivated by a spate of newspaper articles that appeared in mainstream newspapers in Zimbabwe at the start of the previous decade that featured kidnappings and sexual assaults of individual males by females. The reports, on the sexual

victimisation of males by females, were captured in international publications including the South African periodical, the *Sowetan Live,* of October, 2010, which, under the headline, “Three Women Drug and Rape a Zim man”, reported that three women travelling in a motor vehicle had drugged and gang raped a male hitchhiker. A police spokesperson was reported as saying, "**The intentions of the three women are not clear but we suspect it could be for ritual purposes**." The article continued:

> The incident … was the fifth such attack reported in several parts of the country, carried out by groups of women of varying size… The first attack happened last November when three women kidnapped an 18-year- old man, the state-run Herald newspaper reported. In February, a group of four women forced a 25-year- old to have sex with them at gunpoint. Last month a 44-year- old man who was ordered to wear a condom was targeted by two women while a man stood guard. A 30-year- old man was also drugged by three women, two of whom had guns, who sexually assaulted him. Under Zimbabwean law, the charge of rape only applies to women victims.

A more recent example of these articles, with the kidnappers being male, was published in the Zimbabwean publication, *The Sunday Mail* of April, 2019. With the headline, “Woman rapes man,” this article, in part, read:

> Three men reportedly kidnapped a male adult in Mutare Central Business District and drove him along Mutare – Chimanimani Road where they forced him to be intimate with a woman before harvesting his semen. It is suspected that the semen could have been wanted for ritual purposes.

The newspaper articles generated a great deal of debate among the Zimbabwean public as to whether males could be victims of female perpetrated sexual assaults and rape.

Many of these misgivings appeared to be premised on rape myths that suggest that males, if they really want to, can fight off a sexual attack and that males can enjoy even forced sex (Fisher & Pina, 2013). The law in Zimbabwe, then, as now, assumed that males could not be raped, defining rape as a crime in which penetration of the female by the male sexual organ took place (Dube, 2013; Feltoe, 1989; 2012). Whilst the Criminal Law (Codification and Reform) Act, Chapter 9:23, enacted in 2004, amended the crime of rape to include anal penetration of females by males, the law continued to maintain that sex involving anal penetration between men, whether consensual or not, was a crime, and prosecutable as sodomy.

By not allowing for the crime of rape against men if sexual perpetration by women occurs, the legal discourse appeared to construe that men could not be forcibly and sexually assaulted by women. By deeming both non-consensual and consensual anal sexual intercourse between men to be a crime of sodomy, the discourse suggested it was inconceivable that men could be forcibly and sexually assaulted by other men. Lack of consent in male same-sex sexual encounters, worryingly, appeared to be considered an insufficiently grave issue to elevate non-consensual sexual acts between men to the crime of rape. As this construction of the law was predicated on gender, it seemed to follow that constructions and perceptions of what it meant to be male (as opposed to female) underlay the notion that males could not or should not be raped.

Against this background and in this context, the researcher (hereafter referred to in the first person) made the decision to use critical discourse analysis to explore retrospectively the social constructs and dominant discourses that impacted a sample of adult males who had experienced CSA victimisation and how they resolved their identity as males who had been sexually victimised.

Problem statement

The formulation of the law in Zimbabwe suggests that the sexual assault of males is perceived differently from the sexual assault of females. The law asserts that males cannot be raped, stating that non-consensual anal penetration of a male does not amount to rape, whilst non-consensual anal penetration of a female is an act of rape. Because this distinction is predicated on the gender of the victim and of the perpetrator, this exploratory study sought to examine, from the perspective of the male victim, what it was to be male and to have been subjected to CSA. It further sought to understand how males who had suffered CSA resolved the experience of victimisation with their identity as males.

Research questions

This study sought to gain insight into these questions:

a) How do adult male victims of childhood sexual abuse define and interpret what it is to be male?

b) What is the effect of childhood sexual abuse on males?

c) How do male victims of childhood sexual abuse reconcile the experience of being sexually abused with their identity as males?

Research approach

The research sought to answer the research questions from the perspective of feminist theory. Harding (1992) states that in societies with race, ethnic, class, sexual and gender differences, formulating questions from the perspective of the less privileged leads one to ask questions that interrogate how society is structured and that identify gaps, distortions and untruths in the knowledge claims of the dominant social and political groups. The feminist theory challenges the claims to "value–neutral objectivity" (Harding, 1992, p. 73) of "'modern and Western' scientific thought" (Harding, 1992, p. 64). Feminist

theory, unlike conventional, positivist, scientific research that grounds claims of knowledge in "the view from nowhere" (Harding, 1992 p. 58), acknowledges the importance of context and recognises that all knowledge is socially and historically situated.

A sensitivity to power relations regarding the research process and research content underpin both feminist theory (Eagle, Hayes & Sibanda, 2006) and critical discourse analysis (Wodak, 2001a; 2001b), the methodological tool chosen for this study. The feminist theory acknowledges the strengths of a qualitative research design in which the research participants are acknowledged as experts, not just because of the experiences they share but also because of how they frame their experiences (Sprague & Kobrynowicz, 2006), making critical discourse analysis particularly apt as a methodological tool.

Use of feminist theory as a conceptual framework enables exploration of the dynamics of power relations under patriarchy, which, whilst favouring males, do not accord all males equal status. A feminist perspective acknowledges that males, too, can be victims of patriarchy and facilitates exploration of the "differences in the experiences of oppression" (Eagle et al., 2006, p. 503). It allows males to contribute to the generation of feminist knowledge by enabling males who have been victims of patriarchy to better understand themselves and their experiences and to contribute to a feminist understanding of their experiences (Sprague & Kobrynowicz, 2006).

CSA often takes place in familial contexts. By insisting on the recognition of the domestic sphere as a legitimate site for research, feminist theory has facilitated the exposure of power imbalances in domestic contexts and familial relationships that allow for the sexual exploitation of males, sometimes by female perpetrators (Weare, 2018). There is evidence that male rape myths are held to more rigidly where the victim is a male and the perpetrator is a female (Javaid, 2017b). The effect of this has been to mask female-on-male sexual perpetration in domestic contexts.

Critical discourse analysis allows for the identification and examination of dominant gender, sex and sexuality discourses. These sometimes take the form of silencing with regards to the topic of sexual assault (Meduric, 2011; Močnik, 2018) and of rape, sex and cultural myths (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Stemple, Flores & Meyer, 2017), and serve either to question the existence of male CSA, or the masculinity of those males that acknowledge victimisation. Male rape myths and cultural scripts suggest that males should be able to contain negative repercussions of CSA (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Sivagurunathan, Orchard, MacDermid & Evans, 2019; Sorsoli, Kia-Keating & Grossman, 2008). Silence on the topic of male CSA has contributed to the narrative that CSA on males is rare or non-existent, and has the effect of isolating males who fall victim to CSA (Javaid, 2017b; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019; Sorsoli et al., 2008). Male gender norms normalise male silence on male sexual victimisation (Javaid, 2018e; Javaid, 2018c), reinforcing rape myths and cultural scripts. Males who do speak out to acknowledge victimisation and adverse symptoms arising from sexual victimisation risk having their masculinity questioned (Javaid, 2018c; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019).

Having obtained the approval of the Health Professions Council of South Africa and the Medical Research Council of Zimbabwe, I, through purposive sampling, identified and carried out in-depth interviews with nine adult males. The interviews provided the data that, through critical discourse analysis, provided the findings for this study. Except for two interviews, where participants withheld consent, the interviews were recorded and transcribed verbatim. Pseudonyms were used to hide the identities of the participants. Details that could identify participants were disguised.

Rationale and significance

The rationale for this study emanates from the assumption that CSA is a sufficiently grave public health issue (Veenema, Thornton & Corley, 2015; Weatherred, 2015) as to warrant an increased understanding of its impact on individuals and communities. The current limited knowledge of the nature and impact of male CSA perpetuates sex and rape myths, even amongst professionals working with CSA victims, making it difficult for males to access assistance after victimisation (Kramer, 2015; Stathopoulos, 2014).

Whilst CSA prevalence rates of between 18% and 20% for females and 8% for males have been reported globally (Pereda, Guilera, Forns & Gómez-Benito, 2009b; Stoltenborgh, Van Ijzendoorn, Euser & Bakermans-Kranenburg, 2011), several studies report higher prevalence rates for males in Africa than on other continents (Barth, Bermetz, Heim, Trelle & Tonia, 2013; Pereda et al., 2009b; Singh, Parsekar & Nair, 2014; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). This discrepancy suggests a particular need for increased research on this topic, in Africa, to better appreciate the intricacies and nuances of male CSA in specific African contexts. This should, ultimately, lead to more suitably tailored and effective prevention and treatment strategies (Barth et al., 2013).

Outline of the remainder of the study

Chapter Two examines the literature on CSA, including reporting on international and African CSA prevalence and disclosure rates and characteristics of perpetrators. This chapter includes an examination of the literature on masculinity and gender and how these may influence the impact of male CSA.

In Chapter Three, methodological choices of the research, that emanated from a feminist critical paradigm, are presented. The findings obtained from an analysis of the

data, using critical discourse analysis, provided by the research participants are presented in Chapter Four, while the conclusions of the study, as they pertain to the research questions, are presented in Chapter Five.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This study sought to explore how male CSA victims in Zimbabwe perceived, were affected by, and how they navigated the tension that existed when a male, who was required by the tenets of hegemonic masculinity to be the sexual aggressor (Javaid, 2017a; Turchik et al., 2013), was sexually abused. To understand the wider context in which the topic was located, I critically reviewed pertinent literature on CSA of both males and females in an international, African and Zimbabwean context. I compared reporting and prevalence rates for male and female childhood sexual abuse survivors as well as reporting and prevalence rates for males in Zimbabwean and global studies. Offender characteristics and structural and systemic factors that play a part in childhood sexual abuse were examined. The literature review considered literature comparing the impact of childhood sexual abuse on males both by males and females. Given my premise that males would, in some ways at least, be impacted differently than females, I also reviewed literature on masculinity and the related constructs of patriarchy and gender.

What is child sexual abuse?

Who is considered a child? Although there is no standard definition of CSA (Kramer & Bowman, 2011; Stathopoulos, 2014; Townsend & Dawes, 2004; Veenema et al., 2015) because of controversy about who is considered a child and what comprises sexual abuse, the World Health Organisation (WHO, 1999, pp. 15-16) defines CSA as:

> the involvement of a child in sexual activity that he or she does not fully comprehend, is unable to give informed consent to, or for which the child is not developmentally prepared and cannot give consent, or that violates the laws or social taboos of society. Child sexual abuse is evidenced by this

activity between a child and an adult or another child who by age or development is in a relationship of responsibility, trust or power, the activity being intended to gratify or satisfy the needs of the other person. This may include but is not limited to:

- the inducement or coercion of a child to engage in any unlawful sexual activity,
- the exploitative use of children in prostitution or other sexual practices, and
- the exploitative use of children in pornographic performances and materials.

Who is considered a child differs from one study to another depending on the context and definitional terms of the researcher. Whilst the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (WHO 1999, p. 14) defines a child as "every human being below the age of 18 years unless under the law applicable to the child majority is attained earlier," some studies limit the definition to children no older than 12 (Richter, et al., 2014; Townsend & Dawes, 2004), some stipulate the victim be younger than 18 (Derup Stokes, McCord & Aydlett, 2013; Easton, 2014; Ji, Finkelhor & Dunne, 2013), or 17 (Hunt, 2006; Madu & Peltzer, 2001) and some studies use the age limit stipulated in the legal jurisdiction of the study (Pereda, Guilera, Forns & Gómez-Benito, 2009a). The concepts of child and childhood are themselves socially and culturally constructed leading to differing expectations as to what constitutes child abuse across social, cultural and economic groups (Pereda et al., 2009a; Townsend & Dawes, 2004).

The nature of sexual abuse. The nature of sexual abuse is also variously defined (Singh et al., 2014), with studies allowing victims to define what they consider abuse (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011), others limiting abuse to contact abuse (including kissing by force, fondling and penetration) (Madu & Peltzer, 2001) and still others allowing for non-

contact abuse such as exhibition of genitalia or exposure to pornography (Alanko et al., 2017).

CSA perpetrators. A CSA perpetrator may be defined as a person older than the victim, as a person who has reached adulthood in a particular jurisdiction or as a person exercising some sort of power over the victim regardless of the respective ages of the perpetrator and the victim (Pereda et al., 2009a). A perpetrator may be a known and trusted caregiver or a person (known or unknown to the victim, using online fora. In some studies, the research questions and design, and bias in the manner research is designed and questions drawn up ensures that males, more than females, are considered or labelled perpetrators (Erulkar, 2004). Who may be considered a victim or a perpetrator is a product of social and cultural constructs that reflect societal stereotypes and biases (Kramer, 2015). Consequently, greater emphasis on males as perpetrators may mean that males struggle to be seen as 'real' victims and that females are rarely recognised as possible perpetrators (Gear, 2009a; 2009b; Hunt, 2006; Kramer, 2015; Stathopoulos, 2014).

The manner in which a study is designed may affect findings about prevalence, reporting and consequences of CSA (Bourke, Doherty, McBride, Morgan & McGee, 2014; Singh et al., 2014). The use of general or more specific questions in questionnaires and interviews, whether enquiry on the occurrence of CSA is limited to one question or expanded to several questions and the use of self-administered questionnaires as opposed to face to face interviews, impact findings (Finkelhor, Ji, Mikton & Dunne, 2013; Hunt, 2006; Ji, Finkelhor & Dunne, 2013; Pereda et al., 2009a). Samples taken from the criminal justice system, from clinical or college populations, or that focus on adults or children, may distort or fail to capture certain aspects of CSA (Finkelhor, 1994; Ogloff et al., 2012; Spataro, Mullen, Burgess, Wells & Moss, 2004). Respondents from criminal justice

samples or sexual offender treatment programmes may, for example, be motivated by self-interest in responding to questions (Smallbone & Wortley, 2001).

Research based on victim self-report suggests a significantly higher rate of female-on-male offending than statistics from the criminal justice system indicate (Kjellgren, 2009; Stathopoulos, 2014). Victim self-report, however, may also underplay the extent of female offending due to the failure by victims to recognise or characterise CSA and sexual assaults by female perpetrators as an offence. Kramer (2011) suggests that female offenders themselves fail to recognise their conduct as abuse, emphasising terms conveying constructs such as female passivity and caretaking in descriptions of their behaviours that, nevertheless, result in incarceration. In some legal jurisdictions, conclusions about female offending are, due to societal stereotypes and professional bias, as well as limited research, characterised merely as 'obscene conduct' (Kramer, 2015). Medical and mental health professionals and judicial and criminal authorities are complicit in aiding female offenders to characterise themselves as non-offenders, muting and reformulating the voices of those offenders who do attempt a discourse admitting culpability (Kramer 2015; Stathopoulos, 2014).

Criminalisation of sexual activities between adults and children. Sexual relations between adults and children (with different age caps applied in different jurisdictions) are criminalised out of acknowledgement of the inequitable power that adults exert with children (Bierie & Budd, 2018; Wolak, Finkelhor, Mitchell & Ybarra, 2008). Adults, generally, have the advantage over children as regards the "physical, cognitive and social power" (Bierie & Budd, 2018, p. 298) they wield. Possessing the advantage of greater life experience, adults are better able to gauge the impact and consequences of the sexual relations they engage in. Children's lack of exposure to sex means they are unlikely to fully appreciate what is being done to them and may not recognise it as abuse (Van

Wormer & Berns, 2004). Children have less experience than adults in coping with sexual desires and sexual relations and are less able to withstand sexual coercion from adults. Societal sanctions for adult-child sexual relations acknowledge that adults have a duty of care, and are expected to relate responsibly, towards children (Townsend & Dawes, 2004; Wolak et al., 2008).

Having demonstrated that sexual abuse is inconsistently conceptualised across studies and that there is a diversity of perceptions of what comprises sexual abuse by scholars, offenders and victims, I proceeded to examine CSA prevalence and reporting rates in Zimbabwe and other countries.

Prevalence and disclosure rates

I examined the literature on reporting and prevalence rates internationally and in Zimbabwe, to lay an appropriate foundation for this study on male CSA in Zimbabwe. Kramer (2015) states that it was only as recently as the 1960's that sexual violence came to be considered a topic worth researching. Whilst research on the topic intensified in the 1980s (Ogloff et al., 2012), there was a perception that CSA was very rare in Africa (Lalor, 2004). Finkelhor (1994), researching the international epidemiology of child abuse, reviewed literature on child abuse from 12 countries only one of which (South Africa) was in Africa. Twelve years later and building on Finkelhor's study, Pereda et al. (2009a) reviewed the literature on CSA in 21 countries, two of which were in Africa (South Africa and Morocco). Finkelhor (1994) argued that as studies in different countries and on different continents were consistently demonstrating that CSA occurred on such a level as to be detected in "surveys of a few hundred adults in the general population" (Finkelhor, 1994, p. 412), the onus of proof had shifted to those refuting the occurrence of CSA in specific localities.

Limited research on male CSA. The phenomena of the rape and sexual abuse of children, both male and female, and especially of males, continue to be under-researched (Bowman & Brindige, 2014; Chitereka, 2010; Chomba, 2011; Jewkes et al., 2011; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005; Turner et al., 2017). With the possible exception of research in South Africa (Bowman & Brindige, 2014; Lalor, 2004), the paucity of research in this field is more pronounced in sub-Saharan Africa (Muchacha & Mthetwa, 2015; United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund (UNICEF) Zimbabwe, Collaborating Centre for Operational Research and Evaluation (CCORE) & Family Support Trust, 2011; Zimbabwe National Statistics Agency (ZIMSTAT), UNICEF & CCORE, 2013). Much of the research on the sexual abuse of children in Africa and the developing world lags behind research in many North American and European countries (Erulkar, 2004; Lachman et al., 2002).

Questions have increasingly been asked about whether the research, as it has been conducted, adequately captures the experiences of males as CSA victims and of females as CSA perpetrators (Finkelhor, 1994; French, Tilghman & Malebranche, 2015; Maikovich-Fong, 2010; Pereda et al., 2009a; Pereda et al., 2009b; Platt & Busby, 2009; Sisco & Figueredo, 2008). Assumptions, values and constructs of society, culture and gender run through the research affecting how CSA is construed (Eisenbruch, 2019; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

The fact that in many jurisdictions, definitions have only recently been changed to acknowledge that males can be raped and that females can be perpetrators, is telling. Significantly lower prevalence rates for male victims of CSA than for females, comparatively low prevalence rates in Asia and comparatively high rates suggested by some African studies may reflect on cross-cultural and cross-gender understandings of the

nature of CSA (Chan, Tan, Ang, Kamal Nor & Sharip, 2012; Eisenbruch, 2019; Finkelhor et al., 2013; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

Under-reporting of male CSA. Not only is CSA under-researched, it is also, most likely, under-reported (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014), with the under-reporting being more extreme for male victims than for female victims (French et al., 2015; Homma, Wang, Saewy & Kishor, 2012; Javaid, 2015b; Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003; Meinck, et al., 2017; Romano, Moorman, Ressel & Lyons, 2019; Sorsoli et al., 2008; ZIMSTAT, UNICEF & CCORE, 2013; Veenema et al., 2015). This makes it difficult to estimate prevalence rates amongst males. Reasons for under-reporting of male CSA include the reduced likelihood of the abuse of boys (particularly of older boys) being brought to the attention of the authorities and the fact that boys are more often the victims of extra-familial abuse (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014; Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003). Boys, more than girls, are more likely to be abused by adult females, making the detection of CSA of boys more difficult (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014; Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003). Also, male victims are less likely than females to self-report CSA (Easton, 2014; Molnar, Buka & Kessler, 2001; Sorsoli et al., 2008; Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). Male victims may be deterred from self-reporting CSA by fear of not being believed, being thought unmanly, or about how the disclosure will be received (Easton, 2014; Sorsoli et al., 2008). Furthermore, parents might be laxer in their supervision of boys than of girls and less likely to pick up subtle disclosure of abuse by boys (Finkelhor, 1994).

Smallbone and Wortley's (2001) Australian study is notable for giving, from an offender perspective, some insight into the extent to which male CSA may be under-reported. Their sample comprised adult males serving sentences, in the state of Queensland, for sexual offences against children. Collectively, the 169 men who admitted to having committed at least one sexual offence against a child, disclosed offences against 1010

children, 393 (38,9%) of which had been associated with criminal convictions. Whilst boys accounted for half (52%) of the officially recorded victims, the male offenders admitted to offending against a greater number (748 or 74% of the child victims) of boys. This study suggests that the underestimation of male victims in both victim and offender surveys and official figures may be profound.

Process involved in reporting CSA. Reporting of CSA is made more complex by the fact that it, typically, requires a "two-step" disclosure process (Bowman & Brindige, 2014, p. 244) with disclosure being first made to a person with some sort of relationship with the child before disclosure is made to an official, such as a police or medical officer. Boys may not make the initial disclosure of CSA victimisation for fear of violating social and cultural stereotypes and for fear of being perceived as the sexual assailant (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011).

After the initial disclosure, usually to a person familiar to the child, there is a "problem recognition stage" (Hendricks, 2012, p. 33, citing Finkelhor, Wolak & Berliner, 2001) during which there must firstly, be recognition of the conduct that has taken place and secondly, acceptance of the fact that the conduct constitutes abuse. Recognition that the conduct comprises abuse is less likely to occur in the event of abuse of a male child (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014; Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003; Jones & Jemmot, 2010). Even where the conduct has been conceptualised as abuse, those receiving a child's initial disclosure may go through a "consideration" process (Hendricks, 2012, p. 34, citing Collings, 2005) where they weigh the costs and benefits of making a formal report. This consideration process may result in more reluctant disclosure of CSA, especially, in collectivist cultures – such as are found in several African and Asian communities, where family pride is valued more than the rights of the individuals (Bowman & Brindige, 2014; Finkelhor et al., 2013; Ji et al., 2013). Whether, and how, the victim is related to the offender impacts the decision

to make a formal report (Sable, Danis, Mauzy, & Gallagher, 2006). These factors, influencing disclosure, serve as complications in determining prevalence rates. Figure 2.1, on page 213 below, depicts the CSA reporting process that may or may not result in a report being made to a person in authority.

CSA prevalence rates. Having examined some general reasons for the under-reporting of, especially male, CSA, prevalence rates internationally, in South Africa and in Zimbabwe are now briefly discussed.

Prevalence rates internationally. A meta-analysis of international research on CSA established mean prevalence rates of 18% for girls and 7,6% for boys (Stoltenborgh et al., 2011). A nationally representative survey of sexual violence in the United States found that 18,3% of women and 1,4% of men had been raped in their lives; 27,8% of men suffered their first rape at age 10 or below (Black et al., 2011). Using a sample of 14 564 men aged 20 years and above drawn from the second wave of the United States National Epidemiological Survey on Alcohol and Related Conditions collected from 2004 to 2005, Turner et al.'s study (2017) found that 5,3% of the sample reported CSA. A study that involved secondary analysis of a survey, using a nationally representative sample in Ireland in 2001 that had retrospectively investigated adults' recollections of sexual abuse suffered as adults and in childhood, found that 27% had reported experiencing some form of CSA (Bourke et al., 2014).

Prevalence rates in South Africa. A national school-based study in South Africa (Andersson & Ho-Foster, 2008) found 44% of 18-year- old males reported at least one incident of forced sex in their lives. Nine per cent of 11- to 19- year- old males reported having experienced forced sex in the previous year. Madu and Peltzer (2001) found a prevalence rate of 60% for boys and 53,2% for girls, who perceived themselves as having been sexually abused through touching, in a sample comprising secondary school students

from three schools in Limpopo, a province in South Africa. These authors suggested that the many fathers engaged in migrant labour away from home, leaving predominantly female-headed households behind, accounted for the particularly high rate of CSA of males. They did not, however, account for the gender of perpetrators, leaving this suggestion open to question (Pereda et al., 2009a). Madu and Peltzer (2001), further, suggested that males in their study might have been more forthcoming in their disclosure of sexual abuse than is usual for males because their culture allowed for such openness.

Andersson and Ho-Foster's (2008) and Madu and Peltzer's (2001) studies both came up with unusually high (in comparison with global figures) prevalence rates for male childhood sexual abuse. Their figures intimate that there may be reasons for the high prevalence rates for male CSA in South Africa beyond Madu and Peltzer's (2001) suggestion regarding greater cultural openness in the residents of the Limpopo that allows for disclosure of male CSA. This warrants further investigation.

Prevalence rates in Zimbabwe. A nationally representative study of sexual, physical and emotional violence against children in Zimbabwe commissioned by the government of Zimbabwe (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF & CCORE, 2013) found 41% of females and 7% of males aged 18 to 24, whose first sexual experience had occurred before the age of 18, reported that first sexual experience as unwanted. Thirty-three per cent of females and 9% of males aged 18 to 24 reported having been the victims of sexual violence before the age of 18. Nine per cent of females and 2% of males aged 13 to 17 reported having been victims of sexual violence in the preceding 12 months. Of those aged 13 to 17 who reported engagement in sexual intercourse in the preceding 12 months, 43% of females and 5% of males reported a coerced sexual experience.

Figure 2.2, on page 214 below, compared reported prevalence rates for boys in Zimbabwe with combined lifetime (up to age 18) prevalence rates for boys around the globe. An examination of Figure 2.2 suggests that prevalence rates for male CSA in Zimbabwe may be higher than the global averages suggested in Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner and Hamby's (2014) and Stoltenborgh et al.'s (2011) meta-analyses.

The figures from international, South African and Zimbabwean studies suggested a need for a broader understanding of the extent, nature and effect of CSA. To address this, I examined literature about the attitudes of clinicians and professionals to male CSA as they are often involved in determining prevalence rates and in assessing the impact of CSA on victims.

The role of CSA professionals

Professionals are not immune to stereotypes. Professionals, as much as other members of society, are prey to "culturally mediated" social belief systems that function to reduce the blame assigned to offenders whilst assuming victim responsibility in sexual assaults (Collings, 2010, p. 116). Clinical experience and literature that assume sexual assault victims are female often inform practice by medical and judicial authorities, with the result that clinicians and practitioners in the legal system fail either to recognise sexual assault on males or to respond in a gender-sensitive manner to such assaults (Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2018a; Stemple et al., 2017). Police statistics that, due to under-reporting of male victimisation, depict the typical sexual assault victim as female, feed the social narrative that males are perpetrators and females victims of sexual assault (Javaid, 2015b; Stemple et al., 2017). When males fall victim to sexual assault their failure to identify with the stereotype that only females are victims makes them even more reluctant to report their victimisation (Javaid, 2015b; Javaid, 2018a; Stemple et al., 2017). Male victims may feel compelled to prove their victimhood in different ways from females. They may need, where

the perpetrator is male, to prove they are heterosexual to rebut the suggestion they were complicit in the sexual activity, and they may need to show they were severely injured to demonstrate that they are truly victims (Javaid, 2015b).

Gender of professionals. The practise of assigning female police officers to investigate sexual assaults and to provide support to victims because female officers are perceived to be more suited to deal with “sensitive and emotional issues” (Javaid, 2018b, p. 10) also serves to send male victims the message that in being victims they have deviated and fallen short of what is expected of males.

In the case of a male police officer and a female offender, a “chivalry hypothesis” is enacted (Kramer, 2015, p. 80), whereby the interaction between the officer and offender is transformed into interaction between a man and a woman, bringing gender roles and expectations to the fore while the occurrence and impact of the offence are diminished. The fact that female offenders are rarely arrested and convicted feeds the perception that female perpetration does not exist, making it less likely that male victims of female offending will speak out (Kramer, 2015). Hunt (2006), citing Australian Department of Justice 2005 figures notes, that in the Australian state of Victoria only 2% of CSA cases involving female perpetrators reported to police resulted in convictions compared with 16,5% of cases involving male offenders. Beech, Parrett, Ward and Fisher (2009) cite data from the United Kingdom National Offender Management Service that in 2007 just 32 females were in prison for sexual offences, totalling less than one per cent of the female population of England and Wales. In South Africa, Kramer (2015) used raw data from the South African Department of Correctional Services for 2013 and estimated that just 12 females were convicted for sexual offences in South Africa in 2001, 42 in 2002 and 50 in 2003. A major negative consequence of seemingly flawed and skewed police statistics is the consequent lack of recognition of sexual assaults of males in policy formulation, in legislative

processes, in the allocation of resources and the training of (human) resources (Javaid, 2015b).

Professionals' responses to female offending. The consequences of abuse perpetrated by females tend to be regarded by professionals, including criminal and mental health authorities, as less serious than abuse perpetrated by males (Budd & Bierie, 2017; Kjellgren, 2009; Martellozzo, Nehring & Taylor, 2010; Stemple et al., 2017). This is despite the fact that some victims (male and female) report abuse by females to be more damaging than abuse by males (Hunt, 2006; Papakyriakou, 2017). Abuse by females in positions of trust (such as relatives and caregivers) is reported by some victims to be particularly harmful (Hunt, 2006; Kramer, 2015). When faced with perpetration by females against males, professionals, including those working in the field of CSA (Kramer & Bowman, 2011), may distort the narrative to ensure it comports with cultural expectations of nurturing and care expected of females (Bourke et al., 2014; Budd & Bierie, 2017). In court proceedings, for example, evidence of male arousal and ejaculation may be used to deny the culpability of the female offender and to assert, in support of social constructions, that males are always ready for sex, that the male victim was a willing participant (Kramer, 2015). Children's voices are muted by questioning the credibility of their evidence against an abusive mother (Kramer, 2015). Stathopoulos (2014, p. 19), citing Denov (2004), suggests that professional unease and discomfort with the notion of female offending breeds a "culture of denial" on the topic of female offending. Budd and Bierie (2017), citing Denov (2001), suggest that professionals minimise the use of force in sexual assaults by female perpetrators in three ways:

- by framing female perpetrators as harmless (perhaps presenting them as teaching or initiating the victim into the rites of sexual activities);

- by framing female perpetrators as not dangerous (sometimes presenting them as comical); and
- by blaming the victim.

Where female sexual offending does not present in the limited formats proscribed by professionals and society at large (such as female co-offending with a male), it often goes unrecognised (Kramer, 2015).

Professionals and offending in prisons. The prison environment in which a large number of males are corralled together and separated from society presents a unique environment that illustrates the response of professionals (including medical, legal and correctional facilities' officers) to sexual assaults on males by males. According to Gear (2009a; 2009b), staff at correctional services in South Africa, including medical staff, receive limited direction and training in dealing with victims of sexual assault, and do not capture data on sexual assaults perpetrated on inmates. This has the effect of rendering sexual assaults invisible (Gear, 2009a; 2009b). This non-acknowledgement of the sexual assault of men by men in correctional services (suggestive of the non-acknowledgement in legislation in Zimbabwe of the sexual assault of men) can be said to be both a function and a reinforcement of the societal myth that males should not be victims of sexual assaults. In other words, to be a victim renders one a "non-man" (Gear, 2009b, p. 27) - it emasculates males. As Gear (2009b, p. 27) states, "there is minimal, if any, room in prevalent understandings of masculinity for experiences of men's victimisation." Whilst the victim is rendered non-existent in prison inmate culture, however, the male aggressor by sexually assaulting a male reinforces his masculinity (Gear, 2009a; 2009b; Man & Cronan, 2001).

Having examined briefly the role professionals play in reframing and denying male victimhood in sexual assaults and CSA, I proceed to review structural and systemic factors, including migration and poverty, that place children at risk to CSA.

Factors placing children at risk

Various notions about what places children at risk of CSA have been identified in the literature and are expanded upon. These notions include, for example, the traditional and cultural requirements that children be subservient to adults, migration because of poverty and violence, the changing structure of the family, and unsupervised and growing internet use.

Risk posed by the culture of respect for elders. The social requirement, in Africa, that children respect their elders has been seen as playing a role in placing children at risk for CSA (Jewkes, Penn-Kekana & Rose-Junius, 2005; Lalor, 2004; Leach, Machakanja & Mandoga, 2000; Veenema et al., 2015). Children are not expected to challenge older persons in both familial and institutional settings. Unequal power relations have the effect of rendering the powerless partly invisible and, therefore, ripe for exploitation and victimisation (Papakyriakou, 2017). The cultural demand for total submission of children to older persons may promote the abuse of children by professionals as well. There is no reason to suggest that Zimbabwe, with its relatively large number of religious institutions and orphanages, has been immune to the type and scale of CSA that has been unearthed and acknowledged by media reports and studies in other countries (Dearth, 2015; Van Wormer & Berns, 2004; Wasserman, 2016). Several Southern Africa studies do suggest that a worrying level of abuse is perpetrated in the region by professionals such as teachers and doctors (Lalor, 2004; Leach et al., 2000; Simuforosa & Rosemary, 2015; Veenema et al., 2015).

Institutional culture as a risk factor. In a similar manner to Leach et al. (2000) in their study of violence including sexual abuse in Zimbabwean schools, Death (2015, p. 96) fingers "institutional culture and the occurrence of cover-up of CSA" in aiding the phenomenon of CSA in Australian institutions and religious settings. A national enquiry

into CSA in institutions in Australia conducted from 2013 to 2017 found from the analysis of 6302 submissions of private individuals that 32% involved CSA perpetrated in a government institution and 59% involved CSA perpetrated in religious institutions (Mathews, 2017). The Catholic church accounted for 37% of submissions about CSA. Seventy per cent of those who reported victimisation in a religious institution were male while 30% were female.

I submit that “institutional culture, structure and policy” (Death, 2015, p. 96) including the deliberate “occurrence of cover-up of CSA” (Death, 2015, p. 96) when coupled with a culture that traditionally expects extreme deference from children creates a toxic mixture, rife for the occurrence of CSA. The privileged position of teachers and adults in religious, educational and care institutions in Zimbabwe mirrors the privileged position of the clergy, described as “clericalism” (p. 96). This privileged position provides protection for abusive adults by creating environments in which children are easily groomed for sexual abuse, reporting is discouraged, investigations are botched and complicated, and justice is denied to CSA victims (Centre for Applied Legal Studies, Cornell Law School's Avon Global Centre for Women & International Human Rights Clinic, 2014; Death, 2015; Van Wormer & Berns, 2004; Wasserman, 2016). Treating the issue of CSA in institutions and communities as a failure by individual perpetrators rather than recognising the structural and systemic deficits that ensure systems protect adults over children exacerbates the problem (Death, 2015; Martellozzo et al., 2010; Mathews, 2017; Wasserman, 2016).

Some sporting communities provide another example of environments requiring unquestioning respect from children, that render children vulnerable to CSA (Parent & Bannon, 2012). In their Canadian study, Parent and Bannon (2012) found that extreme deference, akin to clericalism, was paid to coaches by parents and protégées alike. Athletes

were expected to prioritise performance over their well-being, with the coach having the final say in anything about the athlete. Athletes were often taught to view their sexual victimisation as normal.

Risk posed by urban migration. There has been increasing migration to urban centres by black Africans in the past decades (Lachman et al., 2002; Lalor, 2004; Centre for Justice and Crime Prevention (CJCP) & UNICEF, 2012; Madhavan, Clark & Hara, 2018). Parents, both fathers and mothers, continue to migrate to urban areas in search of income-earning opportunities, often leaving children in the care of relatives or other community members (CJCP & UNICEF, 2012). Families have, in the process, abandoned the traditional and communal support structures that underpinned extended family life in rural Africa and that were, supposedly, protective of children (Lachman et al., 2002; Lalor, 2004). In urban areas in African countries, few, if any, possess a welfare system sufficient to cushion children from the economic and psycho-socio vagaries that are an inevitable part of life based on the fragile and tenuous economies that comprise most African states (Lachman et al., 2002; Lalor, 2004; Madhavan et al., 2018).

Poverty as a risk factor. Poverty is a factor, often allied with migration, that places children at risk for CSA (Spurrier & Alpaslan, 2017; Veenema et al., 2015). Children living in poverty are more likely to be exposed to violence which, in Southern Africa, tends to be concentrated in rural and historically economically disadvantaged areas (CJCP & UNICEF, 2012). Children living in poverty are more likely to be required to contribute to household income. Entering the labour force or earning an income informally exposes children to abuse as it removes children from the care and supervision of parents (Richter & Dawes, 2008; Veenema et al., 2015). Living in poverty and living on the streets may prompt children to resort to ‘survival’ or transactional sex, ostensibly consenting to be sexually

exploited in return for material consideration (Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003; Leach et al., 2000). Boys, and girls, are exploited in this manner (Spurrier & Alpaslan, 2017).

Whilst abuse occurs in all socio-economic income groups, some of the literature suggests that children living with parents who are struggling economically may be more likely to be abused by the parents themselves (Pelton, 2013). A contrary view, however, is that child protection services are simply more prone to intervene in low income than in higher-income families (Slack, Holl, McDaniel, Yoo & Bolger, 2004).

Parental absence as a risk factor. Children living with one parent or no parents are considered to be more vulnerable to sexual abuse and are seen as more likely to enter into sexual relationships with older partners than children living with both parents (Leach et al., 2000; Manlove, Moore, Liechty, Ikramullah & Cottingham, 2005; Molnar et al., 2001; Veenema et al., 2015). Whether children grow up with or without both parents often impacts the quality and stability of their lives. Children have, for example, been found to spend more years in school, to perform better academically, to be less likely to fall pregnant in families where the father is present (Holborn & Eddy, 2011). Studies have found a positive correlation between a father's involvement in the family and children's levels of self-esteem, satisfaction with life and social competence (Park, 2018, citing Billier, 1993; Park, 2018, citing Wenk et al., 1994). Other studies, however, note that the physical availability of a father in a home does not always translate to emotional availability (Madhavan et al., 2018). Holborn and Eddy (2011) suggest that it is not necessarily the physical absence of a father that is detrimental to a child but the inability to access the financial resources and the social position that are more readily accessed, under patriarchy, by men.

Commercial sexual exploitation and human trafficking as risk factors. The HIV/ AIDS pandemic has had a profound effect on both poverty levels and the structure of

family life in Southern Africa (Holborn & Eddy, 2011; Madhavan et al., 2018). An estimated 5,2 million of the 9,1 million double orphans in sub-Saharan Africa in 2005 had lost at least one parent to AIDS (CJCP & UNICEF, 2012). Persons living in poverty, including women and children in child-headed households, are more vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation, including trafficking, as they seek economic opportunities than persons living in relative affluence (Allais, 2013; Bermudez & International Organisation for Migration (IOM), 2008; Design, Mayne & Gool, 2000; Lutya, 2012; United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), 2007). In some instances, children have been rendered vulnerable to trafficking as a means of fleeing sexual abuse and violence in their home environments (Bermudez & IOM, 2008; Design et al., 2000; Spurrier & Alpaslan, 2017).

It is sometimes assumed that only girls and women are at risk of trafficking for the purpose of commercial sexual exploitation (Allais, 2013; UNESCO, 2007). Whilst females are more likely to be trafficked for sexual exploitation and males to provide agricultural labour and to participate in criminal acts, begging and street vending (Allais, 2013; Bermudez & IOM, 2008), males are also recruited for the purpose of sexual exploitation (UNESCO, 2007). The mere process of being trafficked as well as the exploitative and forced living and working conditions of trafficked children expose them to many ills including sexual abuse (Bermudez & IOM, 2008; UNESCO, 2007). Gender perspectives that allow for females to be seen and treated as objects facilitate the trafficking of women and children (UNESCO, 2007). The invisibility of boys and men in people trafficking may, like male CSA, be tied to preconceptions and assumptions and constructions that are ascribed to gender and masculinity (Bermudez & IOM, 2008). The United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol), which was ratified by Zimbabwe in 2013, acknowledges trafficking

within a country as well as trafficking across borders (Bermudez & IOM, 2008; UNESCO, 2007). In some instances, offenders are the ones who cross borders seeking children to exploit sexually in jurisdictions and circumstances where they believe they are less likely to be brought to account (Spurrier & Alpaslan, 2017).

Risk posed by being undocumented and unregistered. Children living in poverty, particularly in rural areas, are more likely to be undocumented and unregistered, than children living in economic sufficiency. Undocumented children struggle to access schooling and to register for examinations, limiting their opportunities and increasing their vulnerability to exploitation. It is estimated that only 44% of children in sub-Saharan Africa under the age of five are registered (UNICEF, 2013). Rates of registration for children under the age of five vary even within countries and tend to be higher in, and close to, urban centres and in areas with higher incomes. Registration rates in Zimbabwe are close to 80% in some areas, dipping to below 40% in others (UNICEF, 2013). As children approach school age and especially examination writing age they are more likely to be registered. Children who are orphaned are, however, likely to struggle with lack of documentation into adulthood (Shumba, 2015), limiting their opportunities and making them more vulnerable to exploitation, including commercial sexual exploitation.

Growing internet usage as a risk factor. It has been suggested that growing internet use is a feature of our environment that increases the risk of CSA. Studies suggest that the internet has been used by offenders to cultivate relationships with, and to groom victims for, subsequent physical sexual contact (Martellozzo et al., 2010; Webster et al., 2012). Offenders posting and sharing sexually exploitative images of child victims can hide their real identities when using the internet, maintaining anonymity (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Certain authors (Wolak et al., 2008; Wolak, Finkelhor & Mitchell, 2009) dispute the charges that the internet has fuelled an epidemic of abuse of children, asserting that these

claims are not backed by research. In support of their claim that increasing internet use has not led to a significant increase in CSA, Wolak et al. (2008) and Wolak et al. (2009) cite research showing a decline in child sexual abuse rates in the United States, as reported by children themselves and as confirmed by child protection services and by data from the criminal justice system, from 1990 to 2005 - a period in which internet use was expanding.

Possible mitigating features of the internet environment that have been suggested (Wolak et al., 2009; Wolak et al., 2008) include:

- Older adolescents being targeted over younger children whose usage of the internet tends to be limited
- The possibility that it may take abusers more time to cultivate a relationship with a child giving greater opportunity for the process to be interrupted
- The necessity for sexual offenders using the internet to target children to disclose their intentions of meeting the child for sexual contact, making it less likely the child will consent to the meeting
- The difficulty of pressuring children online versus offline to indulge the abusers' desires; and
- the possibility that online usage may prompt children to spend more time at home, physically inaccessible to many abusers.

Online, as offline, females have been found to play a small but significant part in the abuse of children for a wide range of motivations (Martellozzo et al., 2010; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Females may participate actively in the abuse of children, persuade or force children to take part in activities that constitute abuse, or facilitate access between child sexual abusers and children (Martellozzo et al., 2010).

Data from the United States Youth Internet Safety Survey that emerged from telephone interviews utilising a national sample of 1500 youth aged 10 to 17 found that 25% reported aggressive sexual solicitation from females (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Actual gender and age of the aggressor would, understandably, be difficult to determine given the nature of internet communication (Bourke et al., 2014; Stathopoulos, 2014).

In summary, some factors that place children at risk for CSA in Southern Africa, were found to be poverty, the changing family structure, and the unquestioning respect for adults that children are expected to display.The next section examines the literature on the characteristics of offenders.

Characteristics of offenders

The literature makes it clear that it is not easy to classify perpetrators as they are not a homogenous group (UNESCO, 2007). Abusers "cannot be distinguished by any specific inner quality, personality trait or even sexual proclivity" (UNESCO, 2007, p. 66, citing O'Connell, 2001).

Offenders and the victim-to-victimiser theory. The victim–to-victimiser theory suggests that CSA victims are more likely to become CSA perpetrators than children who have not suffered CSA (Greathouse, Saunders, Matthews, Keller & Miller, 2015; Seto & Lalumière, 2010; Seto & Pullman, 2014). Whilst research with prison inmates and interviews as a research tool tend to support the victim–to-victimiser theory, the validity of results using such samples and methodology has been questioned (Smallbone & Wortley, 2001). Greathouse et al. (2015), in turn, suggest that there is a relationship between childhood physical abuse victimisation and witnessing familial violence as a child and subsequent sexual assault perpetration.

Offenders and paedophilia. The higher rates of victims reporting victimisation as children have led to the suggestion that CSA may cause paedophilia. Paedophilia may be defined as having a sexual preference for pre-pubescent minors (Tenbergen et al., 2015). It is important to note, however, that paedophilia is not synonymous with sexual offending against children (Gerwinn et al., 2018; Tenbergen et al., 2015). Not all people with paedophilia offend against children, and many of those who offend against children do not have a paedophilic interest in children. Gerwinn et al.'s (2018) German study used regression analysis to identify the predictors that most clearly distinguish between the presence of paedophilia and the absence of paedophilia in sexually offending and non-offending participants. Their study found that whilst having suffered CSA might increase the propensity to offend against children it did not increase the likelihood of developing paedophilia. Their study confirmed that CSA offending and paedophilia are attributable to multiple causes and it linked childhood trauma to subsequent sexual offending against children.

In another German study, Alanko et al. (2017) used a large community sample of men to investigate whether CSA victimisation related to the nature of subsequent sexual offending against children. They had three categories of offenders – consumers of child pornography, offenders against children and mixed sexual offenders (those who both consumed child pornography and had offended against children). Their findings supported the victim-victimiser hypothesis for all categories of offenders and particularly the mixed sexual offender's category. Alanko et al. (2017) noted that with most respondents in their study responding affirmatively to a sexual interest in a child aged 13 to 15 their study was not, in fact, strictly speaking measuring paedophilic interest.

Whilst it is acknowledged that female sexual offending against children takes place, there are currently no reliable estimates of the occurrence of paedophilia in women

(Tenbergen et al., 2015). These authors questioned whether the current definition of paedophilia could be applied to women.

Offenders and sexual deviance. Several studies question the theory that child sexual offending is a distinct type of criminal activity with sexual deviance of the offender at its heart (Dennison & Leclerc, 2011; Seto & Lalumière, 2010; Seto & Pullman, 2014). Some noted that many child sex offenders had been engaged in general (as in non-sexual) crime before incarceration for sexual offences and were more likely to engage in general crime after incarceration. Smallbone and Wortley's (2001) sample involved adult males serving sentences for sexual offences against children in Queensland, Australia. They found that whilst the majority (62,9%) of the offenders had previous convictions, the convictions were more likely to be for non-sexual offences (40,6%) than for sexual offences (22,2%).

Familial and extra-familial offending. Seventy-nine of the 169 men in Smallbone and Wortley's (2001) sample comprising adult males serving sentences for sexual offences against 1010 children admitted to offending against children who were relatives whilst 60 admitted to extra-familial offending. Thirty offenders admitted to offending against both family and non-family members whilst 13, despite their convictions, denied offending against children. Sixty-four per cent of the sample, therefore, admitted to intra-familial offending. This figure is comparable with the United Nations World Report on Violence Against Children (Save the Children Norway, 2005) stating that parents are responsible for a significant number (47%) of sexual abuse violations against children, with other relatives responsible for a further 21%. Boyfriends (10%) and step-parents (8%) are also listed as noteworthy perpetrators. Zimbabwean males aged 18 to 24 reported that it was mainly neighbours (48%) who had attempted to pressure them into having unwanted sex before

they turned 18 (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF, & CCORE, 2013). Family members accounted for just 8% of those who tried to pressure them into having unwanted sex.

Children as CSA offenders. CSA offenders are sometimes children. Snyder and Sickmund's (2006) report based on the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation data indicated that suspects under the age of 18 comprised 16% of those arrested in the United States for forcible rape. In Turkey, researchers used the records of the Social Services Directorate of Hatay Province to identify 48 child sexual offenders assessed by social workers from 2010 to 2013. The offenders were all male, between the ages of 15 and 17 and were accused of raping juveniles. Forty-four percent of the male child sexual offenders were accused of raping girls and 40% accused of raping boys (Arslan, Demirkiran, Akcan, Zeren & Kokacya, 2016). Arslan et al. observed that the offenders may have had easier access to males due to how Turkish culture limits contact between the sexes, leading to almost similar rates of victimisation for girls and boys.

Omar and Patel's (2014) South African study, citing a Department of Correctional Services (2007) report, states that as at end of January, 288 children had been incarcerated for crimes of a sexual nature. CJCP and UNICEF (2012), citing South African Police statistics for the period 2010 to 2011, note that whilst more than half (51,9%) of crimes reported against children were sexual in nature, older children comprised a significant proportion (39,5%) of the perpetrators of sexual offences against children. Alarmingly, sexual offences against children comprised more than half of all offences against children (compared to 18,7% of offences against women). The discrepancy may, perhaps, be attributable to greater under-reporting of sexual offences where the victim is an adult female.

Adolescent female offenders are as unlikely as adult female sex offenders to be acknowledged as offenders (Kjellgren, 2009). Kjellgren (p. 51) defined sexually coercive

behaviour as having "ever talked someone into, used pressure or forced somebody to masturbate them, have oral or anal sex, or sexual intercourse" in examining sexually coercive behaviour in a male sample of Swedish senior school students (n=1933) and a female sample of Swedish and Norwegian senior school students (n=4363). One hundred and one of the males (5,2%) admitted to engaging in sexually abusive behaviour whilst 37 (0,8%) of the females admitted to sexually abusive behaviour. A striking feature of the male and female Swedish subsample was that just one per cent (n=2) of female offenders were reported to Swedish Social Services even though females comprised 19% (n=23) of those self-reporting sexual offending, demonstrating that female offending is much less likely than male offending to come to the attention of authorities.

Offenders utilising the internet. Data from the United States Youth Internet Safety Survey, conducting telephone interviews utilising a national sample of 1500 youth aged 10 to 17, found that 20% of youth reported receiving unwanted sexual solicitations over the internet (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). The youth reported that 48% of total solicitations and 48% of aggressive solicitations emanated from juveniles and that one-third of total solicitations were directed towards males. Adults comprised 24% of those soliciting with the remainder assumed to be youth or of undetermined age. Twenty-five per cent of youth reported that even more common than unwanted solicitations was exposure to unexpected and unsought sexually explicit material.

This section demonstrated that sexual offenders against children are not easily and distinctly categorised by either internal traits and attributes or wider descriptive variables. The large gaps that some studies have demonstrated (Kjellgren, 2009; Smallbone & Wortley, 2001) between those admitting to sexual offending and official figures show that there is a dearth of information on and limited understanding of the identity of offenders

and how offenders perpetrate. I proceed, in the next section, to examine literature on perpetrator gender.

Perpetrator gender

Most perpetrators of CSA are male (Homma, Wang, Saewyc & Kishor, 2012). This means that male CSA victims are more likely to be abused by someone of their own sex, than are females (yl Troup-Leasure & Snyder, 2005; Homma et al., 2012). Being a victim of a male perpetrator is problematic for males given that being penetrated is perceived as being consistent with notions of femininity (Chikovore & Naidoo, 2016; Homma et al, 2012; Javaid, 2017a; Javaid, 2018e; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005) whereas penetration (where it occurs in an assault) is perceived as being consistent with masculinity. Further, constructs of hegemonic masculinity regard homosexuality as abhorrent and unmanly (Hong, 2000; Javaid, 2018a; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005; Turchik, 2012). The abused male questions his sexual identity and his manliness (Sivagurunathan et al., 2019; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005). This is complicated by the sexual arousal male victims may exhibit during the abuse resulting in many of them feeling complicit in their abuse (Holmes & Slap, 1998; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019; Sorsoli et al., 2008; Stemple et al., 2017).

Females as CSA perpetrators. Women tend to inhabit private spaces (Brayford, 2012). Because much prior research on CSA, especially from a public policy perspective, has been carried out from a positivist paradigm it has failed to capture the presence of women as CSA perpetrators (Brayford, 2012). Female offending may be disguised in traditionally female care-taking roles such as undressing, changing and bathing children. It is difficult to conceptualise female sexual offending and to acknowledge that the constructs of female and femininity, so often associated with caring and nurturing, can also embody violence and sexual deviance towards children (Brayford, 2012; Martellozzo et al., 2010; Papakyriakou, 2017; Stathopoulos, 2014; Stemple et al., 2017).

Finkelhor (1994) analysed data from 19 studies in the United States and Canada conducted from 1980. The studies were similar in utilising community samples and random sampling. The methodology in all the studies involved retrospectively questioning adults about CSA. Finkelhor's meta-analysis suggested that female perpetrators of male CSA fell into four broad categories:

- females acting at the instance of or with husbands or boyfriends;
- adolescent girls - often perpetrating abuse in babysitting situations;
- isolated sole-parent mothers with young children; and
- women in romantic relationships with adolescent boys.

Demonstrating how difficult it is to categorise female offending, Hines and Finkelhor (2007) suggested five categories of female offenders:

- lover – believing herself to be in a long term, sustainable relationship with a younger male;
- teacher – seeing herself as initiating the boy into sex;
- prostitute – the perpetrator is paid for sex by an adolescent boy;
- predator – perpetrator exploits the younger, inexperienced male; and
- unthinking – perpetrator enters a casual relationship for convenience, with no thought as to age.

Younger males perpetrating against older females. Hines and Finkelhor (2007) add the caveat that there are instances where the younger male is the perpetrator in social contact between a younger male and an older female, using physical aggression or some other form of coercion. Snyder (2000), analysing United States National Incident-Based Reporting System (NIBRS) data from 12 states from 1991 to 1996, found that 4% of sexual

assaults against adults reported to law enforcement were perpetrated by juveniles, whilst 67% of sexual assaults against juvenile victims were perpetrated by adults.

Female offending in statutory rape relationships. Hines and Finkelhor (2007, p. 301) conducted a review of "social scientific" literature in the United States on what they termed "statutory relationships" or "statutory rape relationships" between children aged 13 and older and adults. Snyder and Sickmund (2006, p.37) defined statutory or statutory rape relationships as occurring "when individuals have voluntary and consensual sexual relations and one is either too young or otherwise unable (e.g., mentally retarded) to legally consent to the behaviour". Snyder and Sickmund (2006) noted that whilst almost all (99%) of the statutory rape offenders against female victims from 1996 to 2000 were male, 94% of the statutory rape offenders against male victims were female.

Female CSA of males, particularly of older boys, is less likely to be recognised and acknowledged than abuse by males (Brayford, 2012; Cashmore & Shackel, 2014; Jejeebhoy & Bott, 2003; Martellozzo et al., 2010; Stemple et al., 2017). Boys are less likely to suffer physical injury, which can be detected by parents and other caretakers when abuse is perpetrated by females (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014). Boys, themselves, are less likely to categorise abuse by a female perpetrator as abuse (Brayford, 2012; Hines & Finkelhor, 2007; Holmes, Offen & Waller, 1997; Javaid, 2017a; Martellozzo et al., 2010; Stemple et al., 2017).

Whilst it is not uncommon for boys to deny suffering harm from a 'statutory' relationship, more objective measures have shown that males subjected to such relationships have sought psychological help for an emotional problem or have reported a sexual dysfunction at rates higher than for males not subjected to 'statutory' relationships (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007). Hines and Finkelhor (p. 306) suggest that a "developmental perspective" needs to be taken in assessing the impact of such relationships; with increasing

age, maturity and experience, males are more likely to realistically gauge the true impact of such relationships. Stathopoulos (2014) suggests that even where males experience physical pleasure when abused by a female, they may, at a later stage, when more appreciative of the abuse of power involved in their victimisation be cognisant of relational trauma.

Co-offending as a feature of female offending. It has been suggested that co-offending is a distinct feature of female sexual offending, distinguishing it from male offending (Bourke et al., 2014; Brayford, 2012; Burgess-Proctor, Comartin & Kubiak, 2017; Muskens, Bogaerts, van Casteren & Labrijn, 2011). Female co-offenders may, sometimes, be selected as intimate partners by males because of their access to children (Muskens et al., 2011). Burgess–Proctor et al. (2017), in their sample comparing 129 male and female prisoners incarcerated in the state of Michigan in the United States for sexual offences against children, found that female perpetrators were more likely than male perpetrators to be the parents or guardians of the child victim. Grayston and DeLuca (1999, cited by Brayford, (2012), suggest rates at which females offend sexually with a co-offender are as high as 50% to 70% of all female offending.

Offender characteristics of women acting alone and those offending in concert with a male have been found to differ (Beech et al., 2009; Williams, Gillespie, Elliot & Eldridge, 2017). Sole female offenders (like sole male offenders) are more motivated than females co-offending with males to meet sexual needs through children (Beech et al., 2009; Williams et al., 2017). Sole female offenders are more likely to offend against male children (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2017). Female co-offenders, however, are motivated by the demands of their male co-offender, and are consequently more likely to offend against female children (Burgess–Proctor et al., 2017; Muskens et al., 2011). Females co-offending

with males are sometimes motivated by fear of the male perpetrator (Burgess–Proctor et al., 2017; Muskens et al., 2011).

Age gap between female offenders and male victims. Another possible feature of female offending that needs more scrutiny is the age gap between female offenders and male statutory victims. The median age difference between female offenders and male victims in United States NIBRS figures was nine years, slightly more than the median age difference between male offenders and female victims of six years (Hines & Finkelhor, 2007; Manlove et al., 2005; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006; yl Troup-Leasure & Snyder, 2005). Thirty-five per cent of 18- to 24- year- old males in the Zimbabwean ZIMSTAT, UNICEF and CCORE (2013) survey who had been subjected to sexual violence before turning 18 reported that their perpetrator was at least 10 years older than they were (compared to 29% of females reporting a perpetrator at least 10 years older). Whilst the comparison is not exact (the NIBRS data covers statutory sex whilst the ZIMSTAT data covers forced sex), further research might reveal whether female offenders do tend to choose younger victims than male offenders as a way, perhaps, of ensuring they exert more power in the relationship. Erulkar's (2004) Kenyan study of young people found that greater age gaps existed between victims and perpetrators in the victim's first sexual encounter where the sex was coerced than where sex was consensual; 22% of males who reported their first engagement in sex as coerced reported a much older partner (by at least 5 years) compared to 2% of males reporting their first engagement in sex as consensual. Bourke et al.'s (2014) Irish study, however, found a smaller mean age difference between female perpetrators and male victims (8,5 years) than between male perpetrators and female victims (12,7 years). Bourke et al. reported that the female perpetrator was less likely to be an authority figure. Bierie and Budd's (2018) research, based on United States NIBRS data from 1991 to 2013, found that as age gaps between offenders and victims grew, victims were more likely to be

younger and that relationships between victims and offenders were less likely to be romantic relationships with the offenders more likely to be acquaintances, strangers or people acting in breach of relationships of trust. As age differences between victims and offenders grew, victims were also more likely to be male and there was a greater likelihood of additional crimes, including the use of force or involvement of computers, being reported. Manlove et al. (2005) using figures from the National Survey of Family Growth, another United States database, concluded that as age differences between victims and perpetrators increased, victims were more likely to be male. Snyder's (2000) research based on NIBRS data found that females (at 12%) most commonly offended against victims under the age of 6. The number of female offenders fell to 6% of total offenders for victims between the ages of 6 and 12, and 3% for victims between the ages of 12 and 17. Females comprised 6% of those offending against juveniles compared to 1% of those offending against adults. Most of the offending against juveniles under age six were by family members (Snyder, 2000). Bourke et al.'s (2014) Irish study, however, suggested that there is a higher rate of female offending where the victim is pubescent or post-pubescent.

Perpetrator gender and stereotypes. Stereotypes or myths about rape and abuse shape the perception of sexual abuse and rape by victims, caregivers, clinical and criminal justice authorities and the wider community (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Platt & Busby, 2009; Stemple et al., 2017). Societal constructs pivotal in shaping stereotypes and myths about rape and abuse cast males in the role of perpetrator and females as victims (Brayford, 2012; Cohen, 2014; Fisher & Pina, 2013; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Platt & Busby, 2009; Stemple et al., 2017). Victims of female abuse are, consequently, more likely to feel isolated, and to have to grapple with incredulity communicated by healthcare and criminal authorities (Bourke et al., 2014; Javaid, 2015a).

Where males are acknowledged as victims (whether of female or male perpetrators) the gravity of the offence is likely to be underplayed (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Martellozzo et al., 2010). Variations of rape myths and cultural stereotypes that male CSA victims have to contend with are that ‘real men are not victims’, ‘real men fight back’, ‘women cannot rape or sexually assault males’, ‘victims are weak’, ‘real men are promiscuous’ and ‘real men are always ready for sex’ (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Platt & Busby, 2009). The myth that victims are weak reduces the likelihood of male victims being acknowledged as victims. It also makes it more difficult for male victims to seek help as in acknowledging themselves to be victims they face emasculation. Javaid (2017a, p. 9) states that male victims must grapple with the fact that sexual abuse of males is conceived and dealt with in a manner that “inverts, negates and undermines men's masculinity”. Javaid (2017a, p. 9) asserts that “[R]ape myths and social constructions of masculinity place males in a bind; to qualify as males they must have fought off their perpetrator - if they failed to fight off their perpetrators they must be complicit in the act.”

In falling victim to abuse, males are relegated to a subordinate masculinity (Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Javaid, 2018a; Kramer, 2015); they have succumbed to a crime meant for females, and have, therefore, failed to embody and enact hegemonic masculinity (Cohen, 2014; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Javaid, 2018a). The assailant has, in sexually assaulting the male victim, successfully enacted hegemonic masculinity, in the process feminising or emasculating the male victim (Gear, 2009a; Gear, 2009b; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2017a; Javaid, 2018a). The rape myth that categorises rape and sexual abuse as a crime in which dynamics of sex, rather than of power, are at play portrays the male victim as being weak and vulnerable, enacting femininity through their role as the victim (Cohen, 2014; Javaid, 2018a).

Cultural scripts and gender norms dictate that males should be the aggressors in sexual interactions involving males and females (Brayford, 2012; Fisher & Pina, 2013; Platt & Busby, 2009). Marston (2005) in her Mexican study and Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2009) in their South African study suggest that males are more likely to view sexual interactions involving women as distressing or abusive when they feel gender norms and cultural scripts have been violated. Stathopoulos (2014, p. 17) suggests that "close attention needs to be paid to the gendered expectations related to how victims respond to sexual abuse and assault." Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2009) imply that gender role conflict, more than any sense of true violation, causes dismay in male victims where gender norms are violated by older females using "marked female agency" or "overt seduction" (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2009, p. 535) to proposition males sexually. Sikweyiya and Jewkes (2009, p. 537), commenting on one incident captured in their study involving a 10-year-old male victim and a 17-year-old female perpetrator, state, "Although on one level *it's clear from the narrative that he agreed to sex with her*, given their ages, in South African law what happened would now unambiguously constitute rape" (my emphasis). This suggests some ambivalence as to whether males, even as young as ten, are truly victims where the perpetrator is female.

Cultural scripts sanctioning sexual activity between boys and adult women were evident in a study conducted in the Eastern Caribbean that explored community perceptions of CSA utilising a community survey and focus group discussions (Jones & Jemmot, 2010). Most participants in the focus groups in Barbados reported that sexual activity between adult females and boys was acceptable and served the function of sexually initiating boys.

This section acknowledged that male victims regard sexual offending by females differently to sexual offending by males. The next section reviews the literature on how males are affected by CSA.

How males are affected by CSA

To aid the exploration of the effect of CSA on male victims in Zimbabwe this section considered literature, including literature from South Africa and Zimbabwe, on the outcomes for males of CSA victimisation. The consequences of male CSA are under-researched (Easton, 2014; Easton, Renner & O'Leary, 2013; Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010; O'Leary, Easton & Gould, 2017; Ressel, Lyons & Romano, 2018). In addition, CSA effects may persist into old age (Easton & Kong, 2017). A growing body of literature has found that CSA victimisation is linked to adverse outcomes, including poor quality of life (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014; Holmes & Slap, 1998; Muridzo & Malianga, 2015; O'Leary et al., 2017; Pérez-Fuentes et al., 2013). CSA victimisation has been found to have a negative effect on:

- mental health (Easton, 2014; Easton et al., 2013; Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010; Molnar et al., 2001; Paolucci, Genius & Violato, 2001; Ressel et al., 2018; Spataro et al., 2004; Turner et al., 2017);
- physical health (Irish, Kobayashi & Delahanty, 2009);
- educational performance (Paolucci et al., 2001);
- functioning in interpersonal and social relationships (Homma et al., 2012; Kia-Keating, Sorsoli & Grossman, 2010; Ressel et al., 2018);
- sexual functioning and sexual behaviours resulting in heightened sexual risk-taking (Ahrens, Katon, McCarty, Richardson & Courtney, 2012; French et al., 2015; Heusser & Elkonin, 2013; Icard, Jemmott, Teitelman, O'Leary & Heeren, 2014; Paolucci et al., 2001; Turchik, 2012); and on
- elevated exposure to the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV) (Richter et al., 2014).

CSA outcomes occur on a spectrum with different outcomes (ranging from resilience to severe distress) manifesting over the course of a lifetime (Romano et al., 2019; Ressel et al., 2018). A link has also been suggested between CSA victimisation and later criminal offending, and between CSA victimisation and subsequent re-victimisation (Ogloff et al., 2012).

Forouzan and Van Gijseghem (2005) identified three major categories of long-term outcomes of male CSA victimisation:

- those in whom no symptoms manifest or are identifiable;
- those manifesting behavioural or emotional problems or symptoms suggesting psychological disorders; and
- those exhibiting symptoms suggestive of a pathology of a sexual nature such as paedophilia, sexual aggression or compulsive sexual behaviour (Steever, Follette & Naugle, 2001).

Male CSA victimisation and subsequent offending and re-victimisation. Ogloff et al.'s (2012) Australian study examined how CSA affects the rate at which child victims offended and experienced re-victimisation for sexual and non-sexual crimes in later life. Ogloff et al. studied forensic records confirming CSA between 1964 and 1995 and connected these records to records of police and psychiatric care units for a period of 45 years. The authors concluded that, whilst the majority of CSA victims had no subsequent criminal perpetration (77%) or victimisation history (64%), both male and female CSA victims were more likely than those who had not been victimised to perpetrate crime or be victims of crime, particularly crimes with a violent or sexual component.

Male CSA victimisation and subsequent mental health treatment and outcomes. Using a similar methodology that linked forensic records from 1960 to 1991 to

the records of mental health facilities from 1991 to 2000, Spataro et al. (2004), in another Australian study, determined that CSA victims were considerably more likely to have received treatment in public mental health facilities than those who had not been subjected to CSA. They found that male CSA survivors were more likely than female CSA survivors to have had contact with public mental health facilities.

Ogloff et al.'s (2012) and Spataro et al.'s (2004) studies are notable for using a historical cohort design. This means findings of CSA were not dependent on victim self-report, enhancing reliability. Offending, experiencing re-victimisation and receiving mental health treatment at a public facility were also objectively measured using forensic reports. Given the uniqueness of Ogloff et al.'s (2012) and Spataro et al.'s (2004) design, I contend that it would be beneficial to research in the field of CSA were their methodology to be replicated in other parts of the world to determine whether similar results were yielded.

Maikovich-Fong and Jaffee's (2010) American study was based on a nationally representative sample of children who had been exposed to the United States Child Protection Services. Maikovich-Fong and Jaffee (2010) found that whilst the nature of the CSA perpetration experienced by male and female victims varied, there was little difference between males and females regarding the broad mental health outcomes arising from CSA victimisation. These mental health outcomes were operationalised as internalising behaviour (such as being withdrawn and reporting somatic complaints) and externalising behaviour (such as behaving in an aggressive and delinquent manner) and exhibiting trauma symptoms such as experiencing nightmares).

Male CSA victimisation and subsequent sexual behaviours. Richter et al. (2014) collected data (n=11 206) from four locations in three African countries, namely Tanzania, South Africa and Zimbabwe. They found those who self-reported being victims (defined

as experiencing physical or sexual abuse before age 12) were more likely to admit participation in risky sexual behaviour as adults, including early initial sexual activity and having multiple sexual partners, in the case of men. CSA victims of both sexes reported being the victims of forced sex in the preceding six months at rates higher than non-CSA victims. CSA victims, also, were significantly more likely to have had a partner who had ever hurt them. Male victims of CSA were more likely than those who had not suffered CSA to report being HIV positive and were less likely than those who had not been exposed to CSA to disclose that diagnosis to partners. Richter et al.'s (2014) study was notable for finding a link between CSA victimisation for males in Africa and subsequent sexually risky behaviours in adulthood.

O'Leary et al. (2017) used a qualitative approach to capture the experiences of men in Australia who had suffered CSA before proceeding to validate those experiences empirically, using a larger sample. O'Leary et al. found that men reported sequelae negatively affecting sexuality, self-concept, emotional and psychological well-being and social functioning.

Male CSA survivors are more likely to exhibit conduct disorders or rage than non-abused males (Spataro et al., 2004), perhaps in a bid to reassert their masculinity (Holmes et al., 1997). Male CSA survivors are also more likely than non-abused males to perpetrate sexual assault (Spataro et al., 2004), and may, therefore, be more likely than female CSA survivors to have contact with police and correctional services than with mental health services.

Male CSA victimisation and subsequent help-seeking and coping behaviours. Male survivors of CSA are unlikely to report the experience or to seek counselling for abuse-related issues (Easton, 2014; Easton et al., 2013; Meduric, 2011). Particularly where

the abuser is female, men may not define their childhood experience as abuse nor perceive it as having a negative influence (Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010). In instances where the abuser is female, males may be conditioned by society to see their sexual experience as experimentation (Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010; Marston, 2005). They may see the experience of disclosure as negative and disempowering (Cohen, 2014; Easton, 2014; Easton et al., 2013; Javaid, 2017a; Meduric, 2011; Sorsoli et al., 2008; Turchik et al., 2013).

CSA survivors may suffer health conditions that are a consequence of the adoption of risky coping behaviours, such as smoking and the harmful consumption of drugs and alcohol (Turchik, 2012). Icard et al. (2014) determined from a sample of men, in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, that problem drinking and marijuana use are significantly more likely to mediate HIV sexual risk behaviours in men who have been subjected to CSA than in men who have not suffered CSA. Another South African study (Teitelman et al., 2017) found that men who had been victims of CSA were more likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence than men who had not been exposed to CSA.

Consistent with research suggesting higher rates of sexual abuse in childhood amongst men who have sex with men (MSM), Heusser and Elkonin (2013) found that 25% of their sample of MSM, (mainly white with better than average education) in South Africa reported being the victims of sexual abuse in childhood. The authors speculated that a racially and economically more diverse sample would have resulted in the reporting of even higher rates of sexual victimisation in childhood. The authors, further, reported higher drug use related to increased engagement in sexually risky behaviour in those reporting CSA. Heusser and Elkonin found significantly elevated rates of depression and dissociation in those who had been sexually abused as children. MSM who self-reported CSA were more likely to have experienced violence at the hands of their partners than males who did not self-report CSA.

Not to be underestimated in the Southern African context and especially in Zimbabwe where HIV prevalence rates for adults aged 15 to 49 stand at 15% (ZIMSTAT & ICF International Inc., 2012), is the possibility that victims of sexually penetrative CSA will be infected with HIV. The Zimbabwe National Baseline Survey on Life Experiences of Adolescents (NBSLEA) (ZIMSTAT, UNICEF & CCORE, 2013) found that only 68% of females and 37% of males aged 18 to 24 years who reported having been subjected to forced sex before the age of 18, and 38% of females and 9% of males aged 13 to 17 who reported having been subjected to forced sex in the previous year, had been tested for HIV infection. Adolescents who had been subjected to sexual violence were more likely to report symptoms of, or to have been diagnosed with, a sexually transmitted infection than their peers who had not been the victims of sexual violence.

Given that the consequences of CSA, including male CSA, were diverse, damaging and, sometimes, long-lasting and given that most of the research on the topic has been conducted outside of the African continent, research, such as this study, that sought to gain insight into the experience of male CSA in Africa contributed to reducing the gap in the literature.

Having established, through this section of the literature, that many males are negatively impacted by CSA, the next section looks at the role of the concepts of patriarchy, gender and masculinity in colouring and shaping how males are impacted by CSA.

Patriarchy, gender, masculinity

Because this study sought to gain insight into the influence of CSA victimisation on males, this section considered literature on patriarchy, gender and masculinity.

Patriarchy. Patriarchy is a socially constructed form of organising and functioning (Martellozzo et al., 2010) that awards “hierarchical superiority” (Pierotti, Lake & Lewis,

2018, p. 558) to males. Patriarchy shapes gender relations, with men expected to embody and enact the values and norms that patriarchy deems most valuable (i.e. masculinities). The patriarchal system ensures that men (as opposed to women) control a disproportionate share of economic resources (Bonthuys, 2019; Kelleher, 2016; UNUTKAN, GÜÇLÜ, Emel, & YILMAZ, 2016). Where one race or ethnic grouping becomes economically dominant despite comprising a numerical minority, as in Zimbabwe before 1980 and South Africa before 1994, men of the financially and politically disenfranchised majority groupings experience similar, albeit tempered, marginalisation to that experienced by women and children (Breckenridge, 1998; Niehaus, 2002). Patriarchy ensures that the privileged position of men is so embedded in all levels of functioning in homes, institutions and communities that it is seen as natural and normal (Leach et al., 2000). Patriarchy is considered unquestionable and unchallengeable, with women playing as large a part as men in its perpetuation (Jewkes, et al., 2015b; Kleinman, 2007; Leach et al., 2000; Pierotti et al., 2018; UNUTKAN et al., 2016).

Gender. Stathopoulos (2014, p. 3) states that "Gender relates to the social characteristics attributed to men and women that can often be more prescriptive than descriptive of actual characteristics and behaviour". Gender relations are socially constructed and shaped by the underlying economic context (Chimot & Louveau, 2010; Leach et al., 2000). Gender distinctions purport to determine and delineate the roles, behaviours, attitudes and attributes deemed appropriate for men and women (Javaid, 2015a; Jewkes, Flood & Lang, 2015a; UNUTKAN et al., 2016). Gender "actively organises bodies, identities, interactions and institutions and is embedded, for example, in social relations of work and households as well as communities" (Young, Danner, Fort & Blankenship, 2018, p. 3). The process of gender performativity, in which gender is

repeatedly enacted through culturally stipulated and sanctioned performances, legitimises gender constructs, naturalising and reifying them in the process (Lynch & Maree, 2017).

Male children are socialised into gender roles primarily at home and in schools and from male peer groups (Harris & Harper, 2008). Harris and Harper maintain that in this process of socialisation, children learn to associate duties requiring power, vigour and strength with men and masculinities, and domestic duties (including those, ironically, requiring power, vigour and strength) with women and femininities. The materialist explanation of the division of duties (as articulated by the second wave of feminists (Aune & Holyoak, 2018) that suggests that patriarchy ensured unpaid domestic drudgery was relegated to women whilst paid work was appropriated by men is, perhaps, a more likely explanation (Walby, 1996).

Children are not only socialised into gender roles but also into the notion that certain traits or characteristics are gender-specific. Gender-appropriate values for males include practising aggression, dominating and taking control of public and private spaces, dictating how men and women interact and practicing homophobia and heterosexism (Betron & Gonzalez-Figueroa, 2009; Chikovore & Naidoo, 2016; Hong, 2000; Kleinman, 2007; Pierotti et al., 2018; Soldati-Kahimbaara, 2017; Turchik et al., 2013). Masculine traits are often assumed to include strength, stoicism, silence, control, power, independence, wealth, being an economic provider and being the protector of home and family (Hong, 2000; Javaid, 2015a; Kia-Keating, Grossman, Sorsoli & Epstein, 2005; O'Neil, 2008; Phoenix & Frosh, 2001; Tremblay & Turcotte, 2005). Feminine traits are associated with passivity, vulnerability and helplessness (Hong, 2000; Kia-Keating et al., 2005; Javaid, 2015a; Sorsoli et al., 2008).

Masculinities. Masculinities are practised in multiple ways, are hierarchical and competitive and are united in seeking to subordinate femininity (Chikovore & Naidoo,

2016; Javaid, 2015a). Men, and women, grapple with masculinity espoused by the dominant culture and the version of masculinity that pertains to their own culture (Easton, 2014; Sorsoli et al., 2008). In enacting masculinities, males are expected to exhibit gender norms. Gender norms may be described as expectations and beliefs about behaviour expected of, or associated with, a given gender in any particular society (Gottert et al., 2016). When men find male gender norms restrictive, and respond negatively, they experience gender role conflict or stress (Easton, 2014; Gottert et al., 2016; O'Neil, 2013). When, for example, behaviour traditionally expected of males (such as being stoical and hiding emotion) conflicts with the needs of a male in a situation (such as the need for intimacy when relating to their partner), gender role conflict or stress is experienced (Wester, Pionke & Vogel, 2005). By conforming to gender norms in remaining stoic and in keeping emotion hidden, men may experience the satisfaction of behaving in a societally sanctioned manner at the expense of an intimate relationship that would have benefited from the display of more emotion and openness. Gender role conflict has been defined as "a psychological state in which socialised gender roles have a negative effect on the person or others" (Wester, Kuo, & Vogel, 2006, p. 84, citing O'Neil, Good & Holmes, 1995). Gender role conflict has been linked to increased anxiety and depression in men (Harris & Harper, 2008; Wester et al., 2006; Wester et al., 2005). Given the tension resulting from the violation of gender norms that exists when a male is sexually abused, I as a researcher anticipated that gender role conflict would be a topical issue in this research.

Masculinities are practised differently across races, ethnicities, socio-economic classes and nationalities (Coles, 2009; Kleinman, 2007; Levy & Adam, 2018), and men access different masculinities at different ages (Coles, 2009). They, therefore, go through multiple masculinities in the course of their lives (Coles). Hegemonic masculinity is, however, the principal masculinity (Barry, 2018; Javaid, 2015a; Javaid, 2018e).

Breckenridge (1998, p. 1) defines hegemonic masculinity as the "ideals and practice of manhood". Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1987, cited in Coles, 2009, p. 31) state that hegemonic masculinity is "how particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance". Morrell (1998) defines hegemonic masculinity as "the form of masculinity which is dominant in society" (Morrell, Jewkes & Lindegger, 2012, p. 20). Figure 2.3 on page 215, below, presents hegemonic masculinity at the apex of a pyramid, illustrating that it is deemed to be the principal masculinity, with alternative masculinities considered inferior.

Multiplicities of masculinities. Phoenix and Frosh (2001) and Javaid (2017a) elaborate on the four types of masculinity - hegemonic, complicit, marginalised and subordinate - identified by Connell (1995) (see Figure 2.3 on page 215). Javaid (2017a, p. 4) describes these four masculinities as "practices that men move within and without or are positioned in by others, that work together to reinforce and differentiate each other."

Complicit masculinity refers to those men who do not practice hegemonic masculinity, but who, nevertheless, benefit (as do all men) from the fact that patriarchy has ensured that hegemony is embedded in societal and cultural institutions and practices. Marginalised masculinity refers to those men who, whilst qualified by gender to practice hegemonic masculinity, are deemed by other attributes such as race, ethnicity or physical stature to fall short. Men who are disqualified by their sexuality from practising hegemonic masculinity, such as gay men, practice a subordinated masculinity.

Coles (2009) states that whilst the concept of hegemonic and subordinate masculinities makes sense at a structural level, men, as a matter of practice, may opt-out of the mainstream and operate in settings or fields where they can practice a dominant masculinity relative to other men. There will be, Coles (2009) suggests, dominant and

subordinate masculinities available to gay men or black men, for whom hegemonic masculinity is difficult to achieve. These men may opt to practise dominant masculinities in the gay community or the black community. In practising a dominant masculinity, they may draw upon values of hegemonic masculinity.

Multiplicities of hegemonic masculinity. Morrell et al. (2012) viewed the concept of masculinities differently to Coles (2009). Morrell et al. (2012) were supportive of Morrell's (1998; 2001) contention that multiplicities of hegemonic masculinity exist and that three types were identifiable in pre-independence South Africa (see Figure 2.4 on page 216**)**. The three masculinities operated in different contexts, with white hegemonic masculinity evident in the political and economic dominance of the white ruling elite. Morell (1998; 2001) argued that black traditional hegemony was practised in rural South Africa and evinced through structures such as the customary law system, the operation of communal land tenure and the handling of chieftainships. A black urban hegemony existed in urban areas manifested through power structures amongst black people in the different black townships. Figure 2.4 in contrast with Figure 2.3 presents each of Morell's masculinities as pie-shaped to illustrate Morell's contention that the three masculinities existing in different economic domains in South Africa all qualified as hegemonic masculinities.

The concept of multiplicities in hegemonic masculinity appears inconsistent with Connell's (1995) definition, cited by Coles (2009, p. 233) that "hegemonic masculinity refers to one form of masculinity that is culturally exalted over all others at a particular place and point in time." Coles (2009) went on to argue that men who are disqualified from hegemonic masculinity may go on to practice masculinity dominant to other men, in a specific arena. Following this line of thought, it is not clear whether all three masculinities defined by Morrell (1998; 2001) as hegemonic masculinities in South Africa qualified as

hegemonic masculinities. I am of the opinion that the latter two masculinities (black rural masculinity and black urban masculinity) provided structures that allowed some black men to practice masculinity dominant to other men in their specific contexts.

Consistent with the notion that there are multiple masculinities that men navigate during the course of their lives, and that the masculinities are shaped by factors such as men's ethnicities, ages, professions, sexualities and nationalities, the literature speaks of masculinities outside of the four identified by Connell (1995) and cited by Phoenix and Frosh (2001) and Javaid (2017a). These include hybrid masculinities (Messerschmidt & Rohde, 2018), protest masculinities (Messerschmidt & Rohde, 2018), compensatory masculinity (Kleinman, 2007) and new masculinity (Kaplan, Rosenmann & Shuhendler, 2017; Morrell et al., 2012). I agree with Kaplan et al. (2007) and the notion that whilst different masculinities may promote or emphasise different aspects of being male, and are often the result of attempts by men to escape damaging aspects of masculinity, the new masculinities are as self-serving as the traditional masculinities in preserving male privilege: In the process of adapting to evolving external realities and to men's struggles to cope with harmful aspects of masculinity, the new masculinities work to entrench and extend male privilege (Kaplan et al., 2017; Messerschmidt & Rohde, 2018).

Structural dimension of masculinities. The structural and institutional dimension of gender relations, including masculinities, is pivotal in much of the literature (Anderson, 2005; Pierotti et al., 2018; Young et al., 2018). Investigating phenomena as diverse as male cheerleaders in North America (Anderson, 2005), consensual and non-consensual sexual relationships between males in South Africa (Niehaus, 2002) and condom use with customers and intimate partners by sex workers in India (Pierotti et al., 2018), researchers have demonstrated the importance of institutional and structural factors and the limited

impact of individual agency in effecting change in the practice of gender relations at an individual level or in determining how change is interpreted and constructed.

Anderson's (2005, p. 337) United States study on male cheerleaders identified and distinguished two competing forms of masculinity, supported by "organisational and institutional culture" with near equal membership. One form of masculinity was strongly associated with traditional hegemonic masculinity with the men expressing strong anti-female and anti-gay sentiments, eschewing any kind of dance movements they thought might be interpreted as feminine, whilst the men who practised what he termed inclusive masculinity were more respectful towards women and gay men and embraced the female underpinnings of the sport. Anderson (2005) argued that because the inclusive masculinity was supported by an organisational and institutional structure it could not, in this instance, be described as a subordinate form of masculinity. Anderson maintained that these male cheerleaders were practising an institutionally supported inclusive masculinity to which traditional masculinity was considered inferior and subordinate. What Anderson (2005, p. 348) termed "macro social processes" played an important part in shaping identity and limiting individual agency. Macro social processes include processes embedded in the functioning of the home, and educational and cultural settings.

I posit that some of the literature on culture and practices in overwhelmingly male domains such as prisons and the South African mining compounds of the twentieth century (Breckenridge, 1998; Gear 2009a; Gear 2009b; Man & Cronan, 2001; Niehaus, 2002) is supportive of Anderson's (2005) contention that masculinities can take on and exhibit a non-traditional form when buttressed by structural and institutional factors. Consensual sexual partnerships between males in prisons, Niehaus (2002) argues, were less indicative of homosexual practice than of men replicating traditional heterosexual unions. Where sexual activities were coerced the male perpetrator was able, in the prison context, to frame

his participation in a homosexual act as replicating heterosexual sexual relations (Gear 2009a; 2009b; Man & Cronan, 2001; Niehaus, 2002). Gear (2009a; 2009b) remarked that male perpetrators in her study on sexual violence in South African prisons were more willing to admit to and to speak about their roles than were the male victims. The perpetrators were, in violating other inmates, practising and achieving hegemonic masculinity, and, in the process, “disappearing” (Gear, 2009a, p. 40) the victims by causing them to morph from ‘victims’ to ‘wives’ whilst transforming themselves from ‘perpetrators’ to ‘men’. Prison culture, therefore, allowed male offenders practising (forced) sex with other males to identify with the role of the husband in a traditional marriage.

Similarly, Young et al. (2018), using a sample of women engaged in the sex trade in a town in southern India to examine the relation between institutional forces and condom use as the women engaged in sex with clients and intimate partners, recognised condom use as a social practice (rather than as an individual act) rooted in and impacted by gendered social structures and relations. Interventions at the level of the individual that did not recognise condom use as a gendered social practice impacted by gendered institutional forces and gendered practices of interaction would, the authors suggested, have limited efficacy.

Suh (2017) used a sample of Korean American men migrating to Korea from the United States to study Asian American and Asian masculinities. Suh found that, within the United States, the men were relegated to marginalised masculinity with hegemonic masculinity only available to “straight, white, and upper-middle-class cis-gendered men” (Suh, 2017 p. 322, citing Cheng, 1999). Hegemonic masculine ideals identified in South Korea included having completed military service, marrying a South Korean woman and being a good provider. Most men in Suh’s (2017) sample found they were well received on

arrival in South Korea. Many were able to take up well paying – at entry-level – English language teaching. They found they had social capital associated with being immigrants from the United States and economic capital associated with their jobs. Over time, however, they found that their social and economic capital eroded. Struggling to achieve the hegemonic ideals recognised in South Korea, most, ironically, once again found themselves practising a marginalised masculinity, despite their move to be part of an ethnic majority.

The literature demonstrates that whilst masculinities are dynamic, changing as societies change, and differently nuanced in different societies, the prevailing patriarchal system ensures that masculinities are practised in a manner that favours men over women in the gender hierarchy. Where the practice of masculinities is recognised to harm men, change is directed to alleviating pain in men, and not towards changing structural gender relations from which men benefit (Coles, 2009; Kaplan et al., 2017). The next section elaborates on feminist theory, that guided this research.

Conceptual framework

The feminist theory encompasses various categories of thought that explain, question and challenge the dominance and power accorded to men over women and, increasingly, over other disempowered groups in society (MacLean, 2018). There is a diversity of thinking within and across categories within feminist theory. This diversity is captured in labels such as liberal feminism, Marxist feminism, radical feminism, care-focused feminism and post-modern feminism. MacLean suggests that it is useful to speak of tendencies rather than categories in feminist thought and theory. ‘Tendencies’ allow for nuance, fluidity and porous boundaries whilst categories suggest a rigidity and restriction that fails to capture contrasts and nuances in and across the many different and diverse views of feminist thinkers (MacLean, 2018).

Feminist theory is not about using a particular and specific research method; it is concerned with how a particular research method is used (Creswell, 2007; Intemann, 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012; Wylie, 2012). Harding (1987a) cited by Nagy Hesse-Biber (2012, p. 8) states that:

> A closer examination of the full range of feminist social analyses reveals that often it is not exactly alternative methods that are responsible for what is significant about this research. Instead, we can see in this work alternative origins of problematics, explanatory hypotheses and evidence, alternative purposes of inquiry, and a new prescription for the appropriate relationship between the inquirer and his/her subject of inquiry.

I saw feminist theory as having several advantages for this particular study that was concerned with CSA, not least because feminist theory questions claims to power and how power is exercised (Harding, 2012). Proceeding from a positivist stance with its claims of neutrality and objectivity, feminist theory maintains, serves to camouflage truths about how power is held and exercised (Harding, 1986; 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012): Feminist theory encourages the unmasking of power relations and dynamics at all levels of human interaction (Harding, 2012; Holmes et al., 1997; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012).

Feminist theory accepts that in societies organised hierarchically, the understandings, meanings and interpretations available to the powerful and dominant are limited (Harding, 2012; Intemann, 2012). It acknowledges the importance of exposing the value-laden nature of research (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Harding, 1986; Intemann, 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). As Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 114) state, to overlook values is "inimical to the values of powerless and 'at-risk' audiences". Where there is sexual abuse,

there is clearly an abuse of power. Feminist theory, therefore, becomes a particularly apt conceptual framework for this study.

The feminist theory maintains that power relations operate both about the research process and the research content (Eagle et al., 2006; Harding, 2012; Hawkesworth, 2012). The powerful, when power relations are not interrogated, determine not just how research is conducted but what is worthy of study (Chikovore & Naidoo, 2016). Garvey et al. (2017, p. 140) state that “[a] critical and feminist lens enables me to ask questions about power, and what constructs and sustains the status quo”.

Feminist theory suggests that what is worth researching is best identified from the perspective of the poor, oppressed and powerless (Creswell, 2007; Harding, 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). Use of feminist theory as a conceptual framework enables exploration of the dynamics of power relations which, under patriarchy, favour males whilst awarding them differentiated status. As Sprague and Kobrynowicz (2006, p. 39) urge, “women cannot be the only generators of feminist knowledge; men in oppressed locations need to understand themselves and contribute to our understanding of their experience from a feminist perspective”.

Feminist theory also offers a useful framework from which to investigate issues related to gender (Intemann, 2012). Feminist theory perceives gender, and related issues of masculinity and femininity, to be largely social constructs (Harding, 1986, Harding, 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). Gender, as a social construct, becomes an ontological category; to be female or male is to take up a role scripted by society and culture rather than to organically exist (Laqueur, 1990, cited by Shams, 2018). Proceeding from feminist theory, therefore, enabled me to deconstruct and look into what the research participants understood in describing themselves not just as males, but as males subjected to CSA. Being male is enacted through masculinities that males practice differently in different

environments and life stages, but that males are expected to use to consistently differentiate themselves from females (Coles, 2009; Kleinman, 2007). The use of feminist theory to frame the research enabled me to explore both how the research participants positioned themselves as males in relation to other males and females, and how the research participants believed their enactment of masculinities to have been impacted by their experience of abuse.

Chapter conclusion

A brief description of the state of the research on CSA, including estimated male and female CSA prevalence rates in Zimbabwe, was provided in this chapter. The literature on the effects of male CSA was examined. This research was informed by feminist theory. Constructs of gender, patriarchy and masculinity were, therefore, explored to create a framework that allowed me to collect and interpret data from male CSA victims that explained how they defined and interpreted what it was to be males who had suffered CSA and how they reconciled their experiences of abuse with being male.

I proceed, in the next chapter, to detail the research methodology of this study. I explain my selection and use of a feminist critical research paradigm and critical discourse analysis as a research design.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

Introduction

I sought, in this study, to explore the effect of CSA on male victims given that the literature suggested that certain aspects of CSA victimisation are unique to male victims (Easton, 2014; Finkelhor, 1994; French et al., 2015; Maikovich-Fong, 2010; Pereda et al., 2009a; Pereda et al., 2009b; Platt & Busby, 2009; Sisco & Figueredo, 2008). The research questions were as follows:

a) How do adult male victims of childhood sexual abuse define and interpret what it is to be male?
b) What is the effect of childhood sexual abuse on males?
c) How do male victims of childhood sexual abuse reconcile the experience of being sexually abused with their identity as males?

Gaining insight into these questions could increase knowledge in this under-researched area and could assist men who are victims of CSA. Further insight could also provide much-needed information for professionals working with male victims of CSA.

This chapter details the research paradigm used to conduct the study and provides a rationale for the selected research approach. It describes the research design, including research method, research sample, and data collection and analysis methods utilised, before concluding with issues of trustworthiness and ethics.

Research paradigm

Research paradigms or philosophies influence what is researched and how the research is conducted. Guba and Lincoln (1994, p. 105) define a research paradigm as, “the basic belief system or worldview that guides the investigator, not only in choices of method but in ontologically and epistemologically fundamental ways”. Yin (2015, p. 15) states that

a research paradigm is a belief system that "embraces a worldview about the desired goals of research and how it should be done." Bhattacherjee (2012, p. 17) describes paradigms as comprising the "mental models or frames of references that we use to organise our reasoning and observations". Different paradigmatic approaches have important consequences on how research is designed, conducted and perceived (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Gannon & Davies, 2012).

I utilised a feminist critical paradigm to guide this study. A feminist critical paradigm has an emancipatory objective. It seeks to empower those who lack power; it allows those denied a voice to tell their own stories and it seeks to confront power structures and practices, while both interpreting and transforming phenomena (Gannon & Davies, 2012). The use of a feminist critical paradigm proceeded from the ontological position that reality is constructed by those who live out, and participate in, social interactions. It is subjective and is best understood from the perspective of the social actors involved with a phenomenon (Creswell, 2007; Preble, Praetorius & Cimino, 2016; Vincent, Rana & Nandinee, 2015). Reality is complex, multiple and mutable (Locke, Wyrick Spirduso & Silverman, 2007; Saunders, 2011) and "not self-evident, stable and waiting to be discovered, but is constructed" (Holmes et al., 1997, p. 79).

Constructionists believe that language is the tool through which reality is constructed (Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006.) They hold to the view that "the human life-world is fundamentally constituted in language" (Terre Blanche et al., 2006, p. 278). Epistemologically, knowledge construction is influenced by social and power relations that exist within the social world. Social systems are, therefore, pivotal in constructing meanings that the individual incorporates as his or her own (Preble at al., 2016; Terre Blanche et al., 2006). Social constructionism incorporates the reality that the group shapes the thinking and values of the individual: "Social constructionist approaches ….

treat people as though their thoughts, feelings and experiences were the products of systems of meaning that exist at a social rather than an individual level" (Terre Blanche et al., 2006, p. 278). From this perspective, the words, actions, interactions and thoughts of the individual give insight into societal and cultural belief systems and perceptions of reality.

Constructionist world views find expression in phenomenological studies which explore the 'lived experiences' of individuals (Creswell, 2007). Phenomenology, as conceptualised and pursued by Edmund Husserl seeks to understand the essence of a concept experienced by several individuals and to exclude or limit analysis and explanations by the researcher (Creswell, 2007). Michel Foucault's work, in contrast, reveals some ambivalence regarding the sovereignty and primacy of the individual (the observing subject) in constructing reality. In his later work, Foucault was critical of the pivotal role awarded to the observing subject, that afforded him or her absolute power in determining the nature of a phenomenon (Heyes, 2018). Foucault came to see multiple factors, including wider social, economic and political processes and historical developments as playing a part in constituting the object of the research (Creswell, 2007; Neto & Leite, 2018). Discourse, for Foucault, represented social practice and was the instrument through which reality was constructed (Alcoff, 1987, cited by Rosenau, 1992; Wodak, 2001a). Foucault referred to a plurality of factors (including discourses, laws, regulations, architectural states and moral perspectives) that made up the object or phenomenon as the *dispositif*. The factors contributing to the composition of a *dispositif* were considered to be in a constant state of flux, with the *dispositif* said to occur at a specific point in time (Neto & Leite, 2018). Researching an object or phenomenon, according to Foucault, would include an examination of both the inner components of the object and of the multiple external relations and processes that contributed to its composition (Neto & Leite, 2018).

Foucault acknowledged multiple, often competing, discourses, thus allowing for some agency at the level of the individual (Irwin, 2011). He asserted that in the battle for dominance, whilst knowledge often bestowed power on persons, the discourses of the powerful were more likely to be assumed to be knowledge (Foucault 1980, cited by Irwin, 2011).

Critical, humanist and feminist researchers find common ground with Foucault in challenging the notion that any research can be carried out from an entirely neutral and objective perspective (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Harding, 1986; 2012). Paradigms deriving from critical and feminist theory aim to expose the dynamics of power and ideology that result in societal constructions of reality that uphold, favour and entrench the interests of powerful groups. They are also intent on surfacing and analysing ideological and power dynamics embedded in constructs such as gender and patriarchy. A feminist critical paradigm aims to bring enlightenment and emancipation and to "root out a particular kind of delusion" (Wodak, 2001a, p. 10). A feminist critical paradigm allowed me, in analysing the language research participants used in constructing their realities, to identify possible delusions entrenched in their constructions rooted in the interests of the societally and ideologically powerful and that exposed attitudes and perspectives related to masculinity, patriarchy and gender.

A feminist critical paradigm acknowledges that the research participants' words are acceptable knowledge in the field (Groenewald, 2004; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Vincent et al., 2015). It also allowed me, in the Foucaultian tradition, using critical discourse analysis, to subsequently embed their discourses in the wider social, ideological and political processes with which feminist theory is concerned, to more fully appreciate the phenomenon that was the object of the study.

Research approach

Critical research methods, including feminist critical paradigm, recognise that some facets of reality either cannot be quantified or are better explored in a non-quantitative manner (Harding, 2012; Locke et al., 2007; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). Given that this study sought to explore how males experienced CSA thereby seeking to surface voices that are seldom heard, a qualitative methodology was appropriate.

Critical research methods subscribe to the worldview of qualitative researchers that stipulates the meanings people ascribe to their experiences are worthy of exploration. They acknowledge that reality is made up of these meanings (constructions). To make sense of phenomena involving the experiences people have lived through, it is necessary to capture the experiences and interpretations of the people. Critical research, as a qualitative methodology, acknowledges the complexity of the lives people lead (Yin, 2015). Qualitative research specifically acknowledges and accounts for the social, institutional and cultural contexts in which people's lives are lived out leading to fuller, richer understandings (Yin, 2015).

Kozleski (2017) states that qualitative methods allow research participants to be story-tellers, affording them opportunities to articulate important issues, and about which researchers who have not been immersed in the lives and contexts of the participants would be unaware. A qualitative methodology seeks to minimise power differentials between the researcher and the research participants and to acknowledge the research participants as experts in their understandings of their experiences. Unlike quantitative methods, qualitative methods "allow for new discoveries in the moment" (Kozleski, 2017, p. 24).

Locke et al. (2007, p. 96) state that whilst qualitative research is appropriate and useful for addressing the question, 'What is going on here?', the answer will be greatly influenced by the researcher's assumptions about what is important and about where and how the enquiry should be conducted. A qualitative research methodology, therefore, allows both the researcher and the research participants to make their views explicit (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2015). A qualitative research approach acknowledges the researcher as the primary research instrument for data collection. As the researcher in this study, my values and beliefs thus became part of the research process (Locke et al., 2007); there was no pretence of neutrality. Where data analysis, as in this research, was inductive, requiring that I use the data to build up and link themes to each other and the theory framing the research, a qualitative methodology was appropriate.

I also sought, in conducting this research, to address historical, social, cultural and ideological factors (in other words, the broader discursive elements) that both informed the experience of male CSA victimisation and that contributed to the shaping (and silencing) of the voices of the victims. How male CSA victims constructed and interpreted their experience of childhood sexual abuse and how these constructions were shaped by wider historical processes, including dynamics of power and privilege, led to the choice of critical discourse analysis as an appropriate method for data collection and analysis. A qualitative approach allowed for the examination of contexts and settings that are an essential part of critical research methods.

Research design

The research design involves formulating a strategy that guides the research process and is concerned with "creating a blueprint of the activities to take to satisfactorily answer the research questions" (Bhattacherjee, 2012, p. 17). The blueprint of activities follows from the worldview of the researcher.

Consistent with the research paradigm and research approach of this study, the research design used was critical discourse analysis, with the in-depth interview as the research instrument. Critical discourse analysis is used to refer to a cluster of loosely linked approaches developed in linguistics for the analysis of text and spoken language (Machin & Mayr, 2012; Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2001a). Critical discourse analysis attempts to explore a phenomenon under study through social constructionist epistemology (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Machin and Mayr (2012) attribute the formation of discourse analysis to several key writers including Kress (1985), Fairclough (1989) and Coulthard (1997).

Discourse is “language in real contexts of use” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 20). Discourses, Han (2015, p. 11) states, “are comprised of ideas, values, identities and sequences of activity.” In critical discourse analysis, “the broader ideas communicated by a text are referred to as ‘discourses’” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 20). Discourses are, therefore, models or ideologies of the world or “the broader ideas shared by people in a society about how the world works” (Han, 2015, p. 11). Phillips and Hardy (2002) refer to discourses as structured bodies of text – not just individual text – that make up and sustain social phenomena.

Discourse, in the Foucaultian sense, represents social practice, presents the things that people say about social practice and is a form of knowledge (van Leeuwen, 1993, cited by Wodak, 2001a). Discourses are situated, or rooted in history and cultures. They have meaning in particular contexts. They are often complex, containing interwoven strands from many fields (Wodak, 2001a; 2001b). Critical discourse analysis, in this study, is concerned with both discourse as the instrument through which reality is constructed and as the instrument of power, control and domination.

Critical discourse analysis recognises that language is an instrument of power (Gannon & Davies, 2012; Han, 2015; Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2001a; 2001b). Discourse is used to construct

> hegemonic attitudes, opinions and beliefs … in such a way as to make them appear ‘natural’ and ‘common sense’ rather than ideological as it foists the values, beliefs, institutions, and cultural and political systems of dominant societal groups on subordinate groups (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 24).

Critical discourse analysis attempts to expose the links between the use of language, ideology and power in particular historical and cultural contexts (Jäger, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012; Wodak, 2001a; 2001b). The term ‘ideology’ is used in critical discourse analysis not only to refer to belief systems held by individuals and social groups about how the world is organised and operates but also to “describe the way that the ideas and values that comprise these ideas reflect particular interests on the part of the powerful” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 25). Critical discourse analysis seeks to unveil the discourses creating, maintaining and reinforcing the structurally buttressed relationships of power, privilege and control that work to the advantage of dominant groups (Wodak, 2001a).

To critique a phenomenon is to surface its connections and links to other phenomena (Fairclough, 1985, cited by Wodak, 2001a). It is to expose both the interests of societal elites in the construction of reality and their use of language, interactions, laws, regulations and moral perspectives (all of which can be termed discourses) in the construction of those realities and their presentation of those realities as natural and neutral. The theory informing one’s study will determine what other phenomena and connections one considers important (Wodak, 2001a). One critiques a phenomenon by estabilishing distance from the data, linking the data to the social context, taking a specific political stance and reflecting, as a researcher, on one’s reactions to the data (Wodak, 2001a).

Phillips and Hardy (2002) contend that it is useful to think of the different approaches to conducting discourse analysis as appearing in a matrix such as that depicted in Figure 3.1 on page 217.

The horizontal axis illustrates that some methods of conducting discourse analysis are more focussed on exploring how social reality is constructed (constructivist) whilst others (critical) are more concerned with unveiling the ideologies and power dynamics contained in the text. The vertical axis illustrates how some analysts focus more strictly on text whilst others choose to illuminate the context in which text is produced and enacted.

The depiction through a continuum and matrix illustrates that whilst researchers' foci may differ, good constructivist approaches are almost inevitably concerned with issues of power and privilege. Social linguistic analysis is constructivist and is focussed on the text. Interpretivist structuralist approaches emphasise social context and supporting discourses. Critical discourse analysis highlights the role of discursive acts in creating and reproducing hierarchical relations of power. Critical linguistic analysis shares the concerns of critical discourse analysis but is more focussed on micro-analysing the linguistic components of texts than the societal context.

People are born into, and are, all their lives, involved in, various discursive contexts (Gannon & Davies, 2012; Jäger, 2001). Precisely because people have, all their lives, been immersed in particular discursive contexts, they are often blind to these contexts. Critical discourse analysis functions to make explicit the discourses prevalent in people's lives.

Critical discourse analysis does not advocate for a single method of data collection or analysis (Meyer, 2001). Proceeding from the hermeneutic tradition, it draws no clear distinction between data collection and analysis. Critical discourse analysis seeks to go beyond the analysis of language content and literary style (Machin & Mayr, 2012). It

includes an examination of the way people use language and grammar to create meaning. Critical discourse analysis recognises language as a form of social practice (Machin and Mayr, 2012) that, in combination with people's actions and behaviours, shapes the way they view the world and promotes particular views and interpretations of the world. Language, including grammar, is seen as being shaped by the social functions it serves and seeks to perpetuate (Fairclough, 2001).

Discourses may be analysed at the level of broader, overarching categories such as topics and content (DeVault & Gross, 2012; Meyer, 2001) and may identify “kinds of participants, behaviours, goals, values and locations” (Machin & Mayr, 2012, p. 21 citing Van Leeuwen and Wodak, 1999). Discourse analysis may encompass semiosis, in which language is seen as comprising a set of resources, including visual and body language, that is used in meaning-making (Fairclough, 2001; Gannon & Davies, 2012), and where analysis may take place at the basic level of lexical analysis (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Lexical analysis is a type of linguistic analysis, carried out in critical discourse analysis, involving an examination and analysis of the words used in a text to identify dominant and problematic discourses (Jäger, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012). Lexical or discourse analysis may use linguistic categories such as:

- exposure of contradictions,
- suppression, omission or conflation,
- over-lexicalisation,
- personification or collectivisation and institutionalisation of social actors,
- accepting as immutable temporarily valid truths,
- normalising, naturalising and rationalising assumed truths,
- examining the unspoken (sometimes through silences) and the unwritten,
- exploring dichotomies and binaries, and

- noting “disruptions” (such as the Freudian slip, the incomplete statement, or the statement that suddenly veers off into another topic) (Feldman, 1995; Jäger, 2001; Machin & Mayr, 2012).

Critical discourse analysis recognises that neutralising language may be used to mask privilege or ideological differences and that it is important to identify the speaker when, for example, collective nouns such as ‘we’ are used (Kleinman, 2007; Phillips & Hardy, 2002). According to Kleinman (2007), the passive voice may serve the same purpose as neutralising language. The lexical devices paired with gender are also of interest; ‘male’ emotions such as anger and aggression may be legitimated and perhaps even escape being labelled as emotional, whilst emotions such as sadness and fear may be readily ascribed to women. Furthermore, how problems are framed may speak to where the speaker locates power, assigns responsibility and associates possible solutions. The use of false parallels (such as suggesting males and females are equally oppressed or have an equal opportunity) may be used to mask inequalities and to deny histories of oppression.

The use of interviews to examine pertinent discourses was appropriate given the feminist critical research paradigm and critical discourse research design that sought to advance a social justice agenda by drawing attention to previously neglected voices (DeVault & Gross, 2012). In-depth interviews are appropriate for gathering data where one seeks detailed information and the subject matter is extremely sensitive, as in this study (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2015). In-depth interviews resemble guided conversations (Yin, 2015). Open-ended questions and extensive probing are typical of in-depth interviews. An in-depth interview seeks to give sufficient time and to create an environment that enables the participants to recount their experiences and the reality in their own words (Yin, 2015).

Saunders (2011, p. 488) speaks of the “interactive nature of data collection and analysis.” The social identities and locations of both researcher and research participants

have long been of concern to researchers using interviews as a research tool. Participants make assumptions about researchers which influence their responses. The practice has been, whenever possible, to match interviewer and interviewee to create rapport, with the excessive difference in age, social background as well as gender believed to create insufficient rapport (thereby limiting disclosure) and excessive similarities leading to too much rapport (resulting in bias) (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Cross-gender interviewing can be challenging in some instances, as when women are interviewing participants committed to "masculinist projects" such as asserting their masculinity, exerting male superiority and "challenging the terms of the study" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 12). The research participants, although diverse in age and male, whereas I am female, were, like me, black Zimbabweans, which facilitated rapport.

Good interviewing calls for active listening, which meant being fully engaged and actively processing the information being shared, the manner the information was shared, the pauses and the silences. Yin (2015) warns that interviewers who walk into interview situations assuming they are adequate listeners are likely to hear or read (in the transcripts) what they expect to hear.

Because I set out to understand the research participants' experiences of the phenomenon before situating the data in a social and historical context, the interview protocol essentially comprised two main questions posed to the research participants: What has your experience been in terms of the phenomenon and what has affected or influenced your experience of the phenomenon?

To be fully critical, discourse analysis should go beyond mere analysis of language and text and involve critical analysis of the social structures, processes and power relations that result in the production of text and discourse as well as a critical analysis of how people make use of and interact with language to produce meanings (Machin & Mayr, 2012;

Phillips & Hardy, 2002; Wodak, 2001a). Having explored the research paradigm, research approach and research design used in this study, I proceed, in the next section, to describe the research site and the research participants, including the processes through which research participants were selected, before elaborating on the research method I used.

Research site and participants

The rationale underlying the methods researchers use for selecting samples is directed by the research questions and research objectives of a study (Creswell, 2007; Saunders, 2011). I needed, in this research that sought information-rich material that would answer the research questions and provide theoretical insight (Creswell, 2007; Saunders, 2011), to focus on a small number of males who had been subjected to childhood sexual abuse. The sampling method for this study was non-probability sampling, preferred because of the small number of participants required to meet the objectives of the research (Saunders, 2011).

I considered purposive, or purposeful (Creswell, 2007), sampling to be an appropriate sample selection method. Purposive sampling can be defined as sampling that "enables you to use your judgment to select cases that will best enable you to answer your research question(s) and to meet your objectives" (Saunders, 2011, p. 237). Purposive sampling enabled me to deliberately seek out men who had experienced childhood sexual abuse and who were prepared to be interviewed on their understanding of what it was to be a male who had been through such an experience.

Research site. The research site was accessed by:

- Requesting medical and mental health practitioners in Harare, Zimbabwe, to distribute letters calling for participation to males attending their practices in no matter what capacity;

- distributing advertisements calling for participation through a college and a university campus in Harare; and
- posting advertisements calling for participation in a newspaper with circulation in Harare.

I utilised the Health Professions Authority of Zimbabwe online directory of registered health professionals (registered to practice as clinical psychologists, psychologists, clinical social workers, general practitioners, psychiatrists, specialist community physicians and specialist physicians) to source potential participants. Covering letters (Appendix A on page 219) were sent to the practitioners and professionals explaining the purpose of the study. Each covering letter included five individually sealed letters (Appendices B and C on pages 220 and 221) calling upon willing and qualified males to avail themselves to be interviewed. Medical and mental health practitioners were asked, by way of the covering letter, to hand these envelopes containing the calls to participate to adult males attending their practices, clinics and offices. The calls to participate invited potential interested participants to contact the researcher on a cell phone number or by email. The letters made it clear that the medical professionals would have no way of knowing whether or not an individual decided to participate in the research, thus ensuring confidentially.

The letters to the medical and mental health practitioners were posted or hand-delivered between 10 April, 2019, and 25 April, 2019. In the same period letters calling for participation were distributed on the campuses of the University of Zimbabwe and of the Harare Polytechnic. Advertisements containing the calls to participate were flighted in the daily newspaper with the widest circulation in Harare between 12 and 25 April, 2019. By 30 April 2019, nine responses from potential participants had been received. Two additional participants were referred by colleagues. Two of the potential participants, who

had responded to the newspaper advertisements, were deemed ineligible to participate in the study; one lived outside of Harare, the geographical area of the study, whilst the second was unwilling to undergo an individual face-to-face . I telephonically established that the nine participants that were to make up the sample were at least 18 years old, and confirmed dates and times each participant was to be interviewed. To ensure ease of access and security for the research participants and me, I used an office in central Harare to conduct the interviews.

Research participants. I interviewed nine participants between 16 and 30 April 2019. The criteria or participation included being no younger than 18 years of age, having had at least one sexual experience before turning 18 which occurred with an individual at least five years older than the participant, or who exerted some form of control or authority over the participant, in line with much of the prior research on CSA. An additional requirement was that no less than two years had elapsed since the date abuse last occurred. I used the first phone conversation after willing participants had contacted me to indicate a willingness to be interviewed, to establish that these conditions were applicable.

Interviewing participants who were no younger than 18 years old ensured that the research sample comprised adults who had the ability to give informed consent. Stipulating that participants would be eligible to participate in the research only where at least two years had elapsed since the date abuse last occurred reduced the likelihood of research participants being re-traumatised by the research process. Participants were, also, required either to be resident in Zimbabwe or to have suffered childhood sexual abuse in Zimbabwe to anchor the experience of childhood sexual abuse in Zimbabwe.

The participants ranged in age from 20 to 55. Five participants were married, whilst one was divorced. The three youngest participants (aged 20 to 25) had never been married. The participants had completed at least four years of high school education. Three had

university degrees, whilst a further two had trade qualifications and were working in their area of expertise.

Having described the research site from which participants were selected, the process through which participants were selected and general characteristics of the participants, I describe how data was collected and analysed.

Data collection

Data were collected by conducting individual, face-to-face unstructured in-depth interviews with the research participants.

Before the commencement of each interview I explained the purpose of the study again, the anticipated length of the interview and made note of those participants who indicated that they wanted access to the final document, which I offered to avail electronically. I explained ongoing consent to the participants before asking them to read and sign the informed consent forms (Appendices D and E on pages 222 and 224). Permission was also sought from each participant to record the interviews and to make notes in the discussion. Two of the participants declined to give consent for their interviews to be recorded. This meant that I had to attempt to take extensive notes during the interviews and to flesh out my efforts at shorthand immediately after the interviews. I captured notes in an interview protocol which noted the time, duration and place of the interviews. I captured impressions and observations, often communicated non-verbally in the moment – as part of the process of 'memoeing' (Groenewald, 2004) - in the interview protocol. The memoes included thoughts and observations about both the interviewee and the interview process and enabled me to reflect and record my observations of how I believed my presence and manner of interviewing impacted the research participants and the interviews. I was able in each interview to set the participants at ease by sharing my motivations for conducting the research. Participants seemed grateful for the opportunity to, often for the

first time, share their experiences of CSA. Most were eager to have the magnitude of their experiences acknowledged. I used interview tools of probing, allowing for silence and re-framing the research participants' words to increase rapport and to draw out and clarify responses.

As soon as possible after each interview, I transcribed the interviews. This meant merging the transcripts with the physical notes taken during the interviews. It involved capturing the words spoken, tone of speech, silences and nonverbal cues.

Interviews of the nine research participants were conducted over a period of two weeks. The interviews ranged in length from forty minutes to one hour and twenty minutes. I considered the number of participants to be sufficient where the aim, as in this study, was to look for common themes within a group that had undergone a similar experience (Creswell, 2007; Saunders, 2011). Saunders (2011) suggests that ten to twelve interviews will enable a researcher to reach the stage of saturation, where new topics or themes no longer emerge from the interviews.

Once data collection had been completed, final analysis of the data and the research participants' discourses was undertaken using a conventional approach (Hsieh & Shannon 2005).

Data analysis

Critical discourse analysis as a tool for analysis provided several advantages in this study as it is easily used with other theoretical and methodological tools. Critical discourse analysis and feminist critical paradigm both emanate from critical schools of thought and both are intent on exploring and exposing contexts in which relationships of power, discrimination and dominance are presented as natural rather than as being socially constructed. A feminist critical paradigm and critical discourse analysis are both useful for

shedding a new perspective on current debates. Critical discourse analysis enables researchers to "tease out" and extend particular discursive activities (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 16). Discourse analysis conducted from the perspective of a feminist critical paradigm aims "to reveal what kinds of social relations of power are present [in texts] both explicitly and implicitly" (Han, 2015, p. 24, citing Van Dijk, 1993). As language creates social life, an examination of words and language reveals what kind of world is being produced and what kinds of interests and inequalities are being fostered and perpetuated (Han, 2015).

Critical discourse analysis was conducted, in this study, in three main stages depicted in Figure 3.2 on page 218.

Summarising data. A conventional (as opposed to a directed and summative) approach to content analysis was adopted (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Conventional content analysis "describes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, strict textual analyses" (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005, p. 1277). Conventional content analysis is appropriate where, as in this instance, one seeks to describe a phenomenon. It required, as an initial step, that I steep myself in the data, and suspend through bracketing, as far as possible, my preconceptions about the phenomenon to be fully accepting of the research participants' experiences (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Creswell, 2007; Feldman, 1995; Groenewald, 2004).

Initial analysis of the first interviews helped me to identify potential themes to watch out for and to follow up on. Allowing themes to develop from the interviews and developing themes arising from the interviews were consistent with the inductive approach indicated by the research design. To facilitate the identification of themes I initially highlighted words and phrases in the data that communicated key thoughts and concepts. Longer passages of text were then condensed into shorter passages, whilst retaining the

essence of what the participant was communicating, a process described as summarising by Saunders (2011) and phenomenological bracketing and reduction by Groenewald (2004). Groenewald stresses that the process of reduction is to get to the essence of the research participants’ subjective experiences.

Categorising data. Initial codes were developed arising from the participants' noteworthy thoughts and phrases. Those codes were fed into categories depending on whether and how they were linked. Categorisation was driven both by terms and phrases used by the research participants and from terms that had emerged from the literature. Groenewald (2004, p. 16) speaks of identifying “units of meaning” and Bhattacherjee (2012, p. 109) of “units of significance”. Feldman (1995) states that after the initial data analysis phase in which the researcher has, as much as possible, viewed the data from the perspective of the research participant, the researcher proceeds to deconstruct the data. Feldman describes the process of deconstruction as creating sufficient distance from the data as to allow one to surface the ideologies the research participants subscribe to. This act of distancing oneself from the data facilitates the process of critiquing the data (Wodak, 2001a).

Saunders (2011, p. 493) speaks of this stage as “unitising data,” as quantities or units of data are assigned to pertinent categories. In this study, this stage entailed creating a matrix in an excel spreadsheet that specified the broader categories into which the units were fitted. To ensure research integrity the units of data needed to be accurately attributed (using appropriate codes to indicate from which interview and on what page of the transcribed notes the units were extracted). Using a matrix allowed me to identify emerging patterns in the research and served as a guide in terms of how subsequent interviews were to be conducted. It also allowed me to revise the categories and to re-assign units of data as I became more familiar with the data. As advised by Saunders (2011), I maintained

current definitions of the research categories to ensure consistency as units of data were assigned and re-evaluated.

Saunders (2011, p. 493 citing Dey, 1993) suggests that the "categories must have two aspects, an internal aspect in that they must be meaningful in relation to the data – and an external aspect – they must be meaningful in relation to the other categories". Initially, Saunders (2011) further states, categories, particularly those arising inductively, are likely to be mainly descriptive. As the analysis proceeds, the categorisation is likely to become more hierarchical, with some category labels developing to explain linkages of broader categories and themes. I considered it important at this stage to return to the data to ensure the essence of the data had been correctly captured, as suggested by Groenewald (2004).

Creswell (2007) states that pure phenomenological research is primarily descriptive as it is intent on capturing and presenting the research participants' experiences of the phenomenon. I was cognisant of the fact that critical discourse analysis would eventually necessitate that the data be embedded in relevant historical and societal constructs. Nevertheless, to ensure the integrity of the data and the research process, at this stage of identification of categories and themes, I endeavoured to keep the research participants' stories to the fore - including the structure, plot, actions taken and the social and historical contexts highlighted by the participants.

Ordering meanings. I grouped similar themes and identified oft-repeated themes as well as "individual variations" (Groenewald, 2004, p. 21 citing Hycner, 1999). The themes were, at this stage, given context by relating the data to the social and historical situatedness of the research participants and the phenomenon. The participants' discourses were also integrated with the scientific discourse underpinning the research Groenewald (2004).

The enactment of some versions of masculinity normalises the abuse (including sexual abuse) of children, women and some men (Easton, 2014; Leach et al., 2000). Research participants and their words cannot be divorced from the historical patriarchal context that has framed their social construction of reality. The feminist critical paradigm that guided this research and critical discourse analysis as a research method allowed me to explore the discourses male CSA victims subscribed to and reinforced in describing and making sense of their experience of the phenomenon. Critical discourse analysis, in this research, explored the "ideas, values, identities and sequences of activity" (Han, 2015, p. 11) communicated by male CSA victims in conversation, to understand their experiences.

The following section details how I sought to ensure the integrity of the study.

Research integrity

Research integrity speaks to the quality of a research study and must be maintained throughout the entire research process (Yin, 2015). Yin (p. 44) defines research integrity as ensuring "that you and your data can be trusted as representing truthful positions and statements." There are different views as to how the quality of a qualitative study can best be assessed (Creswell, 2007). Bhattacherjee (2012) suggests that the criteria of dependablility, credibility, confirmability and transferability can be pursued to ensure the integrity of research in qualitative studies. Saunders (2011, p. 326) suggests that the research integrity challenges more specifically associated with the use of in-depth interviews are "reliability, generalisability, forms of bias and validity".

Reliability. Reliability is associated with interviewer bias, and interviewee and response bias (Saunders, 2011). It questions whether other researchers, presented with the same data, would highlight the same information as the researcher. It also questions whether the interviewee has responded fully and openly to the researcher's questions. Bias may also creep in at the research sampling stage with the type of respondent that makes

themselves available to be interviewed (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Bhattacherjee suggests that the research can be said to be reliable when two researchers, confronted with the same material, come to similar conclusions or when a single researcher, observing a similar scenario on another or differing occasions, comes to the same conclusions.

To strengthen the reliability of this study, I sought to provide sufficient details about the phenomenon being studied and the context in which it took place to allow other researchers and readers to draw their own conclusions. I sought to do this by ensuring thick descriptions (Creswell, 2007; Yin, 2015, citing Ryle, 1949) that not only allow other commentators to draw their own conclusions about the data, but also guards against selectivity – a researcher's inclination to highlight only those discourses and interactions that accord with their world view.

Generalisability. Generalisability or transferability speaks to whether the findings can be generalised to other settings (Bhattacherjee, 2012). Yin (2015) suggests that to achieve analytic generalisation is better suited to a qualitative study such as this, where findings cannot be used to make statistical generalisations about the entire population. I made an effort to provide sufficient details of the historical situatedness of the study and of the contextual framework to enable readers to decide on transferability. The question, thus, becomes, "Would similar findings be likely from a sample of male CSA victims who had been comparably "situated" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 114) - exposed to similar, cultural, historical and socio-economic circumstances?"

Credibility. A study is said to have internal validity – to be deemed credible or trustworthy – when readers can concur with the inferences drawn from the data. This research strove for credibility by paying particular attention to establishing rapport with participants, practising active listening in conversations, conveying acceptance of the opinions and experiences of the participants through verbal and non-verbal cues, and using

conversational techniques such as probing, questioning and re-stating to ensure the researcher understood what the research participant was communicating.

I, further, made an effort to build credibility into the research process by recording and accurately transcribing conversations, providing extensive quotations from the interviews in presenting the data and results, in the management of contacts, notes and records and in clearly articulating decisions made about data collection and methodological and analytical issues. Also, I strove to be open, in the research process, to rival thinking – focussing on and incorporating data that gave rise to interpretations that did not accord with my expectations. I made use of informed consent to remove deception, promote transparency and openness, and reduce suspicion. Deception, Bailey (1996) cited by Groenewald (2004) notes, may be counter-productive, causing research participants to withhold or distort information.

Historical situatedness. Some researchers are content to adapt the requirements for achieving research integrity in quantitative studies to qualitative studies, suggesting that criteria such as dependablility, credibility, confirmability and transferability can be pursued to ensure the integrity of research in qualitative studies (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Saunders, 2011). Others, however, question the use of such criteria for assessing the quality of qualitative, and more specifically, constructivist research, asserting that they are suspiciously close to the criteria of validity, reliability and generalisability sought in positivist work (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Meyer, 2001).

More appropriate criteria for assessing the calibre of research conducted from a critical theory paradigm, such as this study, might be 'historical situatedness' of the inquiry (Gannon & Davies, 2012; Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Harding, 2012; Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). Situatedness is the extent to which the study

> takes account of the social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender antecedents of the studied situation, the extent to which the inquiry acts to erode ignorance and misapprehensions, and the extent to which it provides a stimulus to action, that is, to the transformation of the existing structure (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 114).

All knowledge is contextual to particular historical and social conditions (Harding, 2012). I endeavoured, in my review of pertinent literature, to give context to the study by describing the state of the research in the field of male CSA and by articulating the broader societal discourses and ideology about power, privilege and gender that shape the topic of male CSA. An important part of giving historical context to the study included my articulation of the philosophical paradigm from which the research would be conducted. Yin (2015) refers to a researcher's philosophical paradigm (in this case feminist critical theory) as their research lens.

A researcher enhances the integrity of their research by acknowledging and declaring their research lens (Yin, 2015). I was cognisant of the fact that my research lens was a liability as well as a strength. A research lens or the philosophical paradigm through which a researcher views the world may hinder their ability to hear what is said, or distort their reception of what is meant as they gather data. One's philosophical paradigm may incline one to be pre-disposed to select and focus on particular issues and to ignore others (Yin). I sought to address this issue by creating thick descriptions. The thick descriptions gained by interviewing nine research participants meant that a stage of saturation (a point beyond which no strikingly different information was emerging from the data) was reached (Saunders, 2011). Reaching saturation allowed for the emergence of a pattern from the data that I, as a researcher seeking to conduct credible research, could not help but acknowledge, no matter what my research lens.

Reflexivity. Feminist research ethics require that a researcher practice reflexivity. Reflexivity means acknowledging, examining and understanding how factors about the researcher, such as social background, presence, location and assumptions about the research affect the research process (Nagy Hesse-Biber, 2012). For researchers working within a feminist critical paradigm, reflexivity becomes a methodological tool that can be used to deconstruct power and to ensure greater representation in knowledge generation and creation (Hesse-Bibber & Piatelli, 2012).

The relationship between researcher and research participant is rarely if ever a simple encounter (Kvale, 2006, cited by Creswell, 2007); it is inevitably coloured by power differentials and by "cultural constructions of similarity, difference, and significance" (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 15). The questions the researcher asks, how the questions are asked, answered and interpreted are all mediated by difference (DeVault & Gross). Reflexivity includes paying acute attention to the language one uses and, consequently, the discourse of the research (Gannon & Davies, 2012). Claims are contextualised when reflexivity is practised (Narayan, 1988, cited by Wylie, 2012) and premises stated rather than hidden (Wylie, 2012, citing Reinharz, 1992).

I used the practice of memoeing throughout the process of data collection and analysis to practice self-reflexivity. This meant that I actively thought about the data and about the effect it was having on me as I was going through the research process. Data that was at odds with my research lens was, as a result, deliberately noted. My response to the data was, in the same manner, captured and reflected on to allow for full disclosure that would enhance the credibility of the research.

I practised self-disclosure – specifying, to the participants, personal traits that might affect the research process and outcome (Kleinman, 2007; Yin, 2015). I was cognisant that my gender, age, demeanour and ethnicity might have an effect not only on the research

process and outcome but on the research audience. Using reflexivity, I endeavoured to capture and report on the nature of the research:research participant relationship. Dunbar et al. (2000), cited by DeVault and Gross (2012), state that it is particularly important to be sensitive to non-verbal cues such as body language, voice intonation and facial expressions when interviewing across colour, age, gender and ethnic differences as these may alert the researcher to cultural sensitivities. Practising self-reflexivity whilst interviewing across differences has the added advantage of causing one to "interrogate" one's own "social biography" and one's processes of knowledge acquisition (DeVault & Gross, 2012, p. 16).

Self-reflexivity causes the researcher to consider their research practices. The researcher, practising reflexivity, considers how their manner of conducting research impacts the research process and outcome. Grounding the research in historical processes anchors the study in an explanation of how things came to be the way they are. A diversity of perspectives is surfaced when a gender lens is used to conduct research (DeVault & Gross, 2012). Giving voice to the under-represented allows for the unveiling of a more credible version of reality (DeVault & Gross). Remaining cognisant of the political aspects of the research is to acknowledge that it is not just the research participants but the research project that constructs reality (Phillips & Hardy, 2002).

Ethical integrity. Saunders (2011, p. 160) notes that the main ethical issue in conducting research is that the design of the research "should not subject those you are researching to embarrassment, harm or any other material disadvantage". Wylie (2012) states that research from a feminist perspective should, as a minimum requirement, not be oppressive or exploitative of research participants: It should strive to be accountable to and to empower research participants. Feminist research ethics, Preissle and Han (2012) aver, entail asking who benefits and who is harmed by research.

Preissle and Han (2012, p. 4) define ethics as “frameworks that guide decision making”. Ethics panels now play an important part in ensuring that a participatory ethic (as opposed to an ethic of authority where the researcher decides what is to be researched and how the research is to be conducted) is practised (Preissle & Han). A participatory ethic was invoked in this study by gaining the ethical approval of the subject matter and processes of this study by the Health Professions Council of South Africa and the Medical Research Council of Zimbabwe

Some feminist theorists advocate for an ethics of care and of relationship over ethics of principles (MacLean, 2018; Preissle & Han, 2012). Ethics of principles emphasise values such as disinterestedness, impartiality, generalisability, justice and beneficence whilst ethics of relationship and care are more concerned with the nature and quality of the relationships and interaction between the researcher and the research participants (Preissle & Han, 2012).

Ethics of care and relationship might, therefore, require not only informed consent from the participants but enable the participants to more fully and adequately negotiate the terms of their involvement in the research (Miller & Boulton, 2007, cited by Preissle & Han, 2012). An ethics of care and relationship would also be concerned with the extent to which the participants were represented in the research output, the way the participants viewed their depiction and portrayal in the research and the interpretations of their contributions in the research.

The inequities between researchers and the researched suggest that some degree of exploitation is inevitable (Preissle & Han, 2012). The writing process allows the researcher, like a writer or director of a play, to remain out of sight whilst presenting and positioning the research participants to an audience (Fine, 1994, cited by Preissle & Han, 2012). In keeping with the values advocated by the feminist theory, I made an effort to address this

point through the disclosure of details of my identity and of my values to the research participants and research audience.

This study sought to minimise harm and exploitation of participants by maintaining the confidentiality of participants at all stages, including during the recruitment, and by deliberately anonymising data to mask the identity of participants. Consent of participants was obtained and recorded (see Appendices D and E on pages 222 and 224). Counselling and psychological support was offered to all participants, through the Harare Christian Counselling Centre, should they have needed to debrief or to work through any trauma evoked by the interview process.

Chapter conclusion

This chapter outlined the research paradigm and research approach informing this study. I provided the rationale for using critical discourse analysis as a research design and explained the process of the research site and participant selection. I concluded the chapter by discussing the steps I took to enhance research and ethical integrity. I proceed, in the next chapter, to discuss the findings of my research.

Chapter 4: Research Findings

Introduction

In this chapter I present the findings of my research using critical discourse analysis. To ensure anonymity and maintain the confidentiality of participants all names mentioned in presenting these findings are fictional, including those of siblings and perpetrators. All details that might compromise anonymity and confidentiality have been altered.

The research sample

To re-iterate, I reached out to participants through letters explaining my research and inviting interested participants to contact me. These letters were distributed through the offices of medical and mental health practitioners, through a university and a college campus and through newspaper advertisements. Eight men contacted me in response to the letters advertised in newspapers. Two of these were excluded from the final sample as one lived in a city outside of the geographical area of the study, Harare, and the second was unwilling to be interviewed in person. One man responded to a letter received on a university campus. Two men were referred by colleagues I had approached for referrals who were aware of some sexual exposure the men had experienced as children. The final sample comprised nine men. Remarkably, despite delivering 1052 letters to be distributed through 263 health professionals, no responses were received through this process.

Most of the participants considered what they had undergone in terms of sexual exposure to comprise CSA. The exceptions to this were the two participants who were referred by colleagues. Although Mark, aged nine when he was sexually abused, would not have been legally capable of consenting to sexual intercourse, he did not consider what happened to him to be abuse. He was living with his family at a rural service centre and sharing a room with the adult female who had been employed by his family in the capacity

of a maid; his parents were away from home on the night in question. Mark said: **“She [the adult female] either invited me to join her on the bed or she joined me on the bed. She asked me if I wanted sex. I said, ‘yes.’”** Mark said, **“I see it as informed consent. I considered myself very lucky that day.”** Regardless of how Mark subjectively viewed the incident, under Zimbabwean law (Feltoe, 2012) children under the age of 12 are not considered capable of consenting to sex. Accordingly, Mark’s story qualified as CSA in this study.

Mufaro, on the other hand, was propositioned by a priest who served also as a teacher and housemaster at the Catholic boys’ boarding school Mufaro had started attending that year, his first year of high school, as a 14-year- old. Mufaro was nursing a sporting injury and, as the practice was at shower time for injured boys, he went to the house master’s private shower to avoid the jostling that took place as 72 boys tried to access hot water from just 6 faucets in the dormitory shower room. The housemaster summoned the naked Mufaro and kissed him on the cheek. Because Mufaro pushed the housemaster off and limped away, he did not characterise what happened as abuse. As he did not consent to the housemaster’s action this event constituted CSA for purposes of this study. Indeed, Mufaro viewed the action as being the precursor to more egregious sexual assault by the housemaster that he was able to thwart.

Seven of the nine participants (John, Nyasha, Mark, Stephen, Kundayi, Donald and David) spoke of purely female perpetration. One participant, Mufaro, spoke of purely male perpetration. Stephen was the victim of abuse perpetrated simultaneously by two female perpetrators, his older cousins. Keith was the victim of abuse separately perpetrated by a female and two males. Of the nine female perpetrators mentioned, four were engaged as domestic workers whilst four were relatives of the victims. One was the victim’s maths

teacher. Of the three male perpetrators, one was a Catholic priest. The remaining two, who on separate occasions molested the same boy, Keith, were older acquaintances of the boy.

For ease of reference, I include each participant's age at the time of the abuse when first quoting them in each section, unless their age has previously been mentioned in that section.

Findings

In this chapter, I consider and present the realities the participants co-constructed with me of their experiences of male CSA. Whilst I acknowledge that as the principal research instrument I became part of the creative process of meaning-making (DeVault & Gross, 2012), I endeavoured, by providing thick descriptions and generous quotations, to ensure an honest rendition of the social realities of the participants and to surface the discourses that wove through and informed their constructions.

The feminist theory acknowledges that participants are embedded in specific cultural and historical contexts and have views, attitudes, beliefs and understandings steeped in the discourses emanating from their contexts (Intemann, 2012). Critical discourse analysis aims to identify power imbalances and social inequalities in discourses (Han, 2015; van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001a; Wodak, 2001b). The findings in this chapter sought to unearth and examine the contexts in which the participants' realities were created and to expose power imbalances and social inequalities that gave meaning to their experiences.

Power imbalances and social inequalities in discourses are situated in place and time and are legitimated by dominance structures. Dominance structures include ideologies used by the powerful to naturalise and normalise their interests, interpretations and perspectives (Wodak, 2001a). Dualisms or dichotomies are a technique used extensively in

discourses to promote and naturalise preferred ideologies (Cohen, 2014; Olasik, 2018). Dualisms present meanings as a marked contrast between a fundamental term and lesser or supplementary terms (Bergoffen, 2018; Brook, 2018; Iveković, 2014; Shams, 2018) resulting in what Olasik (2018, p. 118) describes as "A and not A phrasing". Not A, Olasik (2018) elaborates, is not simply B but encompasses everything A is not. This structuring of discourse (and consequently reality) complicates discourses on gender, sex and sexuality (Olasik, 2018), such as CSA (Kramer, 2015).

Constructing the legitimate victim

The binaries and dichotomies that make up discourses on sexual victimhood are problematic for males as they limit the possibilities for males who have been sexually violated to construct themselves as legitimate victims. Males who construct themselves as legitimate victims risk loss of their status as legitimate males (Javaid, 2017b). The constructs of an ideal victim of sexual abuse make it difficult for those who do not conform to the ideal to self-identify as victims and to disclose or report sexual victimisation (Sorsoli et al., 2008).

The construct of a child, because of the inherent dependency of children on adults and the location of power and knowledge with adults, is almost always operationalised in terms of how a child responds to or relates to an adult. The ideal child, consequently, is required to exhibit characteristics such as obedience, compliance and gratitude when relating to an adult (Parent & Bannon, 2012). Children in the current socio-historical context are framed as possessing characteristics of innocence and naïveté (Kramer, 2015). Whilst the powerlessness of the child in relation to the adult (Bierie & Budd, 2018) has allowed for the construction of popular and scientific discourses delegitimising the construction of child as a CSA victim, more recently discourses have emerged that allow

children, in limited circumstances, to construct themselves as victims of sexual abuse (Hunt, 2006; Kramer, 2015; Stathopoulos, 2014).

John (no older than 11 and possibly as young as 9 at the time of abuse) and Nyasha (aged 6 when he was abused) used childhood traits of innocence and passivity and the discursive practice of play to position themselves as legitimate victims. Their perpetrators were female relatives, who both went by the moniker *'Amainini'* (meaning younger mother), tasked with caring for them. John and Nyasha's perpetrators used play, described by Landreth (2012, p. 7) as "… the natural medium of communication for children ... the singular central activity of childhood, occurring at all times and in all places" to disguise their perpetration. John and Nyasha's female familial perpetrators exploited the societal discourse that recognises play to include activity for a child or children, best supervised by an older female:

> You know, so the way it happened, it's like she sh sh ish *(sic)* she did it as if we were playing. And she honestly, to me it was something like a play game. Because I used to laugh. Are you getting me? Yes, I used to laugh. …Yah! I was so young, and so I could I couldn't picture. I couldn't. To me, it was just a play game. If I were, or if it was now, I could tell you exactly what she did with her intent. But that time it was like, I was playing and ee… Are you getting me? … But to me, there was no [pause]. Of course, it was a play game and whatever. But because of my age, I could [pause] ya, because she would [pause] put me on top of her. And did that for some time and then get me off. And then I rush and play with others… She was doing it in a closed room. Like a bedroom. On a bed. Yah! Especially on the bed. Yes. You know remember my mum would be away. And she would play with me. And she, you know; not that she was forcing me. No. She would

> tease [pause]. She just attacked me in a certain way, like you know just normal like. Ya, she can find me in the bedroom ... Sometimes she's just there. I went in and I say, '*Mainini* blah blah,' and we would talk and whatever. And then she would say, 'No – this is the chance.' Yah! 'You know, my child.' She called me *mwana wangu* [my child], mwana wangu because she's my mother's sister. She'd call me, 'Mwana wangu, mwana wangu'. And she likes me very much, according to me. And according to her, she likes me and, you know, that kind of relationship. Well, she was my, she was my blood relative! [John]

Nyasha's amainini separated the children from the family group gathered at their rural home one school holiday. As Amainini lay on the towel she had spread out on a rock edifice she would summon an individual child, sending the others away:

> But you know, rural homestead, they are, it, it, it's big in size. So there was a place far away from home. You could say, maybe 200, 300 metres from home. There was a [pause] *ruware*, you know ruware it's a stone, it it *(sic)* it's ah rock, that ah plain on the ground. So, she would take us there to play there. ... And she would take us one by one, 'Aah – my children' and, and playing with us games and so forth. Then one day, that very day [pause] she [pause] she undressed herself. She, she lift her skirt up. Ya. Then she said ah, 'Come here.' I went, innocently. Then she said, 'Lick my [pause] privates.' … Ya, she would make sure we ah she has got one kid there, at a time. So she would say, 'Come here; ah you, you are my favourite. Heh, I like you,' and she just promise you [pause] kid's stuff. Ya. Then she would say, 'Lick my privates.' So [pause] it wasn't out of fear. We thought it's normal, so, I just [pause] went ahead. [Nyasha]

Discursive practices entailing a female family member isolating a group of children from the remainder of the family group would be viewed as natural and would likely go unremarked. The discourse about a 'younger mother' would have made Nyahsa's amainini's actions in taking the children out, isolating particular children, flattering children to make them feel special and promising them gifts, seem normal. This discourse allows for an amainini to enjoy a more playful, fun-filled relationship with children, as primary responsibility for disciplining and reprimanding children would typically remain with the children's biological mother. The signifier 'Amainini' would have made it easy to deceive and manipulate both parents and children, as Amainini purported to look after the children in her care. John and Nyasha's conversations, consistent with mother and child discourses, presented the offenders as the active subjects of their interactions, depicting the victims as passive recipients of the perpetrators' actions.

Wodak (2001a) refers to discourse as comprising a bundle of linguistic acts. Discourses on play and childhood games speak to innocence, fun and enjoyment. The participants, by repeated reference to the play and games used by their perpetrators to mask their sexual aggression, sought to construct themselves as legitimate victims. In speaking of Amainini's intent, John reinforced his identity as young and innocent, with limited experience of the world and undeveloped schema (Sorsoli et al., 2008) on adult topics, such as sex.

Delegitimising victimhood

The pervasive use of binaries in gender, sexuality and sex discourses make it difficult for victims of female perpetrated sexual abuse to claim victimhood (Cohen, 2014; Easton, Saltzman & Willis, 2014; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Whilst an older male forcing a younger female to engage in sex is more readily constructed as rape or sexual

abuse, allowing the female to be seen as a victim, gender and sex discourses involving older females forcing younger males to engage in sex do not allow male victims to be seen as victims (Easton et al., 2014; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Discourses on female perpetration and male victimisation are often presented as sex or cultural scripts (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017).

Sex or cultural scripts present binaries that position the male as powerful, incapable of being forced to engage in sex, always ready for sex and possessing the emotional and physical ability to cope with the consequences of forced sex (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017). The female, as described in Olasik's (2018) formulation, is constructed as everything that is not 'A'. The female, thus, is constructed as weak, sexually violable, reticent when it comes to sex and emotionally and physically vulnerable (Bergoffen, 2018; Brook, 2018; Shams, 2018). When limited to such dichotomies, to claim victimhood, for a male, means to identify as female (Cohen, 2014). To be presented as having been sexually violable is to be seen as a failed male, one who has failed to successfully enact masculinity (Easton et al., 2014; Javaid, 2017b).

Stephen (aged 11 at the time) was in a new environment, away from home when he was abused by two female cousins (his estranged father's sister's daughters), in their twenties. Stephen's abusers, having taken him aback by playing a pornographic video, lured him into a bedroom to **"play a game."** Whilst the perpetrators invoked discourses of play and games, Stephen, unlike John and Nyasha, was unable to construct victimhood using the discourses of childhood innocence and naïveté. Extremely uncomfortable watching the pornographic video and fearful of getting into trouble, Stephen welcomed the opportunity to do something different. His statement, **"I said [to myself], 'Ah! Maybe it's a nice game.' And I would do anything to get away from the TV,"** is illustrative of the discourse encompassed by the words 'play' and 'game,' that conjured up prospects of fun,

levity and escape for Stephen. As discourses are created communally (Pierce, 2008), the abusers would have known that the word 'play' would serve as bait for a child. The game, however, turned out to be one of forcing Stephen to participate in sexual intercourse.

The perpetrators, Stephen continued:

> … started, you know, touching me and taking my hands and making me touch them … And then they just overpowered me... that time they were attempting. But [pause] I [pause] that time I didn't want. I didn't want coz (*sic)* I was in a lot of pain. I started crying and then they said, 'Hah ok, we'll play this game some other time.'

Stephen said of a subsequent occasion:

> So we started playing the game again. They made me do all sorts of stuff. This time, when they undressed me, when they undressed me they made me do like the real [pause] thing…. Aaah I was screaming. And I was fighting. But one of them, she she she *(sic)* went like and she pressed me down. And the other one, you know, sat on top of me. You know. Ya. They were forcing me down. And then ha I was tired. And then ah they they *(sic)*, they actually switched.

Cultural scripts stipulate that any male who does not want to have sex should be able to fend off the sexual attack (Lowe & Rogers, 2017): To fail to fight off a sexual attack is to welcome it. Succumbing to a sexual assault is, therefore, to fail in the enactment of masculinity.

Stephen proceeded to narrate two conversations on the topic of male sexual victimisation that occurred several years later that suggested he recognised that in acknowledging sexual victimisation, he was constructing himself as an illegitimate victim.

At a school debate on the topic of male sexual abuse in his final year of high school, he found himself in the minority in maintaining that males could be sexually assaulted. He recalled that one girl in particular emphatically contended:

> There is nothing like [male sexual victimisation]. The men, they they *(sic)* like it you know and it doesn't even exist. It doesn't even exist. They are all lies. The men they enjoy, they enjoy themselves, so we shouldn't call it rape. Ah, we just have to dismiss the fact that there is male rape in the community. It doesn't exist, it's only the girl child that is vulnerable. No males are vulnerable.

Angered by the comments but unwilling to embrace public categorisation as a male who had, in acknowledging sexual victimisation, failed in enacting masculinity (Javaid, 2017b), Stephen remained silent. He stated:

> I was a bit angered by that. Because it had happened to me. I remember I wanted to, at this particular point, I wanted to stand up and say that, do you know that thing happened to me?

The second incident Stephen recounted took place as he was being attended to at a police station. Stephen described witnessing a policeman's mocking dismissal of a man who had entered the station to report victimisation in a rape case:

> Aaah, you know the police officer actually laughed. He actually laughed. He said, 'When did this happen?' The guy told him exactly as it was. But the police officer was laughing. He said, '*Baba* [Father], there's nothing like that. You did not have to come to the police station and report something that is [pause] uh of this nature. It doesn't happen.

Ineligible offenders

When we think sexual perpetrator we think male; when we think sexual victim we think female. Cohen (2014) refers to this as slippage in our thinking. Discourses function to naturalise and normalise concepts and constructs in such a manner they go unchallenged (Pierce, 2008). In the area of sexual abuse, the impact of prevailing discourses means that female offending comes to be seen as inconceivable (Budd & Bierie, 2017; Hunt, 2006; Kramer, 2015), delegitimising the experience of female perpetrated sexual abuse; if offenders are constructed as illegitimate, the experience of victimisation is rendered void. This is a challenge for male victims of female perpetrated CSA.

Besides John, Nyasha and Stephen, who were abused by female relatives, five other participants were abused by females. For four of these, the abuser each time was a domestic worker. Femininity, under patriarchy, is constructed to situate women in the domestic sphere (Irwin, 2011; McDowell, 2016; Rayaprol, 2016). Traits such as being weak, emotional, passive and nurturing are assigned to females (Shams, 2018) to allow males, in contradistinction (Olasik, 2018), to assume traits such as strength, rationality, aggression and independence. The construction of femininity and feminine traits serves to simultaneously disqualify females as sexual offenders and to grant them unfettered access to children (Brayford, 2012; Hunt, 2006; Martellozzo et al., 2010; Papakyriakou, 2017).

Dominant discourses that deny female perpetration exists mean that female offenders, even when convicted for sexual assault, fail to characterise their actions as offending (Burgess–Proctor et al., 2017; Hunt, 2006; Kramer, 2015). Female perpetration may be disguised as childminding and play. Sexual abuse involving female perpetration may not involve physical coercion (Sorsoli et al., 2008). The use of methods other than physical force makes it difficult for male victims to recognise and to acknowledge female perpetration (Burgess-Proctor et al., 2017; Hunt, 2006).

Several participants reported that the domestic workers engaged by their families used non-coercive methods to perpetrate abuse. These domestic workers used diverse manipulative strategies on their victims.

Keith's abuser lured him into abuse by suggesting her presence with him on his bed would make it easier for him to take his afternoon nap:

> She [the domestic worker] came. Well, she didn't come, she was there. Then, ah I don't remember how it happened exactly, but we were in the, we were in my room. And she told me to come sleep like I had to sleep every day in the afternoon. So she said, 'Let me let me just lie down with you so that maybe you get some sleep.' Then she started, she started touching my privates. [Keith, abused at age 6]

In re-occurring strategies, Mark and David's abusers also exploited opportunities to join their young charges in bed:

> We were using one room, one of us on the bed and the other on the floor (I don't know where my parents were). [The female domestic worker] either invited me to join her on the bed or she joined me on the bed. And asked me if I wanted sex. I said, 'Yes'. [Mark, abused at age 9]

> Because father will not be there [at home]. My mother would not be there. So it would be me, my younger sister, my younger brother and Rutendo [the domestic worker]. … So Rutendo would say, 'Ah no, the small, the smaller kids must put up on the floor because they urinate in the night. They do what what. You come, I sleep with you here'. That's where all the problems

> started. She molested me. She did everything on me. [David, abused at age 14]

Kundayi's abuser took advantage of his parents' day time absence to follow him into his bedroom to initiate sexual acts:

> I was in grade 3 or 4, somewhere there. I returned from school around 1 [p.m.] I entered the bedroom. [The female domestic worker] followed me. She stayed beside me and said she'd teach me how to kiss someone. I was fascinated by the idea. She started. She would do it constantly, over some time. She undressed herself and undressed me. She was touching me all over my body. And then she attempted to draw me on to her body. [Kundayi, abused at age 9 or 10]

Discourses of femininity and domestic work excluded the possibility of female perpetrated abuse and gave the perpetrators unrestricted access to the children's rooms, beds and bodies. Sexual acts were in all instances initiated by the female caregiver. The victims presented themselves as passive, responding to the words and actions of the perpetrators.

On the face of it the offenders, by either asking the victims whether they wanted to engage in sex or by obtaining a physical reaction to sexual stimulation, appeared to acquire the consent of their victims to engage in sex. Underlying the sexual negotiation discourse the perpetrators invoked, however, were power imbalances inherent to constructs of adulthood and childhood that resulted in the sexual exploitation of the participants. The sexual negotiation discourse made it difficult for victims to recognise abuse. Sex discourses require that males enact masculinity by responding affirmatively to sexual solicitation by females (Fisher & Pina, 2013). By verbally 'assenting' to sex or by bodily arousal, the male

victims appeared to participate, in a gender normative manner, in the discursive practices that make up sex. The effects of these discourses are to absolve women from perpetration (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017) as the binaries (Olasik, 2018) position males who do not respond to female perpetration or who acknowledge female perpetration to be abuse as males who have failed to enact masculinity (Easton et al., 2014).

Ineligible offender – legitimate victim

Research suggests that males are more likely to respond negatively to sexual abuse perpetrated by females when they cannot frame the abuse in gender normative terms due to marked female agency (Marston, 2005; Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2009). When, in the male victim's construction of reality, sexual scripts are overtly violated the male is more likely to acknowledge victimisation. In acknowledging victimisation, the male victim may still grapple with social constructions of gender, sex and sexuality that condemn him as having failed to enact masculinity and that question the construction of the female as a sexual perpetrator.

Donald, at age 14, was abused by his female maths teacher:

> She was, I think she was quite, much older. Around, I could say, around 43 years or so. She was around 43 years old. She was 43 years old. And then maybe, I think her husband was in Yy away working for a certain school also there. He was a teacher and then she was a teacher at Xx College [the college Donald attended, as a boarder, for his first year of high school].

Discourses embedded in these descriptors – teacher, female, much older and married – conferred authority, credibility and respectability on the perpetrator. These constructs meant Donald took at face value the teacher's request that he attend her residence

on the school campus one Saturday to collect exercise books for distribution to the class on the following Monday:

> So, at that period, I was just ah, I was innocent, and I innocently went to her [pause] her residence.

After the first act of abuse, Donald resisted the teacher's subsequent efforts to get him to visit her residence, ostensibly for extra tuition:

> I tried to avoid by any means [pause] but whilst I was knowing what had happened before ah, I really tried my best to avoid.

The teacher eventually resorted to instructing a prefect to bring Donald to her residence:

> Until one day she summoned a prefect and said you can come and bring him to collect the for for those those *(sic)* extra lessons because he was not doing well in class.

Schools are academic institutions replete with socially constructed and loaded discourses and discursive practices of which the constructs of teacher, headmaster, prefect and expulsion are but a part. Of the construct of teachers, Donald stated:

> Yes; it was quite a noble profession of good respect and even, and everyone and nearly everyone would go to the side of the teacher.

Donald recognised his abuser would be assumed to embody the discourses that considered the teaching profession to be noble. What is implied by way of contrast is that Donald, as a student and newcomer to the school, would embody discourses speaking to immaturity, ignorance, disrespect and unruliness were he to disclose victimisation. About the school, Donald stated:

> …it was a good school. A good reputation. A good pass rate. Those days it was really strong at academics. They were really interested in academics.

Donald repeated the word “good” in describing the school, seemingly cognisant of the fact that he would be positioned as bad, negative or deviant were he to claim victimhood at such an establishment. Donald also appeared to acknowledge that dominant discourses on educational institutions often conflate a good reputation and strength at academics with an inability to harm students.

Describing the process leading to being forced to penetrate his teacher, Donald said:

> And then she started to touch my privates. And then I wanted to stand up and leave. She said, ‘No, there’s no problem for you to leave. You are welcome here. I really like you so much.’ And then she went. She went ahead [pause] and [pause] started to pull off my belt. I remember that. And then she started to eh direct, directly, like eh eh, touch my privates. Ah, I was confused at that point. And then I didn’t know that it was like a a a *(sic)* abuse, like, child abuse. I haven’t yet heard about child abuse issues at that time. And then she was say eh [pause] she wasn’t even attractive. She was she was quite [pause] not attractive to me. She was a mother figure to me. At some point in time. And then, when I couldn’t respond or so she really just [brief laugh] managed to pull off my [pause]. I was wearing I was wearing a jean trousers those days. She took off the belt. My jean trousers. And she, she just we [pause]. She was just on top of me.

In relaying his confusion and shock at his teacher’s actions, Donald constructed himself as a victim. Construing the teacher as a mother figure meant that, for him, the perpetrator violated sex discourses. His voice conveyed disgust, which was mitigated but

not hidden by his gentle demeanour and diplomatic choice of words, when he stated, **"She wasn't even attractive. She was quite [pause] not attractive."** During our interview, Donald could not reconcile the marked female agency the perpetrator had exhibited with cultural and sex scripts, causing him to construct the encounter as abuse and himself as a victim.

Discourses evolve (Jäger, 2001; Javaid, 2018c; Pierce, 2008). Whilst dominant sex, gender and sexuality discourses at the time of Donald's abuse did not widely recognise CSA, **"Ah, I was confused at that point. And then I didn't know that it was like a a a *(sic)* abuse, like, child abuse. I haven't yet heard about child abuse issues at that time,"** Donald, by the time of our interview and in the recursive process of meaning-making that is central to interviews (Creswell, 2008; Saunders, 2011), clearly framed his experience as abuse and himself as a victim, even as he acknowledged the socially constructed discourses that illegitimated the female teacher's offending.

Inconceivable victims – conceivable perpetrators

Masculinity is achieved through gender performatives (Shams, 2018; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Masculinity norms include winning, being self-reliant, aggressive, stoic and homophobic (Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Where both CSA perpetrator and victim are male, cultural scripts stigmatise and hold victims responsible for departing from traditional gendered roles (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019).

Males who fend off male perpetrated CSA can depict themselves as successful males, having complied with gender norms and successfully enacted masculinity (Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). They are not relegated to the binary position (everything not male) that femininity is construed as encompassing (Olasik, 2018).

Mufaro, at age 14, was abused by a male teacher. The teacher, also a Catholic priest and Mufaro's housemaster, accosted Mufaro who, injured, had just used his private shower:

> So I happened to be injured at this time, and I went to the housemaster's office. And I went there and I showered nicely. As I was going out, and you know, we used to walk around naked, you'd have your towel and your soap. The housemaster called me. I was [pause] I was suspicious why he had called me because I did not think that I had anything that he would want from me at that particular time. And then he insisted. I went back. I went to where he was.

A little later Mufaro added, **"… when [the priest] called me back to him you know, I was already leaving. And I hesitated. And he actually used. You know, it was a stern command for me to return."** As for Donald, who was abused by his female maths teacher, dominant discourses that proclaim the integrity and infallibility of educational institutions and teachers and the teaching profession would have been in play for Mufaro and Mufaro's perpetrator. In addition, discourses and discursive practices attendant on the constructs of the clergy, white and male would have been invoked. Whilst Mufaro seemed to mention the priest's race in passing (at the beginning of our conversation) both he and I were, in fact, aware of dominant discourses about whiteness (Swan, 2017) that he was referencing. When the priest, commanded Mufaro to return, the possibility of resisting his command was considerably reduced by these intertwined, complex, culturally and historically evolved discourses (Jäger, 2001; Pierce, 2008). The naked Mufaro duly complied.

For his pains, the housemaster planted a kiss on Mufaro's cheek:

> And he kissed me on the cheek. Right. I reacted violently towards him because I pushed him off, you know. And I ran away. Almost like running away. I didn't run like, because I couldn't run. My leg, my leg was injured.

Considerably younger than his perpetrator and a mere student compared to the robes the priest wore – as priest, housemaster and teacher – Mufaro rejected victimhood discourses to construct himself as having successfully enacted hegemonic masculinity. Mufaro's performance of masculinity was amplified not only by his age and diminished (in the perspective of dominant discourses) social status compared to the housemaster, but also by the fact that he was nursing an injury when he fended off the attack. In his narration of events, Mufaro was the major actor, the subject of the sentences, who **"reacted violently … pushed [the housemaster] off"** and **"ran away"** as the would-be assailant, the housemaster, was relegated to a passive role.

Males who become victims of male perpetrated CSA are constructed as having been undermined and emasculated (Javaid, 2017b). Mufaro used his rejection of the housemaster's overtures not only to avoid framing himself as a victim of male perpetrated CSA but also to distance himself, by way of contrast, from the boys who had fallen victim to the housemaster.

Mufaro recounted that the housemaster used play at bedtime in the dormitories to try to identify boys vulnerable to sexual exploitation:

> So, when you go there as boys you would go into your bed and the housemaster would come and switch off the lights. So when this guy [the housemaster] came on to switch the lights, he would appear as if he is playing with boys. Right. So, pinching them, you know, like the way you play with a child. And you know you could find whether somebody likes it

> or not. You know people giggle [mimics giggling]. When he came to me I refused [laughs vigorously]. I left my bed [more laughter]... Ah, and also I was quite suspicious as to why you know a a a *(sic)* grown man would touch kids like that. So generally, I was actually considered quite deviant in the way in which I related because I did not like that guy to touch me.

Mufaro depicted himself as shrewd and astute, able to read character and the situation, and confident enough to take decisive action at the cost of appearing "quite deviant." In contrast, in Mufaro's narration, potential CSA victims were constructed as naïve, gullible and child-like; where Mufaro jumped out of his bed, the other boys allowed themselves to be pinched and tickled, responding by giggling, a construction more in keeping with discourses of femininity than of masculinity.

Mufaro, further, asserted that whilst the housemaster rewarded boys receptive to his sexual advances with participation in the school sailing and photography clubs, the boys selected had a pre-inclination to respond positively to sexual advances made by the housemaster:

> … and these were his hobbies so he would have a club, photography, sailing. And these people could also go out maybe to sail at Mazoe Dam or [pause] or [pause] Lake MacIlwaine as it was known then, Lake Chivero. And also they would go on photographic tours. And these would happen during the holidays. And you would know that 'Mmh! Something is going on in terms of those photographic tours.' One, the people who were selected to go on those. They had a certain peculiarity. A certain peculiarity. A certain, shall I, maybe it's a bad word. A certain femininity. Although these guy's is is is *(sic)* a boy, but he has a certain feminine way of carrying themselves.

Mufaro's categorisation of male CSA victims at the school who fell victim to the housemaster illustrates the dilemma male CSA victims face; because they have fallen victim to male perpetrated CSA they are deemed to forfeit categorisation as males (Javaid, 2017b; Javaid, 2018c). Mufaro's self-construction as a gender compliant male was expounded through a masculinity discourse that presented him as independent, self-sufficient and honourable in not transgressing his sexuality in return for favours or what another participant, Nyasha, might have termed 'kid's stuff.'

Those who fell prey to CSA, in contrast, were constructed through dominant discourses on femininity that presented them as fickle, dependent and dishonourable. As an advocate of "dominant discourses and systems of power" (Irwin, 2011, p. 107, citing Foucault, 1977), Mufaro, in effect pronounced that, unlike himself, the male children who were abused by the priest, having failed to successfully enact masculinity, were 'deviants' – they had fallen outside of the normal and accepted social order. Having fallen prey to male perpetration the male victims were framed by Mufaro as the 'Other,' embodying and enacting "stigmatised notions of deviancy and abnormality," and, consequently, seen as being complicit in their victimisation (Javaid, 2017b, p. 345).

In keeping with the binary or dualistic structure of patriarchal hegemonic discourses on sexual victimhood, constructing male victims of male perpetrated abuse as victims or males who have failed at enacting masculinity simultaneously constructs male perpetrators of same-sex sexual abuse as successful enactors of masculinity (Javaid, 2017a). Patriarchal discourses position male perpetrators, through their sexual aggression and the act of subduing other males, as behaving in a gender normative manner (Gear 2009a; 2009b; Javaid, 2017a; 2017b; Man & Cronan, 2001; Niehaus, 2002). Mufaro, consistent with patriarchal hegemonic discourses, constructed victims as being more responsible than the

offender for their perpetration. Mufaro's sentiment: **"they had a certain feminine way of carrying themselves"** implied that the victims were deserving of sexual victimisation.

Males who are abused by a male perpetrator may question their sexual orientation (Lowe & Rogers, 2017; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019) and may fear being labelled homosexual (Lowe & Rogers, 2017; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Males who are homosexual struggle to have their victimisation by a male perpetrator acknowledged due to sexual scripts that construct homosexual males as always looking to have sex or as deserving of victimisation due to perceived transgressions in their constructions of gender, sex and sexuality (Javaid, 2018c; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Regarded as having failed to successfully enact hegemonic masculinity, male sexual assault victims are relegated to a subordinate masculinity (Javaid, 2017a).

Keith described victimisation at age 7. At a sleepover at friend and neighbour Tim's house, Keith and Tim were both abused by Jonathan, Tim's 10- year- old brother:

> We [Keith, Tim and the perpetrator, Jonathan] went to their room. Then when we were there we just started, you know, messing around and [pause] *they* [Keith's emphasis] started kissing. The guys, both of them. They started kissing, and I knew, ah, this is [pause] sex. This is sexual stuff. I got involved. We started, you know, we started just fondling and all that stuff. For me, that's when it. That's when it ha, that's when it stopped. For [pause] for, you know, for for *(sic)* trying to to to *(sic)* have sex, and all that that that *(sic)*.

Keith prefaced his victimisation, and Tim's, at the hands of a second male abuser, shortly thereafter, with the words:

> Then, the [pause] the incident that hit me the most was ah [pause]. When we were still in grade 2 there was a guy called Simba who was in [pause]. He had finished school. He was way older, like say, you know like in the olden days people would finish high school maybe 18, 19, 20. Unlike now you finish when you're 16. He had finished school.

Simba exposed himself to the two 7- year olds:

> Then, automatically like, you know, truly speaking I didn't, I didn't want to to *(sic)* get involved with [Simba] because you know like I just thought his, I just thought he was too big and his dick was too big and what what *(sic)*. Then Tim tried. You know I was like, you know what, ah let me just stay back. And Tim was like, 'Aah! You know, Simba, lie down.' Then Simba lied down and you know, Tim sat on him. He started even bleeding. While I was watching. And I was like, 'Ah, come, come, you can you will enjoy this.' I was like, 'No.' Then you know like, we were kids. Then we star, he [Tim] starts, he starts grabbing me and saying like, 'If you don't do it I'll beat you!' And the guy [Simba] is like, 'Yeah, yeah, yeah, if you don't sit we will all beat you!' Then I go there. Then I started trying. And I was. I was being hurt. So there was no way I could I could persist on doing it. So I would like, I would sit on on on *(sic)* his, then ah he would, he would try to to *(sic)* push me down and I was like, 'No, no, you know what, I'm being hurt, I'm hurt.' And he was like, 'No, just chill. At some point in time, it will, you know, like it'll just flow. Don't worry.' I tried. Then I tried like three, four times. Then I was like, 'Ah, you know what, this is it for me.' Then Tim went back. They had sex. Or, I don't know what was happening, what you might call it, had sex, and he even, he even came, he even

[pause]… That was the, that was the first and last time that that I experienced sexual abuse.

In contrast to his victimisation at the hands of a female domestic worker when he was 6, Keith's constructions of the experience of male perpetrated CSA involved a third party, Tim. The presentation of Tim as the principal victim allowed Keith to occupy a more peripheral role in victimisation to that of Tim. The words, **"The guys, both of them [Jonathan and Tim].** ***They*** **started kissing,"** worked, similarly, to limit Keith's participation in initiating and participating in male perpetrated sexual abuse, and, consequently, his construction as a male who had failed to enact masculinity. Keith almost simultaneously, despite this hesitance, depicted himself as possessing agency and as not entirely passive, as a female in hegemonic sex discourses might be, in adding, **"I knew, ah, this is [pause] sex. This is sexual stuff. I got involved."** The collective pronoun, 'we,' was then used by Keith, suggesting consensual activities, despite his age: "**We started, you know, we started just fondling and all that stuff".**

Keith subsequently suggested that his participation in the sexual acts came to an abrupt halt: **For me, that's when it. That's when it ha, that's when it stopped. For [pause] for, you know, for for** *(sic)* **trying to to to** *(sic)* **have sex, and all that that that** *(sic)***.**

Discourses convey more knowledge than individuals are aware (Jäger, 2001). The, perhaps Freudian slip, in the words **"That's when it ha, that's when it stopped,"** suggested that Keith was mindful of some of the sex abuse and masculinity discourses he was navigating as we spoke.

Keith prefaced the victimisation perpetrated by Simba by disclosing that abuse by Simba had caused him considerable distress. Keith's concluding statement, that

distinguished victimisation by Simba from both the earlier female perpetrated victimisation and victimisation by Jonathan (only three years older), reinforced that Keith construed victimisation by Simba to be particularly troubling: **"That was the, that was the first and last time that that I experienced sexual abuse."**

Simba, through his age, appearance and size was constructed as hypermasculine, and the embodiment of hegemonic masculinity discourses:

> … I just thought he was too big and his dick was too big and what what *(sic)*… [Simba] was a macho like, a macho man. He was all buffed and so, I never expected that that *(sic)* that's what he does with Tim.

In comparison, as a victim of sexual perpetration by Simba, 7- year- old Keith's position in hegemonic discourses as emasculated and enacting femininity, was inconceivable.

Limiting deviance

Limiting deviance through silence. Language is made powerful by the use to which it is put by the powerful (Han, 2015; Wodak, 2001a; 2001b). Discourses proclaimed by those with power are more readily assumed to be knowledge than the discourses of the disadvantaged and powerless (Irwin, 2011). Dominant discourses (discourses that promote hegemony to protect the interests of those in positions of power) stipulate that males should not be constructed as CSA victims (Easton, 2014; Javaid, 2015a; 2017b). Dominant discourses characterise those who have acted contrary to the norm or who have been victimised as 'deviant' (Irwin, 2011).

Masculinity traits such as negative perceptions towards CSA victims, homophobia, self-reliance and sexual prowess discourage males from acknowledging, disclosing and reporting CSA victimisation (Humphries, Debowska, Boduszek, & Mattison, 2016; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019). Feeling and expressing intense emotions are sometimes

associated with CSA disclosure and are, therefore, viewed as being incompatible with successfully enacting masculinity (Easton et al., 2014). The greater attention paid to female victimisation and the concentration of anti-prevention and treatment resources in the provision of services for females reinforces the discourse there is something wrong with the male who falls victim to CSA (Easton et al., 2014; Gagnier & Collin-Vézina, 2016; Javaid, 2017b). The expert discourses of judicial and clinical professionals contribute to the silencing of male victims by failing to acknowledge females as CSA perpetrators and males as CSA victims (Kramer, 2015). Sex and sexual assault discourses mean that speaking out about victimisation is less about exposing or reporting a crime than about issues of shame and honour (Močnik, 2018). Silence contributes to constructing a reality that views sexual victimisation as more morally reprehensible than sexual offending (Močnik, 2018). To avoid categorisation as deviant, individuals start to self-monitor and to self-silence (Irwin, 2011). Silence, in patriarchy, is used to maintain constructions of males as inviolable, and consequently, worthy of privilege (Močnik, 2018).

There was limited or no disclosure of CSA by most participants in this study. Several participants mentioned that their inability at the time of victimisation to understand the nature of the activity they had been subjected to played a part in their failure to disclose abuse:

> And, later on, when I was, old enough to [pause], that's when I understand (*sic*) that this was abuse … When I was really grown up. When I was in secondary school. That's when I understood that no no no, this was abuse. This was not normal. I never, you are the first person I'm telling. I never told anyone. Ya. Even my mother. She's late now. I didn't even. But I hated going *kumusha* [to the rural homestead]. I didn't even want to go there. Ya no, I I I *(sic)* just lost interest. Uhm, [my grandmother] passed away. Then

> we went to bury her … That's it. I never went, I didn't want to go back. My excitement to go there was lost … I lost interest in everything to do with kumusha because of that. So it really affected me. … Over the time I didn't realise [I had been subjected to abuse]. But not that I, when I realised I thought that it was too late. And uh [pause] embarrassment. But, I didn't realise. If I realise *(sic)* when I was young maybe I would have spoken out. But I didn't realise this was abuse. But, later on, that's [pause] when you grow up, you start to understand. Ya, when you become sexual and you start uh, get exposed to things that's when you realise, 'Oh! This was what was happening.' Ya. But I was [pause] very young. Mm mm mm. So, later on, that's when I got to understand, 'No no no no, my amainini abused me.' [Nyasha, abused at age 6]

> … when I was a university student, yah, I started to learn, reading literature, books and papers about sexual abuse and all that stuff. So I [came to appreciate], 'Ah! But my amainini, my mother's sister abused me! [John, abused at, approximately, ages 9 to 11]

Whilst Nyasha used his youth and naïveté, coupled with his caregiver's guile, to construct himself as a legitimate victim he also, through silence, limited the extent to which he could be construed as deviant. Nyasha observed that his wife had noted his tendency, that he attributed to having been abused, to be overprotective towards their children, but maintained: **But I didn't tell [my wife] my story. No. The only person I told the story is you. No one knows. Yes. And I will keep it that way.**

Keith, abused at age 6, limited deviance by constructing himself as a sexually astute male at age 6. Sex discourses, however, served to conflate knowledge with power and responsibility, in the process making him fearful of disclosing victimisation: **I knew what was going on. And I knew like if I had to tell anyone about it I would be in trouble. I didn't think she [the female perpetrator] would be in trouble.**

Feelings of isolation and fear of the consequences prevented Donald and Stephen from disclosing victimisation:

> And then [after victimisation] I went to the [pause]. When I went back I never told anyone. I couldn't even tell my friends. Eh, and then on Monday when we meet it was as as *(sic)* if nothing had happened … I couldn't even face at look at her [the maths teacher]. And then I couldn't even really like attend maths lessons. I began to fail in my grades, in a period of 2 weeks. … And I didn't have anyone to tell to confide in. I was really afraid to tell. And then I thought maybe the blame will come to me. And no one will really believe me. During that period in time. That was long back. That was in, around 1987. We didn't even know about counselling. And there weren't even those organisations like maybe these days which go and conscientise *(sic)* children about their rights or something like that … That was my really *(sic)* worry. That if I get into trouble maybe I'll be expelled. [Donald, abused at age 14]

> Then, uh, from that time heish [sound of dismay] it was too much [pause] for me. It was too much. You know I became this person. First ha! Eish, you know sex is like forbidden when you are [pause]. I don't know what it is but

> you don't want to do it when you are young. So I say, 'Ha! So now, what if my mum finds out? And these, they are grownups. Eh, it'll be their word against mine.' … So I wanted help but to tell my mother that, because I knew that this is where it came from, so to tell my mother, I said, 'Ah no, I will I can't tell. I can't tell anyone. It's a secret for me.' You know. And so I just become self-contained. I became very shy, so much shy that eeh I, when I walk in the street I'll think that everyone knows that this guy is doing this, is watching this and this. So you know, I didn't want anything to do with people**,** because I was afraid of being judged, you know. So even at school, I was haah I would just sit in the corner, would just read my books, do my stuff. I don't ah ah socialise with people. I wouldn't do sports. I don't do what. So I just became this one person. [Stephen, abused at age 11]

Discourses, made up of communally shared knowledge, have been likened to icebergs, with the visible tips of icebergs representing information specifically stated and the underlying mass of ice under sea level representing the vast amounts of information taken for granted, assumptions and beliefs that remain unspoken in any interaction (Pierce, 2008). Nyasha's statement, **"you start to understand,"** suggests that as Nyasha grew older and more aware of prevailing discourses (including never explicitly stated, communally shared assumptions), he started to appreciate not only that he had been abused but also that male sexual violation was a transgression of dominant discourses. An inability, initially, to fully understand there had been a violation and to name the nature of the violation that had taken place inhibited disclosure for Nyasha and Donald. The participants, then chose to self-silence to limit the extent to which dominant discourses could consider them deviant in their enactment of masculinity.

Keith, Donald and Stephen feared being blamed if they spoke out. Sex discourses assume sexual aggression by males (Easton, 2014; Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017). To remain gender role compliant in sex discourses Keith, Donald and Stephen had to have been the sexual initiators of the sexual activity, and to, therefore, assume culpability for any victimisation that had taken place.

Limiting deviance through conventional discourses. Discursive practices, other than silence, that participants used to limit the possibilities of being construed as deviant included constructions of victimisation experiences that reverted to conventional sex discourses. Several participants described attempts to reciprocate the sexual advances of their female abusers, to enact gender normativity:

> So she [female domestic worker] said let me let me just lie down with you so that maybe you get some sleep. Then she started, she started touching my privates. Then you know, as a kid, we may as much as we might not agree that kids don't know anything I knew, like, I knew what was going on … then, you know, like every time I I *(sic)* tried to, you know, to like put my hands on her or whatever, she she *(sic)* would stop she would remove my hands and she would continue doing what she was doing … I was trying to hug. I don't [laughs] I don't know what I was trying to do but I knew what was happening … Then she tried, she tried like putting my my *(sic)* penis into her and you know I was, I was young so nothing would happen. [Keith, abused at age 6]

> She [the female domestic worker] either invited me to join her on the bed or she joined me on the bed. She asked me if I wanted sex. I said 'yes.' I would

have got an understanding of it from my peers - boys *kumombe* [herding cattle]. We were sexually aware. There was always a group of people who took it upon themselves to pass on the information. I see it as informed consent. I considered myself very lucky that day. It happened only once. I don't know if she felt anything … But even now when I talk about it I consider it my first sexual encounter. I wasn't even a teenager. So no ejaculation or anything like that. But I think at that age I would probably have had something like an erection. [Mark, abused at age 9]

She [Rutendo, the female domestic worker] molested me. She did everything on me. At times I was afraid. I was shy. But I ended up consenting to it with time …So she would be doing this with [my younger siblings] sleeping on the floor. And I would put up with her on the bed. So, with all this, it ended up being just a pattern. … Form 1 [holidays, after being sent to boarding school for high school] nothing happened. Form 2, I saw her. I was a, I was a bit grown up. Plus with the boarding school situation associating with many boys, talking many things what what what what *(sic)*. Still, I was the one who was now looking for her. I was the one who was looking for her. After after *(sic)* Form 4, I went home. I stayed waiting for my results, I was seeing her. After my results were out I tried to go to A' level. I couldn't manage. I was seeing her. And now it was even worse. … So after school, I was looking for, looking for her but I didn't want anyone [pause]. Now after Form 4, I was grown up, I didn't want anyone to know about it. I would just secretly look for him, for her. I knew how I would meet her. [David, abused at age 14]

Keith, abused at age 6, in attempting to reciprocate the domestic worker's caresses and in claiming knowledge about the sexual activity he was being subjected to, positioned himself as enacting gender norms. It was striking and illustrative of hegemonic masculinity discourses that Keith, after describing the act of abuse in innocuous terms: **"Then she tried, she tried like putting my my *(sic)* penis into her,"** seemed more concerned with his sexual performance: **"I was young so nothing would happen,"** than with the fact of his abuse.

Like Keith, Mark, abused at age 9, seemed to find his performance in the encounter more noteworthy than the fact that he had been sexually abused. Mark denied victimisation, framing the sexual abuse he experienced to accord with social constructs of masculinity: "**When it is heterosexual, chances are the boy is participating; how can you refuse an honour like that?"**

Mark was not able to recall the sexual encounter: Having, however, obtained much of his understanding of sex and sexuality from his peers, Mark ensured that such recollection as he had and shared complied with cultural scripts and societal expectations. By doing so Mark was able to regale acquaintances in pubs with gender normative claims of early sexual exposure: **"I laugh about it, even brag. I say I started very early when I'm at the bar, telling stories".**

Mark took care to distinguish heterosexual from homosexual relationships, clarifying that in the eyes of his peers and pub acquaintances heterosexual sexual activity was normal, and for a male, desirable. In using the word "honour" to describe how he interpreted the domestic worker's sexual advances he echoed societal discourses suggesting something valuable is being bestowed on a younger male when an older woman introduces him to sexual activity (Fisher & Pina, 2013). Mark, to the best of his recollection, "**probably … had something like an erection,"** suggesting that even as a child he

responded positively to the opportunity to engage in sex, enacting hegemonic masculinity. By suggesting that he had an erection, Mark bolstered the argument, sometimes a fallacy (Weare, 2018), that an erection by a male equates to assenting to sex.

David described himself as transitioning from a position of vulnerability and ignorance in sex discourses to one where he could, following cultural scripts, take the lead in pursuing sex with the domestic worker. In his statement: **"Plus with the boarding school situation associating with many boys, talking many things what what what what *(sic)*…"**. David seemed to suggest that association with other boys at boarding school helped to make him more familiar with dominant sex discourses, which he began to enact. At some point he had so evolved in his understanding of sex discourses, including discourses evaluating the desirability of a sexual partner, that he knew that he needed, in keeping with his social status relative to that of the domestic worker, to be more discrete in seeking her out: **"Now after Form 4, I was grown up, I didn't want anyone to know about it. I would just secretly look for him, for her. I knew how I would meet her".**

Disclosing deviance

Sexually victimised males, in sex discourses, have fallen short of masculine gender performatives and shown themselves to be deviant (Javaid, 2017b). Disclosing victimisation entails the risk that others will construct the victim as a male who has transgressed masculinity norms. Fear of being labelled gay acts as a major impediment to disclosure for males who have fallen victim to male perpetrated CSA (Easton et al., 2014). Being constructed as deviant feminises the male by making his body, as the female's (Bergoffen, 2018), visible and objectifiable by others, and vulnerable. The sexually victimised male is stripped of the invisibility normally attached to male bodies (Bergoffen, 2018), and is exposed to the judgmental gaze of others (Heyes, 2018). The male is stripped

of the power that allows males, under patriarchy, to observe (the Other) whilst escaping observation (Bergoffen, 2018; Holla, 2018), and is exposed to shame (Heyes, 2018). In a manner similar to women's experiences (Bergoffen, 2018), silencing discourses serve to isolate males, leading them to believe they are alone in their victimisation and amplifying their constructed deviance.

The males, in this study, who disclosed abuse risked being perceived as deviant:

> And then [after two further instances of abuse by the teacher], during eh an *exeat* [half-term] weekend [pause] I told, I I I *(sic)* told my bigger sister, who is now deceased, about the issue. And then [pause] she really asked me if I was serious. She was around eh Form [pause] she was, she was in Form 4. And that was in third term. Then I told, I told my big sister. She confided that to my mother. And then, the way she told her, I thought, I was, personally I was afraid to tell my parents because I think they'll say I was being naughty orro *(sic)* something like that. Again, I would get the blame. Because it was really taboo that something can happen to a male in our society at that point in time. [Donald, abused at age 14]

Donald's mother shared the information with his father:

> And then when my sister told my mother, seeing my progress reports or when they come for visits to see the work, to see the books of the students. She saw that my my my *(sic)* [clears throat] my my my my *(sic)* maths pass rates was really going down. Because as from primary I was very I was actually interested in mathematics or so. So that's when I was, I I *(sic)* she was told. And then she told my father. Unfortunately, my father didn't believe her. He didn't believe my mother … and then he summoned me. I

> was afraid. Because those days fathers were actually using more punishment, by beating children for being naughty. So, I thought I was [pause]. And then [pause] when he was told, he was actually angry with me.

Donald remained unconvinced that his father ever believed that he had been abused:

> I think maybe the problem was that ah, considering the generation of our fathers, maybe [sexual victimisation perpetrated by a female teacher] was kind of a a *(sic)* strange idea to [my father] or a strange incident which he really couldn't believe happened. He really believed that boys will be boys and they'll be in all sorts of troubles which they create. So, he was really convinced. And he really believed in the eeh perfect school system, especially of boarding school ... And I never thought he was really convinced. Maybe he was, he thought maybe I was too lazy to study the long hours or so and maybe, maybe when I wanted to go to the day school to him it was also convenient. It was cheaper than a boarding school. So he thought, 'Ah, I'd brought it upon myself.' … the way [my father] took it really, because I thought he was supposed to be closer to me as a male than my mother. But at the end of the day, my mother really was the one who understood it and came closer and really helped me to get away from that environment when I thought I could get my father's protection.

As an adult, Donald disclosed victimisation to a male friend:

> And then maybe later in life, there is a friend of mine whom I managed, whom I managed to tell the issue. But it was over a, in a social manner like, you know. There's no [pause] or actually we were now older. I was at that point I think I was 39 years of age. I was actually a grown out, a grown out,

> an adult … So it wasn't really that eh fresh in my memory. So I managed to disclose it to him. And then he said, 'No, that happens to men. Yes, you have to take it as a man and let bygones be bygones'. When actually when he told me that, I thought maybe that's the way forward. Because he was telling me that there's nothing that you can ever do to really remove what to to to *(sic)* remove what has happened in the past. Eh, what what *(sic)* would be the best that you can do is just hope for the better future and hope that maybe it won't happen to your, to your children or to those who are close to you.

Fearful of telling his parents, Donald initially disclosed victimisation to his older sister. Her response: **"she really asked me if I was serious,"** accords with the scepticism of dominant sex discourses towards female perpetration and male victimisation. Donald's mother, seeing Donald's deteriorating academic performance, was sufficiently convinced that abuse was taking place to confront the perpetrator. Donald's father, however, preferred discourses that made perpetration by a female teacher at a reputable institution and the construction of deviance through sexual victimisation of his male child inconceivable. Donald, in later life, disclosed victimisation to a male friend. Whilst the friend, given the evolution of sex discourses to become more accepting of sexual victimisation of male children (Kramer, 2015), was receptive of the disclosure, he urged Donald to enact gender normativity by remaining stoical and accepting of what had transpired.

Mufaro, with relish, having fended off a sexual attack from a male priest and therefore having successfully enacted male gender norms, used the term 'deviant' to describe himself:

> Ah, and also I was quite suspicious as to why you know a a a *(sic)* grown man would touch kids like that. So generally, I was actually considered quite

> deviant in the way in which I related because I did not like that guy to touch me.

Mufaro’s choice of the word ‘deviant’ was striking, given it was being used to highlight the opposite - his construction of himself as gender normative.

Keith, on the other hand, after disclosing sexual victimisation struggled with construction of ‘deviant’ that de-legitimised him as a male for having been a victim of male perpetrated sexual victimisation. Keith described how he avoided eye contact with other males for fear they would misconstrue his motives:

> That was the, that was the first and last time that that I experienced sexual abuse but from that point onwards like, even when, in life, later in life, when I was in my high school, even when I when like I was in a room I couldn’t, I, up ‘til now I can’t, I can’t look a guy in the eye. Like even a friend just talking and trying to [pause], I can’t coz *(sic)* somehow I think like if I look him in the eye maybe he will think I’m sending him vibes you know like now I’m so, I’m so like *ndangwarira kuti* [alive to the fact that] maybe at any point a guy, you don’t know guys, guys just you know, maybe some of them are gay but they don’t [pause]. Coz *(sic)* Simba was, was a cricket player at, when he was still in high school. He was a macho like, a macho man. He was all buffed and so, I never expected that that’s what he does with Tim behind, behind closed doors. So up ’til now if I see like a [pause], like you know, a strong guy and all that. Even my brother. My brother’s the only person that I’ve ever told about this. I can’t even look him in the eye. Coz, coz it it *(sic)* in the back of my mind, I think maybe, maybe if I look him in the eye, maybe he’ll think I’m sending him vibes.

As Keith grew older he came to appreciate that he was, in dominant sex discourses, constructed as deviant for having been the victim of same-sex sexual abuse:

> And I can't like for I think, maybe it's lack of confidence. Ya, maybe like but from that point onwards I knew like I couldn't, I couldn't stand looking a guy into the eye. Coz *(sic)*. Back then I thought, 'Aaah! No biggie. This, maybe this happens to everyone. It's all good.' But when I grew up I started knowing like the dos and don'ts. I started knowing like – hey, about doing gay stuff and all that. Now it rings a bell that – 'Ay ok! This is what was happening.' … For me [at the time of victimisation] I didn't see the bad side of it. Because I just thought sex, when people have sex, they go behind closed doors to do this. It's okay, it's still okay, it's still sex. I didn't [pause]. I knew that it was man and women but I didn't know that ah, that tho*(sic)* those were like the don'ts of you know of [pause] ya.

Keith resorted to homophobia to counter the shame induced in disclosing victimisation to his brother:

> Me and [my brother] we're anti [pause]. I don't know how you say it but we don't like gay people. So [pause] every time like he comments like, 'Ha mtch [sound of disapproval]! These people *inkito.*' Like inkito is slang for gay. Every time he says, 'Ah inkito *idzi*!' you know like deep down I feel bad like, 'You know what happened so, are you, are you including me in that?' I don't say it but every time he says that or every time we see, you know like I just like somehow I just feel like now I'm, I'm like gay for some reason coz *(sic)* that happened. … He has never mentioned it again but I know he knows.

Keith feared that his brother considered him homosexual because he had been a victim of male perpetrated sexual abuse:

> Every time [my brother] comes, he has to ask me like, you know, 'Do I have to know anything? Like you know, you can, you can tell me any secret. Do I have to know anything?' You know like, when he asks me that, I, you know, for him he will be asking like do you have, do you have any pending issues with people, like debts and everything. For me, I think like is he trying to ask me like are you now gay. You know [brief laugh], for me, everything right now is about being gay, not being gay.

Keith had been introduced to sex, and had, consequently, violated gender norms before he was mature enough to appreciate the intricacies, nuances and impact of dominant sex discourses. Keith's experience of disclosure seemed to cement his construction as a male who had violated gender norms. By admitting to male perpetrated sexual victimisation, Keith's body was objectified and feminised (Bergoffen, 2018; Heyes, 2018); he felt exposed to shame as he came under what he perceived to be the judgmental scrutiny of his brother and other males.

Symptoms of deviance

Cultural scripts stipulate that males should be able to contain the emotional and physical consequences of sexual assaults (Fisher, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017). Deviance occurs when negative symptoms manifest. As with sexual victimisation, male CSA victims, to limit being constructed as deviant and in violation of gender norms stipulated in dominant discourses, may, where negative symptoms do manifest, maintain silence. Deviance from traditional gendered roles, by manifesting negative consequences or disclosing negative symptoms, translates to social failure (Sivagurunathan et al., 2019), leading to feelings of shame.

Most participants in this study grappled with several symptoms that they attributed to CSA victimisation. Symptoms ranged from physiological and physical symptoms to behavioural challenges and addictions:

Nyasha, abused at age 6, came to realise that the saliva that began accumulating in his mouth since the abuse was a physical reaction, an infliction, attributable to the victimisation he had suffered:

> But I realise…. It affected me from there on up to now. You know, I can't mm every time, I wake up I've got uh spit, spit in my mouth. Ya, it's [pause] it affected me so much that I can't [pause] if I think of it I like, I think, I like to to *(sic)* vomit. … In a way [pause] I try [pause] to [pause] brush it off. Ya, I try very hard to brush it off. But. What reminds me. Is that every time eeh saliva. I tell you, I I *(sic)* wake up with my mouth full of saliva. If if if *(sic)* I wake up I can't say good morning because I need to go and spit. … [It] started when I I *(sic)* think, when I was young, but I it started after, after that encounter [in which *Amainini* got me to lick her private parts]. So as I grew up that's when I I *(sic)* realised – no, this thing started when I did that to her. Yes, that's where it's coming from. That's where it's coming from, yes. So when I remembered that that's where it's coming from that's how frustrated I become. Yes. I can't take it out of my mind. I can't. I can even remember the pants she was wearing; it was uh those uh with animal skins like you know the vest uh the South African guys, you know, the Zulu guys that was the kind of pants that she was putting on. So I remember very well.

Donald, abused at age 14, described experiencing flashbacks:

> [Victimisation by my female maths teacher] started to come to me kind of like dreams. And then I could wake up. You know, as thinking that it was happening, that it was re-happening in reality… Yes, I was having nightmares. They were not regular, but once in a while, it would come to me as if it were really happening in reality. And then only to discover that maybe it was just a dream.

Keith and John spoke of engaging in premature and precocious, sexually charged play with peers, that they believed to be an outcome of sexual victimisation, in violation of discourses constructing children and childhood play:

> I just, I, I [brief laugh], like I am telling you, I was intelligent. Yes. And mischievous. So kind of known as *mwana akangwarisa* [a precocious child] kind of thing. Kungwarisa to that, to that point. So, so at times I would even go, we would go to play with kids and, you know, since I now [after experiencing sexual abuse from the female domestic worker] knew what would, what would be going on I would try to do that [sex acts] to other kids. [Keith, abused at age 6]

> Any age up to Grade 7, you know when you play *mahumbwe* [house], when you are young sometimes in town or the rural areas, eeh when you're young. Sometimes you, before Grade 7, from whatever. Any age up to Grade 7, you know when you play the mahumbwe thing you go and play with others. You cook food. You know you take the soil and the water, that mahumbwe play, playing, when you're playing with other kids, my my my*(sic)* mind was focussed on [pause] eeh sex. Yah. The young girls I was in primary, Grade

> 6, 5 – 6 – 7 - eeeh. And some time Form 1. Whenever I was playing with other kids of my age, the girls and the boys you know that yah, my mind was on sex [pause] up to a point where I feel like hach [sound of incredulity] sometimes you remember the people that I was playing with during those [pause] childish years. The kids and the, the boys and the girls were my relatives. And the game that I wanted to play was sex game! Are you getting my point? Some were aunts, some were [pause] and we were young. They were also my age, something like 11, 12 years and 10 years, 9 years, ey. People of my age. But I wanted to play the sex game. Not the sex for sexual satisfaction. But just to [pause] as a play game. Just touch them and when I want them to touch my [points to groin area]. All the small girls touch my [pause] eh [pause] eeeh, and then some of the girls they wanted me to touch their organ. And ee it was a play game. [John, abused at, approximate, ages 9 to 11]

John described how his obsession with sex continued in to high school:

> I always want to write some love letters. Small letters to these girls at high school, imhm [sound of assent], 'I love you,' eh? When I'm playing with them I want to tease them, touch them, touch their breasts. You know, not love, but I always succ *(sic)* sex them and touch their breasts in Form 1 up to 4. Are you getting my point? Yes. Then when I was in, that's Form 1 and 2 and 3 and 4, no sexual penetration but just my mind is sexually oriented, that whatever I want to play, especially with a girl is about touching the buttocks, trying to, trying to to to to *(sic)* attract her to touch my organ.

Some participants attributed the acquisition of sexual practices and habits that they found distressing to sexual victimisation. Stephen, abused at age 11, said that he developed an addiction to pornography:

> You know, when [the female perpetrators] introduced me to pornography, you know I sort of like wanted to see more things. You know I wanted to study the things. So, I became, you know, eh looking for, I started looking for, for collecting those things, watching them, watching them, I would watch them when my mum was not there… and the, I sort of like wanted someone to practice to, the things that I was seeing. You know, the feelings they were so much stronger than me. So, then um that's when I, ya, I have to be completely honest. That's when I discovered uh masturbation. So when, ah, at first it was I'm just watching these. You know there's no harm. Let me watch this. And so when I was watching it I became sort of addicted. I became addicted. And I became addicted and then I became so much into it that I couldn't get out, you know. So then I said I, I wanted help. I really wanted help because it was ah it was heavy, too much for me. And you know when the guilt is too much…

Stephen subsequently developed an addiction to Bronchleer, a cough syrup that contains an opioid in the form of codeine:

> I I I I *(sic)* sort of turned to drugs again. So you see, it's a chain. So, I said, 'Ha! If I just do uh drugs, I just be quiet, don't talk to people. Then I'll just keep my things to myself.' And then the drugs I just sort of feel um comfortable through the warmth they give me. Aah, you know, I became so antisocial … Aah, I be [pause] I started taking ha like heavy doses of medication. I was taking uh this, what they call Bronchleer. The codeine

> thing … so when you take this codeine you sort of become slow. You become cool; you just will be in your zone.

Abused by his maths teacher, Donald’s academic performance suffered. He eventually changed schools:

> …[Changing schools to avoid the abusive teacher] had a negative impact in terms of in, in the sense that I had to change some subjects… I had to take some different subjects… It really disrupted my, my education … Actually, my grades were very poor during the first term of eh of Form 2 … So it really affected me. And uh, I, I lost uh confidence.

Whilst males may not contract sexually transmitted infections (STIs) during sexual violation by others, sexually violated males have been found to be more vulnerable to STIs (Tewksbury, 2007). Some participants spoke about the prospect of contracting diseases or grappled with physical symptoms.

The presence of co–offenders has been reported to increase the likelihood of physical injury for the victim (Budd & Bierie, 2017). Stephen reported experiencing extensive bruising after victimisation: **"And when they actually finished the [pause] thing I was actually bruised. You know. And I couldn’t walk for for for *(sic)* some days because I was so bruised".**

Whilst John was grateful that he did not suffer physical consequences from his female perpetrator, he was cognisant that the promiscuous lifestyle that was triggered by the abuse had made him susceptible to risk:

> And to me it [the play game] was something which is [pause] part of life and normal, you see. I didn’t contract any disease from her. Honestly, I didn’t. Ehe. She didn’t damage me physically. To be honest, I can’t say that

> she did damage me. No. Ehe, but, my mental [pause] orientation. It get [pause] gets, I mean, damaged because from there onwards my lust was just something else. … And after having that promiscuous life I got my wife now but still I have got lust. I want to sleep with other girls and it it *(sic)* it's by God's grace that that I didn't eeh, eeh contract HIV/ AIDS. Honestly, to be honest with you. Ya, especially the year that I was drinking beer. It's by God's grace. It's really by God's grace. Because I had a promiscuous life, especially from during my university life and soon after. I, I had a very promiscuous life. And by God's grace, I am HIV negative. I've been tested twice. And I'm married. I've got 3 children. But my cousin. I used to drink with my cousin from the same age, a difference of 2 months. Eeh, he died of HIV/ AIDS some years back. We used to go out together, drink together, enjoy our lives, dancing, going to clubs. And he contracted HIV and then he died. But, to me, God's grace. I cannot say it's lucky.

David and Donald acknowledged that their female abusers, by being older and more experienced, exploited a power differential that had, potentially, exposed them to disease:

> Now had it been that there was AIDS those days maybe she would just give me AIDS because she was one woman I knew. She was very older than me. Because, remember, when I was in Grade 6 she had already passed Form 4. So, so I can say she was about 4, about 6, 6 years older than me; 6, 7 years older than me. [David, abused at age 14]

> And then maybe I thought that maybe I was fortunate after there was no really like eh HIV tests in those, those days in time. It wasn't really [pause],

> it wasn't really common as it was today. So, I thought, maybe, at least I was, I was, I managed to escape without being infected. Eh, it was maybe after about ten years or so, thereafter, people were, the topical issue actually was about HIV and transmission. So, I thought at least I was lucky at that period in time there was no infection. [Donald]

Kundayi, aged 9 or 10 when abused, feared that he had contracted an infection from his female perpetrator:

> I developed a rash between my thighs. I was too scared to tell anyone but my younger brother noticed one day when I was getting out of the shower. He reported it to my dad who forced me to show him. I was shy and worried that I was in trouble. We then went to a doctor and were given some lotion to apply. The infection would disappear for some weeks and then resurface … Only recently (last year but one) when we went to proper skin doctors I was given a diagnosis of folliculitis. I was relieved to find it was bacterial in nature but my research does not totally rule out the possibility that it was sexually transmitted.

Previous studies (Clements, Dawson & Das Nair, 2014; Deering & Mellor, 2011; Stathopoulos, 2014) have noted that behavioural, sexual and relational challenges are recurring themes in males who have been sexually abused by females, as well as those who have been abused by males.

Participants spoke of the impact of CSA on relationships. John described the sexual attraction he felt towards women as excessive and distressing:

> I'm telling you it, it affected my mind. It it it *(sic)* activated my sexual orientation at an early age to such a point that I could…. Ach, I don't know

> how I can, how I can put it. I would want to, to date someone who is young, someone of my age, someone who is older to me. I always want to touch someone. I always want to feel like yuh [expulsion of breath] I need romance, I need a hug, I need a kiss… It did affect my mind. I'm telling you. It did affect my mind. Such that up to now, I have that lust. I'm going to church now; I'm a Christian, ya, but even in church I admire, I lust other women. When I see a woman walking in the street, I see the buttocks, the the the the *(sic)* breasts, the face, I feel like I want to kiss her. I need to sleep with that woman.

John said that whilst his conduct had not created problems in his marriage, his wife had remarked on his considerable attraction towards women:

> … I've never fought with my wife because of extramarital affair. No, I haven't. But there's a point where my wife said, 'Hah! *Imi baba imi, mmm munoda vakadzi stereki!* Why *tichingofamba mustreet* sometimes *munongocheuka muchitarisa mukadzi? Mukafura mukadzi akapfeka chimini munocheuka muchitarisa mukadzi. Mukapfura mukadzi aka poda poda munocheu ... munomutarisa* [My husband, you're obsessed with women! Why are you always staring at women when we're walking in the streets? When you pass a woman in a mini you turn and look. When you pass a woman all dressed up you stare].

Donald believed that the CSA he suffered contributed towards the breakdown of his marriage:

> But I think that in the long term it affected me, like in the sense that mmm when I, when I got married as I said in 1996, after about umm three years

> or so of marriage I couldn't really like, I was, I was kind of shutting myself away from, in terms of communication, from my wife. I couldn't confide to her. Eh, maybe I thought that maybe, there was no need for her to know so I was so I was some kind of gradually pulling away from her maybe subconsciously or so. And then the way, and then, and then the way when she, when she said something to me that I couldn't understand I couldn't really trust her because at that point in, during that point in time I had, I had this concept inside me that maybe women can lie to you. I couldn't really trust, trust her. To such an extent that even [clears throat] even if she did something which I didn't know or understand which I would maybe, maybe accuse her maybe as a woman, saying maybe woman there's an inborn instinct of lying. And then it escalated maybe to such an extent I don't now maybe it was part of the contribution of the breakdown in our marriage. But it may not have been maybe the total cause I don't think, it had a contributing effect. It had a contributing effect.

Nyasha and Stephen spoke of feelings of hostility towards women, after victimisation:

> I couldn't approach girls growing up. You know, I had some resent, ya. Ya, it it *(sic)* pushed me to some extent of thinking maybe [pause] ach [sound of frustration], it's, it's eh their game. It's something that that that *(sic)* you, that you must do. [Nyasha]

> So, but trust me this thing, it really affected me so, so much. I became this shy person, this person who's just quiet, who doesn't want to associate with

people. Ah, I became anti-social … Because I was just this person who was [pause] I didn't care about anything. At that time I would just say, 'Hach! [sound of frustration]' and the girls I be [pause]. I grew this hatred towards girls and like, 'Hach, these people!' Ah, so, ya, emotionally it affected me so much. … I, I didn't want eh those lovey lovey relationships because I thought that there was no love. I said they only wanted sex, that's what they want. And sometimes I would take advantage of other girls, like get into their brain and tell them that this is the only thing that you want. And this is what we have to do. You don't want anything else. You only want the sex. So [pause] that's what you want. [Stephen]

Nyasha and Donald spoke of how the experience of CSA had impacted their parenting:

So up to now I'm very suspicious of letting guard of my children, to, to people's homes and, you know, I'd want to know where they are sleeping. And, is there anyone to look after them. I realise it's easily *(sic)* to get abused that way [pause]. I, I don't trust uh if I don't trust people to get in their bedrooms… It can happen, ya, when you think it's innocent. [Nyasha]

Actually, I was more protective to the twins and I was quite sensitive to the, to Tatenda the boy. His name is Tatenda. About, especially about leaving him with the nanny, of the house girl. So I was really conscious. And then I discovered that he had hernia. It was hernia that affected him in some way there. Initially, I thought maybe he has been uh abused. So I I I *(sic)* went, I took him for maybe for to be tested. Then it was proven that, no, it was

> hernia. Maybe he has no problem. But I couldn't really give the maid the full, the full trust and confidence in leaving the child with him. [Donald]

Stephen spoke of eroded self-esteem and self-confidence:

> I used to view like girls as this as these sexually ah hungry things that are all just looking for men. So I didn't think that women deserve relationships. They only want to have sex and that's all … So this is how I felt. And then, ah! Self-confidence, or self-esteem. I, I lost confidence in myself. Even ah! I felt like ah I'm just hopeless. I'm just a person who got used and aah. Ya, I was just used … I, I lost confidence in myself.

Stephen described how he avoided people and became fearful of making eye contact:

> So I just became this one person. I created a big wall around me. And I didn't want to let anyone in. And I was so afraid of ha [pause] eye contact. Even now I'm still struggling with that. Because I thought that if I look into a person's eye. And then they look at me then they'll sort of like download everything from me. They'll see what I see, through their eyes. I was trying to hide because I didn't want people to read through me. I was scared of, they would know that I was abused first and they would judge me and would say, 'Ha! Maybe he's weak or something.' … I became very shy. I couldn't look into a person's eye. I would avoid eye contact.

Brought up in a Christian home, Stephen questioned the existence of God after victimisation:

> And then I lost, I lost my faith actually because I, I was a Christian. Born in a Christian home, like my mum she was a Christian. Ah so, I believed in

> God. But aah, I sort of lost my faith. Because I was afraid that what I had done it had uh angered God. So I was in fear of God, and fear of man. You know, so I say and uh, the other thing, uh I sort of stopped believing in God actually. Because I questioned why did He leave this happening? Why would He do ah something like this to me if they say He loves me? And then how could He allow this to happen? So, these people, they are lying; there is no God. You know, so. Ah [mirthless laugh], I lost my faith. I was just this person, this empty person.

In marked contrast, having constructed themselves as complying with dominant sex and gender discourses, Mark and Mufaro reported no significant consequences of CSA. Reflecting what could be interpreted as sexual repression arising from female perpetrated sexual victimisation, Mark, aged 9 when abused, stated:

> The next time I had sex was after Form 4. When I went to O' level I was thinking about becoming a priest. One would have imagined that if not for that I would have started having real sex earlier. [Wanting to become a priest] had more impact on me [than the sexual abuse] … Did I live the [sex] life of a normal rural boy? I wouldn't say so. I completely stayed off. My cousins would say I should do it. But I wouldn't.

Mufaro maintained that he experienced minimal consequences from the housemaster's actions:

> There were no consequences. But ah, eh, well, I think there were consequences on a subliminal level. The consequences were that [the housemaster] left me alone. He ceased to have any, any contact with me. He would not. He would not, ah, if he came to the dormitory he would not come

> to me and appear to touch me. During you know after, after you know, when you go home for holidays he would come and say, 'Um, how are you boys blah blah blah?' And he would touch some other. He would not do that with me… He was no longer chatty [with me]. You know, he was no longer chatty. He was a bit cautious.

Keith, unable to construct his victimisation as gender normative, and having, as Mufaro, suffered male perpetrated CSA, reported consequences with a major impact on him:

> Even, even my boss commented like last week he was telling me like, 'You know, you lack confidence, every time I want to talk to you, you'll be looking down, you'll be looking sideways. What's wrong?' Like I just told him that, 'Hah! I don't have confidence.' But deep down, you know, like [pause]. So every time [pause] even when people start I, I don't like gay people. Like I I I *(sic)* hate them, maybe because of what had happened back then. So, now when I see gay people I I I *(sic)* feel bad. Like, ah, you know like I hate these people but what difference is [pause followed by brief cynical laugh] what difference is there for me? Then to like, I know these guys are doing this and that, that happened to me so maybe, we just, maybe just, just the same. I think, I think I'm associated with them because of that and it makes me, you know, it makes me feel bad about myself. It makes me feel like, you know, like maybe, maybe I am gay after all. I don't have feelings for them. But somehow it just brings me back to that point, and makes me think that, 'Hah! I had sex; these guys have sex. I ha, I was once, I once had sex with a guy so [pause]' … I question every time, every time I see gay people you know like ha, it just happens every time.

Keith spoke of how, motivated by fear of being labelled homosexual having suffered male perpetrated sexual victimisation, self-monitoring his behaviour to ensure he was enacting masculinity consumed him:

> So every time every time, like now I'm now it's, it's even making me not do some things that I that are normal. There is this one time when we went to a pool party and the guys, it was just the guys first. Then the girls would come later, around 6, 7 [pm]. I couldn't even skinny with the guys in the, in the room. I just felt like, 'Hah! You know if I, if I try to do this, this is gay like.' Now I'm, yeah, now I can't even do, do like normal stuff with guys coz *(sic)* I'll just it'll just end there. Just keep thinking like, this is what happened.
>
> Like I can't even, I can't even take my shirt off with my young brother. Right now my young brother is, is in Form 6. He, he likes you know um lifting weights and all that. When I get into the house and you know like there's a room for for for *(sic)* weight lifting and all that. When I get into the house and he's with his friends and they, you know, they're wearing shorts and all that I have to just, you know, greet him then then *(sic)* go out because I'll be like, you know like, in the back of my mind I'll be thinking, 'Eh, maybe if I get in there and if I look at someone he'll think I'm looking at their chest' or, you know, something like that.
>
> Ya ya, it took my confidence. And I think it keeps taking my confidence because, because you're the second person I have told this so, so like you can, you can, you can picture it like you have this burden and every everything that happens you have to question yourself. Then at the same

> time you have to put like a, a proud and confident face for the people and all that, you know it's just ha, it's not as easy as it as it sounds.
>
> But for, you know, for, for being normal and all that it's because deep down I feel like I have to act and I have to, you know [pause], I don't even know my real self. I have to find who I am and all that, you know.

The shame and stigma arising from male sexual assault victimisation are often compounded where the perpetrator is male (Tewksbury, 2007). The experience for a male of male perpetrated sexual assault, running counter to dominant discourses on gender, sex and sexuality, meant Keith struggled to make eye contact with other males, including his brothers, for fear of having his sexuality questioned. Keith spoke of losing confidence, of avoiding social situations and questioned his identity. He expressed vehement homophobia: **"Like, ah, you know like I hate these people but what difference is [pause followed by brief cynical laugh] what difference is there for me?"** The homophobia Keith expressed suggested an unattainable desire to reconstruct himself as a male who could not be construed as deviant, having never endured victimisation: **"Back then I thought, 'Aaah! No biggie. This, maybe this happens to everyone. It's all good."** Given, however, the egregiousness with which male perpetrated male sexual victimisation is regarded in dominant discourses, Keith struggled to reconstruct himself as a gender normative male.

Asked whether he was more relaxed in social encounters with women and girls, Keith responded:

> [I can be] *a bit* [his emphasis] more relaxed. A bit more relaxed. But still there. It's still. Since I couldn't, I couldn't, I couldn't do [pause] I couldn't act normal before so everywhere it's just like all my life has been acting. I just feel like somehow, you know, like I um, I feel like people are judging

> me. Even if you come and sit there and you and maybe you laugh at something that, you know, that just happened, I'll think like, 'Hey! These people are laughing at me for some reason,' you know like ...

Males who have been sexually assaulted, in the process being relegated to a subordinate masculinity akin to femininity, may, in different contexts, find an opportunity to enact hegemonic masculinity (Coles, 2009; Javaid, 2017a). Speaking further about his relationships with women, Keith stated:

> I, like, like I told you I relate well with, with, not that I play with women, I don't. I actually. I actually think. Yeah, actually I think it reflects coz *(sic)* now I can't even, I can't even get in a relationship with one girl. Like every time I'll be having maybe five or six girls, sleeping with them and all that. But you know, [sigh] I don't know maybe, maybe it's because of that or not but no I've never even considered you know being, being faithful and all that.

Keith, it appeared, was careful to ensure his relationships with women were sexual rather than platonic - **"…not that I play with women, I don't"** - to ensure that he never risked being construed as 'one of the girls.' Pursuing simultaneous sexual relationships with several females enabled him to enact a form of hegemonic masculinity.

Resolving victimhood; embracing deviance

Discourse, including language, is subject to socially conditioned processes of production and interpretation (Pierce, 2008). Medical and legal discourses ensure those who fall short in their enactment of dominant discourses are objectified (Pierce, 2008), and made susceptible to shaming (Bergoffen, 2018; Holla, 2018; Raba, 2017). Males who question the discourses of the powerful by acknowledging or disclosing sexual

victimisation are perceived to be deviant. Scientific and legal discourses are used to brand perceived deviants as mad or homosexual (Pierce, 2008). Some males may, in acts of resistance to dominance structures that normalise and naturalise the discourses of the powerful (Holla, 2018; Wodak, 2001a), deliberately question the construction of their experiences in normative discourses. In a manner reminiscent of women who have spoken out in terms of the #MeToo movement (Bergoffen, 2018), males might wilfully construct themselves as deviant in rejecting prevailing discourses and refusing to be complicit in their shaming. To resist hegemonic narratives is to pursue agency (Holla, 2018), a process that entails endurance, persistence and suffering (Holla, 2018), given that discourse constructs the individual, rather than individuals the discourse (Jäger, 2001).

In any conversation, there are numerous, simultaneous, often complex and sometimes competing discourses (van Dijk, 2001). A number of the participants in this study sought to resolve their identities as male victims by deflecting the "gaze to render the subject self-conscious" to the perpetrator (Heyes, 2018, p. 3). These victims attempted to turn the condemnatory spotlight back to the perpetrator. In constructing female perpetrators as deviant, however, these victims in terms of hegemonic discourses, simultaneously constructed themselves as deviant.

Nyasha and Donald maintained that they were neither mad nor homosexual (Pierce, 2008) in acknowledging female perpetration. Nyasha described his amainini as calculating and perverted. Donald suggested his female teacher was mentally deranged, cruel or acting out of pent up anger towards males. In branding their female perpetrators perverts and mentally derailed, Nyasha and Donald deflected 'madness' onto the perpetrators:

> So you start realising, no, this was not genuine love. This was something happening. Ya, this was something happening, you know. It, it wasn't [pause]. She was, she was just [pause]. I think she was just a pervert. Ya. It

> it it *(sic)* wasn't, it wasn't a game. She, she, that was calculated. She knew what she was doing … ya, you realise no, no; there are some things that happen. Then you realise, no, this wasn't, this wasn't playful. Ya, this was something happening. [Nyasha, abused at age 6]

> I don't know if other boys ever fell victim to her before or after I have left but I think one, maybe [pause], I thought maybe she was kind of mentally derailed or something like that. Because I couldn't expect that, especially in those, that period in time. And considering her age. For that to happen. And then I think maybe there was a bit of cruelty in her, or maybe she was fighting maybe with anger against men, against, through abusing of these younger boys or so. So maybe that's the image I really do have of her. Maybe she was reacting. That's what I really come to think about it. Right now, that is many years later. At that period in time I was just afraid and I didn't want to think [nervous laugh] more about her. [Donald, abused at age 14]

Stephen hinted at the perversion of his perpetrators, likening his aunt to a witch masterminding sexual initiation rituals for her daughters:

> [I concluded that] my aunt knew that this had happened. But she was the one who was sort of teaching her children. She was the one who was initiating them. Sort of a ritual. So, it's like eh she had orchestrated the whole thing. You know she wanted to initiate her, to teach her children about sex, so they practised. I was the victim. I was the one they used. [Stephen, abused at age 11]

John compared the 'normal' conduct to be expected of an aunt with his perpetrator's abnormal actions. In questioning how a maternal figure could be driven to selfishly satisfy her sexual desires to the detriment of the child in her care, John framed the perpetrator as perverted:

> I was not angry as that but I could see that no, that was abuse. Especially the aspect of touching my organ and, you know, squeezing it and, ya, if she was just romancing, kissing, honestly it was normal. Yah! Any woman. Even now, you know I, I mean when you're young someone can come, your aunt and say, 'Mmch [makes kissing sound with motions of lifting and embracing a child], how are you my my my *(sic)* boy?' and hug you. I mean carry you and you know that's normal life. Ya. Something, but going to the extent of undressing, putting me on top of her. Squeezing it against my [pause] you know that age and [pause] there was no you know that age I was not I I I I *(sic)* hadn't reached an age of releasing. You're getting me. Yah! So to her it was about [pause] satisfying herself, by friction and you know that kind of thing. Yah, I only realised that when I was mature that no no no that was abuse. Why was she squeezing, touching my [pause]. And what was the purpose to me? What was the benefit to me? There was no benefit to me. Honestly, because I was so young. And I didn't like sex. To be honest. So the benefit was for her. To be honest it was sexual abuse. It was really sexual abuse.

Ascribing perpetration to the female offenders, these participants legitimised themselves as sexually abused males, in the process acknowledging that in hegemonic masculinity discourses they were deviant. In suggesting their perpetrators were motivated by extreme pathologies or perversions, Nyasha, Stephen and Donald, however, continued

to delegitimise female offending. Their discourses suggested that only females who have been defeminised through, for example, mental illness, can perpetrate CSA (Kramer, 2015).

John looked to religion to contain his continuing battle with lust and promiscuity brought on by CSA victimisation. Referring to his insatiable attraction to women as his "sexual orientation," John stated:

> You see because my sexual orientation and my mind, it's something else! I still have that lust. I'm telling you. Pastors are preaching. I pray, I read the word of God. I'm trying to manage. Yes, I'm trying to manage it yeah spiritually. And physically. Day in and day out. Yah! It sounds like a demon. It sounds like a demon, you see. But when you, I grow up I see hach [sound of indignation]! But this is sexual abuse. I started to realise this maybe ten years back, that – no, but what my mother's sister, Amainini*,* did to me some decades back it aff *(sic)* [pause] it damaged my mind. It damaged my mind. This lust, the pastors are preaching that if you want to control lust read the word of God, so that you'll fill your mind with the word of God. Fast and pray. Focus on your wife, or focus on your girlfriend. Yah. I'm trying to, I'm trying to. I'm still in that battle. Ya. I'm still in that battle, to be honest with you. I'm still in that battle. It's, it's about lust. That's how it damaged me. That's how it damaged me. … And Christian life, it has helped me to manage it and to address it. I'm telling you, it has helped me much to manage it. Ya. *Kusachiva* [not to lust]; [The pastors say], 'If you engage in extramarital affairs the consequences are these. Eeeh, the Bible says, the book of Romans… If you *mukachiva* [if you lust] the end result, you getting it, if you get in to sexual encounter it's either you contract *madiseases*. Or it damages your spiritual life'. Ya, your spiritual strength is actually

> weakened because of that. ‘So, don’t lust, because if you lust you end up sleeping with that woman. After sleeping then, that woman you’re going to get demons who wants… There are a lot of negative consequences from lust and sexual penetration. So please don’t do that’ – they’re always preaching in the church. And they encourage you to read the Bible verses that rebuke lust. Yes, they’ll tell you, ‘Do that, do this,’ not because they know my history, not because they know that I’m the one with lust but maybe because they know that men, they do lust. Because my lust is something else. It’s more like a demon. Are you getting me?

John also considered his principled character and strong moral rectitude to be important tools in controlling the temptations that he, within the framework of the religion he practised, had constructed as deviant:

> But personally I’m able to control myself because I’m principled. I think that is one thing that has fought the battle for me. Naturally. Because I’m principled. I don’t just jump into a woman and say I want to I I *(sic)* I’m sleeping. I’m very selective. Yes. I’m a se *(sic)* [pause] the ladies that you call *masalad* and whatever but I’m very selective. I’m, I’m I’ve got some principles. I’ve got some values that helped me all along, I didn’t know that, to fight this lust … It actually helped me. It actually helped me. Actually, I, I’ve actually told my wife sometime that, ‘No no no, me I’m a principled man.’ I’m telling you. A woman can be beautiful, with buttocks, and you know men they admire the physical part of it first. Men, that’s what they admire, men. With hips, buttocks, breasts, cute face and, you know, health and whatever. But for me, I’m so principled. I’ll say, ‘Ha! This woman, what do I benefit from the woman? If I date this woman, what do I do? And

> eh I'm afraid of HIV/AIDS. I've got my relative that have died of it, that I know my close relatives some of them, that I grew up with them so I'm afraid of dying. I don't want to sleep with this woman.' I don't want to be promiscuous, you see. So when I stopped drinking beer in 2008 that is when I I I sur *(sic)* [pause] that is how I survived.

Stephen stated that he was finding peace in his newly found faith:

> Ya, ah, the drugs, I'm clean now. Ah, um, I, I'm so much clean. I don't do the drugs anymore. With the pornography, ya, they helped me. Actually [the pastor] helped me. Ya, he helped me. And then when I received Jesus Christ, He sort of like, uh, took all of the pain away so I was, I'm now clean and not into drugs. I don't do pornography. I don't do masturbation. I'm just me again. … I have to thank you too. Because you know it's the first, ah no, it's the second time I've actually opened myself, first it was to the pastor. But now I've opened up to you. Something that I would never have done. You know, I had no intention of doing it. But ya now I'm just glad that I've shared with you … Ah! You know ah actually, it's so funny because now I'm talking without crying. I used to cry about this thing.

Donald reported that he had found time to be a healer. He also said that he had resorted to self-counselling to suppress negative emotions arising from victimisation:

> Because [the friend to whom I disclosed, at age 39] said many bad things happened to a lot of people. And they just pass with time. That's what he said … Actually, he, he said maybe time is a healer. That's what actually he said. What he said to me … Actually, maybe I was, it really works here or there … it's like the frequency [of flashbacks] decreased. Maybe it's once

> in three years or everything of that or so. And then without eh counselling, you have to do maybe like some self-counselling whereby maybe you try to suppress those negative emotions which come inside you from bad experiences that you may have done. So to me, maybe people are different, but actually, I as, as right now I as I can say I can freely express it maybe to a stranger or someone who I really don't know. I, I think maybe it will really, really helps *(sic)* over time.

Whilst hegemonic discourses construct male sexuality as driven and insatiable, John struggled to reconcile the discourses with the disease and death he had witnessed at proximity in losing a cousin he had partied with to the ravages of HIV/AIDS. He also struggled to reconcile those discourses with his construction of himself as a principled, self-controlled, religious and mature male. Describing the effects of CSA as damaging his mind and "**sexual orientation**," fuelling sexual desire with an intensity "**like a demon**," John used the metaphor of a battle to illustrate his ongoing, unabating struggle to resolve the impact, in his life, of sexual victimisation. In speaking of his faith in Jesus Christ, Stephen invoked a discourse that, acknowledging failure or deviance in everyone, offers redemption to all.

The very act by the participants of contacting me to speak out, several for the first time, about sexual victimisation, was an act of resistance of patriarchal sex, sexuality and gender discourses. Discourse, Jäeger, (2001, p. 7) states, is "super-individual"; whilst everyone participates no single group precisely controls the outcome. There was no telling what the final impact of these stories would be.

Stephen, in defiance of dominant discourses that dictate that males who have been abused should limit deviance by limiting disclosure, constructed the process of disclosing as one of embarking on a healing journey:

> Um, I was so surprised I saw your advert in the newspaper… So I, I thought, 'Ah let me just [pause] share [pause] what I went through.' You know, it's a way to, to heal myself, as I'm healing. To tell it as it is. So that's why I'm here.

Similarly, in coming forward to be interviewed, Nyasha and John acknowledged the potential of a masculinity of engagement and vulnerability over self-isolation and self-silencing:

> So, when I saw your advert I said, 'She's talking about me.' ... Ya, I said, 'This person is just talking about me. I need to maybe let me get my story out. [Nyasha]

> Because my thought when I saw the advert, I thought this man, this guy has the same experience with me. Yah! So I wanted to hear from him. You see. So I thought it's a guy with the same experience. So I want to hear how he exactly experienced it. And how did he manage to… how did he managed *(sic)* it? How did he cope? How did it impacted *(sic)* him physically, emotionally and, and sometimes in terms of your soul? How is he feeling? At what age was he abused? What was the type of abuse? Yes. Then you feel like, 'Ach! I want to talk to this guy.' He's doing a research on this topic. [John]

Several participants were keen that their stories be used to question and challenge dominant discourses:

> I think statistics themselves they say that ah in fact more girls they, they are the ones who, girls they are the ones who only have sexual abuse [pause]. I

don't know if I'm right. You know the statistics themselves. But I think they are wrong. Sexual abuse is happening to the male child, and at a rate that can even shock the world. It's a bigger rate. But now, you know to the male child to, for him to, to report this is it's kind of hard. I told you about the pride. You know, you wouldn't want to admit weakness. So you say, ah, let me just keep this to myself. And besides who will believe that a male had been raped? … I want to represent these people. I'm not really sure how. But I'd like to represent the male child. Because a lot of cases are happening and they are being dismissed. So, these people they need help. Ya, I was able to find the help, ya but there are some people who are still in, what is it called, denial or what, they need that particular help. Because if you don't get help, actually [pause] it will lead you somewhere else. Look what it was doing to me with the drugs and the stuff. I was becoming addicted to the drugs. I was, you know [pause]. I started tattooing myself. … That's why I responded to your ad. Because aah. I believe that there must be a change. In society they ha *(sic)* have it wrong. They think that it doesn't happen but it happens. But you know the voice of the male child is being silenced be before he even speaks out. [Stephen]

And I think also maybe the way that if we talk it out other people or maybe some organisation or other interested people may find their way to better prevent this to happen to other vulnerable, maybe, children or so. Actually, that's when, when I saw the advert that was my issue that if I respond to this maybe my experience will help maybe in schools or so in conscientising *(sic)* and sensitising students. [Donald]

> I mean I became so completely set against this whole thing of religion. I said, 'Hach! These people. Are these men of God? These are evil people. These are people who pretend.' That's where I saw through to say these are terrible people. [Mufaro, abused at age 14]

The participants who joined with me in this research risked, through dominant discourses, being categorised as deviant. Many attempted to, instead, construct the sexual perpetrators as deviant. The participants grappled with their complicity in their own shaming. Most important, perhaps, research participants stepped towards turning back the shaming gaze of the judgmental onlooker, by asking the onlooker to question and critique their own unthinking and unquestioning participation in dominant gender, sex and sexuality discourses that delegitimise the masculinity of males who have suffered CSA.

Chapter conclusion

In this chapter, I presented the findings constructed in interviews with the nine participants that comprised the research sample. I sought to unearth the discourses through which participants constructed their realities and through which power and control were exercised. Participants struggled to construct themselves as both sexual victims and as males who exhibited gender normativity. To frame themselves as legitimate victims, some of the males attempted to limit victimhood to childhood, whilst others constructed themselves as responding in a gender normative manner to sex, notwithstanding that it was abuse. For victims of male perpetrated CSA, responding in a gender normative manner meant fending off an attack. Whilst, after victimisation, participants attempted to enact hegemonic masculinity through limiting disclosure and through self–silencing, many sought, by speaking out in this research, to challenge dominant discourses that denied them construction as both victims and masculine.

I seek, in the next chapter, in a discussion that addresses each research question, to continue the process, in keeping with the feminist paradigm of this research of "root[ing] out a particular kind of delusion" (Wodak, 2001a, p. 10), by exposing the interests of the societally and ideologically powerful that underlay the participants' constructions.

Chapter 5: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

The study explored the experience and effect of historical CSA victimisation in a sample of male adults in Zimbabwe. As CSA victimisation is more often associated with females and sexual aggression with males (Easton & Kong, 2017; Javaid, 2017a; Turchik et al., 2013; Sivagurunathan et al., 2019), the study also sought to examine how the males in the sample had dealt with and resolved the issue of being male victims. This was an important topic to explore for the following reasons: The limited research on male CSA (Tewksbury, 2007); the fact that the prevailing research has been more often focussed on female victims (Easton, 2013; Gagnier & Collin-Vézina, 2016; Stemple et al., 2017; Tewksbury, 2007); and the indication that, with increasing research on this topic, male CSA is more prevalent than often thought (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Stemple et al., 2017) and has a wider impact and greater repercussions than has been supposed (Easton, 2014; Easton et al., 2013; Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010; O'Leary et al., 2017; Romano et al., 2019; Zalcberg, 2017).

Data for this qualitative enquiry were obtained through nine in-depth face- to- face interviews. The study was premised on three research questions:

a) How do male victims of childhood sexual abuse define and interpret what it is to be male?
b) What is the effect of childhood sexual abuse on males?
c) How do male victims of childhood sexual abuse reconcile the experience of being sexually abused with their identity as males?

In the previous chapter, I presented the main themes or categories that emerged from my analysis of interviews conducted with the research participants. The themes were

the result of the processes of summarising and categorising data using a conventional approach to content analysis (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005). Ordering meanings, the third and final stage of content analysis, allows for a deeper and contextualised understanding of the research and is continued in this chapter. It entailed, in this study, the use of the techniques of critical discourse analysis to frame the research within a feminist paradigm to allow for a historically situated understanding of the research participants and their experiences and interpretations. Practically, the process involved immersing the findings in the feminist conceptual theory and feminist critical paradigm that underpinned the study, as I addressed each research question.

Research questions

How participants defined and interpreted what it was to be male

Both interviewer and interviewee engage in constructing a narrative that presents the research participant as a subject who has undergone certain experiences, where the in-depth interview, as in this study, is used as a methodological tool. Arnold (2012) suggests that whilst the interview may be used to plaster over disjunctions in the interviewee's past to present the interviewee's current self as a cohesive whole, the narrated 'I' of an interview at any particular place and time "eludes complete presence" (Arnold, 2012, p. 573). The narrated 'I', in an iterative manner, navigates between the past and the present in a process of construction involving both "self-formation" and "self-transformation" (Arnold, 2012, p. 574).

To be male, for CSA participants in this study, limited possibilities for self-construction as sexual assault victims. Some of the participants, in accordance with gender, sex and sexuality discourses that have begun to allow for the construction of male CSA

victims (Kramer, 2015), strove, with aspects of their "presence" (Arnold, 2012, p. 573) as they navigated between past and present, to construct themselves as victims:

> Yah! I was so young, and so I could, I couldn't picture. To me it was just a play game. … But then, the main reason why I have decided to come is because I I I I *(sic)* realised it later. Eh, when I was old when I was mature, not old. Let me not use that word. When I was mature that no, that experience it affect me, my psycho [pause], it affected my, my mentality, my psychology. [John, abused at, approximately, ages 9 to 11]

> So, [the perpetrator] would take us there to play there. … And later on, when I was old enough to [pause], that's when I understand that this was abuse. [Nyasha, abused at age 6]

Competing discourses, however, meant that research participants grappled to retain self-construction as males in acknowledging sexual victimisation by female perpetrators, even as children. Juxtaposing the knowledge and awareness that came with age and that led to the recognition that they had been subjected to CSA against their childhood ignorance and innocence, enabled some participants to limit their period of construction as victims of gender non-normative sexual abuse to childhood.

Participants' constructions suggested that male perpetrated CSA victimisation was inconceivable for males; to be a male victim of male perpetrated assault was depicted as having an emasculating effect on males by making their masculinity questionable:

> [Male victims of the male priest] had a certain peculiarity. A certain peculiarity. A certain, shall I, maybe it's a bad word. A certain femininity.

> Although [the male victim] is a boy, but he has a certain feminine way of carrying themselves *(sic)*. [Mufaro, abused at age 14]

> So every time I was with [the elder brother to whom I'd disclosed victimisation by male perpetrators] I would try to make sure that he knows that I'm not gay. So all my life is been trying to prove to him and maybe to people who are who are looking that I'm not. [Keith, abused at ages 6 and 7]

Research participants limited disclosure of CSA to limit de-construction as males. Limiting disclosure allowed participants to portray themselves as exerting power, in a gender normative manner, through self-restraint and self-control (Balan, 2010):

> Then I think [after seeing the researcher's advertised letter calling for research participants] for the first time let me find someone to discuss about it. …it's my first time. It's really my first time [disclosing CSA victimisation]. [John]

> Because you know it's the first, ah no, it's the second time I've actually opened myself, first it was to the pastor. But now I've opened up to you. Something that I would never [have] done. [Stephen, abused at age 11]

In describing sexual victimisation in the interview process participants, by foregrounding their attempts at gender normative sexual responsiveness (whilst underplaying their victimisation), demonstrated that even as victims of CSA, to be male meant to enact masculinity in compliance with sexual and cultural scripts:

> [The female domestic worker] asked me if I wanted sex. I said, 'Yes.' [Mark, abused at age 9]

> Then [the female domestic worker] started, she started touching my privates. Then, you know, as a kid we may, as much as we might not agree that kids don't know anything [about sex] I knew, like, I, I knew what was going on … Then, you know, like every time I, I tried to, you know, like put my hands on her or whatever … [Keith]

> But I ended up consenting to [sexual intercourse with the domestic worker]. … Form 2 … I was the one now looking for her. [David, abused at age 14]

Gender normative responses to male perpetration were different from responses to female perpetration:

> And he kissed me on the cheek. Right. I reacted violently towards him because I pushed him off, you know. And I ran away. [Mufaro]

> I got involved. We started, you know, we started fondling and all that stuff. For me that's when it ha, that when it stopped. For [pause] for, you know, for, for trying to to to *(sic)* have sex and all that that that *(sic)*. [Keith]

Accosted by male perpetrators, Mufaro and Keith described themselves as containing the act of abuse. Power, which is diffused through all social relations rather than emanating from one specific site (Balan, 2010) is, in CSA perpetration, located with the perpetrator. In sex discourses, masculinity is enacted successfully when the male exerts

power by constructing himself as responding in a gender normative manner even in the process of abuse. Keith as a victim of male perpetrated abuse struggled between constructing himself as a victim (and emasculated) and as a sexually informed male making sexual choices (thereby questioning his sexual identity).

Gender performativity (Lynch & Maree, 2017) is the process through which, by repeated performance and assignment and through discursive practices, particular roles and assignments come to be allocated to and assigned to a particular gender. Low paying and non-paying domestic work, including childminding, have, through historical processes, been typically assigned to the female gender (Harris & Harper, 2008; Rayaprol, 2016). Regarding Foucault's concept of architecture of space, Balan (2010) states that people come to know their place and to exercise self-discipline regulated by spatial dispositions. The presence of females in the home, in many of the participants' constructions, accorded with gender normative spatial dispositions. To be male, in contrast, involved a marked delineation and exclusion from the childminding and domestic tasks associated with the enactment of femininity.

The domestic arena provided the material conditions that facilitated the intersection of power, gender and sexuality (Kramer, 2015), in several constructions by participants, to allow for victimhood. The presence of female perpetrators and their extension of seemingly innocuous tasks such as bathing, dressing and playing with children to acts of abuse went unremarked, at the time, by the victims:

> [The domestic worker] came. Well, she didn't come, *she was there* [my emphasis]. Then ah I don't remember how it happened exactly, but we were in the, we were in my room. [Keith]

> Ya, she can find me in the bedroom…. Sometimes *she's just there* [my emphasis]. I went in and I say, 'Mainini blah blah….' And we would talk and whatever. And then she would say, 'No – this is the chance.' … [John]

Hegemonic masculinity has resulted in males, the main beneficiaries in the assignment and performance of gender roles, more rigidly holding onto gender roles than females (Richter & Morrell, 2015; UNUTKAN et al., 2016). The research participants, accordingly, did not question the abdication by parents, and especially fathers, of their childminding roles, that afforded opportunities for CSA to female domestic workers:

> Because my my my *(sic)* mother was working in the Ministry of Health, and eeh you know, she could get up in the morning and go to work. So she could, my mum leaves me in the hands of her young sister. [John who also disclosed towards the end of the interview, in answer to a specific question, that his father was part of the household]

To be male and to successfully enact masculinity was to desist from enacting socially constructed femininity (Olasik, 2018). Fathers, even when present, were absolved from child care duties:

> So that time when Mother was not there, Father would suggest that, 'Ah no, now I'm teaching Grade 7. Eh, it's better I go and sleep at the school because [teachers] have got accommodation by the school.' [David]

The fact that David's father, in his wife's absences as a cross border trader, chose to move into teachers' accommodation on the campus of the school at which he taught reinforces how rigidly and narrowly gender roles, for the benefit of males, are often perceived. Moving onto campus ensured child minding and domestic duties remained defined as responsibilities for females, even as his wife took on a breadwinning role.

As an alternative to being consigned to female caretakers, some of the participants were dispatched to boarding schools which became the site for their victimisation. The discursive practice of sending a child to boarding school spoke to the social and financial prestige of some families due to the increased expenses involved and the academic and disciplinary reputation of some of the schools. Sending children to boarding school also suggested financial sacrifice on the part of parents. These underlying discourses and discursive practices meant that male victims regarded making optimal use of the boarding school experience to be an important part of the successful enactment of masculinity. Being expelled from school, for any reason, was viewed as an act of failure. In the prevailing historical and cultural context it was unlikely that the sexual victimisation of male children at the hands of priests and teachers employed by the schools would be acknowledged (Death, 2015). The victims recognised that it was more likely that they would be viewed as transgressors of student and sexuality discourses, than as victims:

> That was my really worry. That if I get into trouble maybe I'll be expelled, expelled from school. Those days, expelling students from school was part of a a disciplinary measure. I still remember there was so a kind of a punishment whereby they could eh bring the errant students in in public. That was being done at Xx College. On assembly points. [Donald, abused at age 14]

> From Form 1 to Form 5, let me say to Form 6, eeh I was very much afraid to date a girl because, you know what, it was a serious crime at school. … The headmaster could just call your name at, at the, the assembly. You stand up, and then he mention *(sic)* that you are expelled! It was so embarrassing, and you know parents paying school fees at a boarding, and ee being expelled for romantic relationships, for dating at high school. You know it

> was something like eh, a serious crime. It's like you might feel like maybe I'm going to jail! [John]

Homes, schools and student peer groups are important settings for the socialisation of (male) children into societally constructed gender normative behaviour (Harris & Harper, 2008). Dominant gender, sex and sexuality discourses and discursive practices shaping and pervading these contexts determine what gender performatives male children come to see as being consistent with the successful enactment of masculinity. It was, therefore, striking that whilst abuse for all participants in this study had taken place in domestic and school contexts, the closest any of the participants came to disclosing victimisation to people associated with those contexts were Keith and Donald whom both disclosed to elder siblings. Personal relationships with parents in the home seemed, often, to be characterised by a sense of detachment:

> I haven't mentioned this to any of my relatives. I didn't discuss sex with my brothers or relatives. It's only you to whom I mentioned it who thought of it as abuse. [Mark]

> My dad was very reserved, always serious. With my [step] mum we didn't have those conversations. [Kundayi, abused at age 9 or 10]

> So, I wanted help but to tell my mother that, because I knew that this is where it came from. So to tell my mother, I said, 'Ah no, I will I can't tell, I can't tell anyone. It's a secret for me'. [Stephen]

It appeared most of the participants believed disclosure of abuse in family or intimate settings would compromise their constructions as males as none of the

participants, even later in life, disclosed victimisation to a spouse or sexual partner. An important element of being male, for participants, was limiting disclosure of abuse to ensure their masculinity remained unquestioned:

> I didn't tell [my wife] my story. No. the only person I told the story is you. … And I will keep it that way. [Nyasha]

> I thought about [disclosing to my then wife] but I … I just keep holding it back because I didn't want to refresh the memories. [Donald]

The male CSA victims, in this study, appeared to subscribe strongly to dominant gender and sexuality discourses. The participants, for example, took for granted the occupation by females of domestic spaces that, often, became the sites for abuse. Participants sought to limit their constructions as victims to childhood so as not to impair their adult enactment of masculinity. Limiting the construction of victimisation to childhood was pursued through strategies such as self-silencing and self–monitoring, which allowed participants to claim gender normativity in exhibiting traits such as stoicism. Participants veered between acknowledging victimisation and constructing themselves as masculine by describing gender normative responses to sexual acts. Where participants acknowledged negative symptoms arising from sexual victimisation, many sought to enact masculinity by limiting disclosure of their symptoms. To be male, for participants, also meant to be gender heteronormative (Brook, 2018) by practising heterosexuality. Where homosexuality was mentioned by participants, it was disparaged.

The effect of CSA on participants

Gendered interpretations of phenomena cannot be escaped, and aid in deriving more comprehensive understandings of what those with power profess phenomena should mean

(Bonthuys, 2019). As an example of this, Bonthuys analysed the interpretation of the concept of consent by South African courts in criminal cases of rape and in civil cases determining the division of assets between men and women who had either been married or who had been cohabiting. Bonthuys illustrated how patriarchal beliefs generated different determinations of the concept of consent in rape and property distribution cases resulting in judgments, that in rape cases entitled males to women's bodies and that in property distribution cases entitled males to most of the wealth accumulated by the married or cohabiting couple.

Feminist theory has struggled to conceptualise the phenomenon of male sexual victimisation, including male CSA, given that it has traditionally framed sexual assaults as the exertion of power and control by males over females (Cohen, 2014; Fisher & Pina, 2013; Lowe & Rogers, 2017; Stemple et al., 2017). This feminist framework has fed into sex scripts and cultural stereotypes by creating a masculinist depiction of male offenders and an emasculating or homosexual depiction of male victims (Cohen, 2014). This has had the effect of negating male victimisation and female perpetration (Lowe & Rogers, 2017). Critical discourse analysis acknowledges that simple cause and effect models are inappropriate for analysing complexity (Cohen, 2014; Wodak, 2001a). Wodak (2001a, p. 2) speaks of critical discourse analysis allowing for an examination of "symptomology" – looking for relationships and explanation of relationships between various symptoms in a world increasingly recognised as complex.

A Foucauldian perspective allows for power to be viewed as a strategy, rather than a possession, exercised in relational contexts (Balan, 2010). Whilst gender, sex and sexuality discourses under patriarchy position power as a preserve of males over females, Weare (2018) notes that female perpetration in familial contexts is usually associated with power imbalances. A recognition of the exploitation of power differentials inherent in CSA

suggests some adverse effects of male CSA flow from the inversion of the power dynamic that cultural and sex scripts proscribe as the norm for relating and in relationships between males and females (Javaid, 2017a; 2018e).

Arising from the binaries and dichotomies embedded in discourses on gender that complicate the construction of sexual victimisation for males, the effect of CSA on male victims appears to be gendered. Constructions of the effect of CSA may differ depending on the sex and gender of the victims and perpetrators (Stathopoulos, 2014). Reflecting the suggested gendering of the impact and effect of CSA, most of the literature on the effect of male CSA has focussed on the aftermath of male perpetrated male CSA (Stathopoulos). Whilst the impact of female perpetrated CSA has been found, in many respects, to accord with the impact of male perpetrated CSA, some differences have been found (Gagnier & Collin-Vézina, 2016; Stathopoulos, 2014).

This study, using critical discourse analysis, resulted in findings that confirmed the effect of CSA for males is often gendered. As reported in some studies (Clements et al., 2014; Stathopoulos, 2014), several of the male children abused by female perpetrators in the current study similarly reported feelings of betrayal and of distrust towards women, in later life.

Sexual promiscuity and challenges with sexual behaviours (Clements et al., 2014) were also named as problematic by some research participants that suffered female perpetrated CSA:

> I became an addict of porn. I started by watching movies with explicit scenes and then started exchanging CDs with other children in the camp when I was in Grades 4 to 5. It caused me a lot of distress. I actually had to start a prayer group with a friend of mine. We started in Upper VI. In Form 4 I

> could feel it had become a strong addiction so in Forms 5 to 6 I looked to see who could help me. This friend started sending me books and videos to help me deal with the problem. [Kundayi, abused at age 9 or 10]

Being victimised by females (the 'weaker sex' in popular discourses), appeared to threaten sexual identity (Gagnier & Collin-Vézina, 2016; Stathopoulos, 2014) through feelings of emasculation. Stephen, in this study, may have practised hypermasculinity (Javaid, 2018e; Stathopoulos, 2014) in promiscuous behaviour, to compensate for the threat of emasculation through female perpetrated male CSA. Keith, in contrast, appeared to practise hypermasculinity (Javaid, 2018e; Stathopoulos, 2014) to counter the notion that he had, in falling prey to victimisation by males, enacted femininity. Sexual promiscuity with females appeared to be a means to reclaim hegemonic masculinity:

Being a victim of female perpetrated sexual victimisation has been reported to negatively affect psychological well-being (Clements et al., 2014). Whilst adverse psychological functioning such as feelings of low self-worth and negative self-esteem, and feelings of shame and stigmatisation are also consequences of male perpetrated CSA (Maikovich-Fong & Jaffee, 2010), the pathway to impaired psychological functioning appears to be gendered. Female perpetration was for male victims, consistent with previous studies (Clements et al., 2014), particularly problematic where the female perpetrators exhibited aggression and marked female agency in perpetrating abuse, where victims were young (pre-pubertal) when the abuse occurred or where female perpetrators were what the victims considered maternal figures. Participants who reported that their victimisation experiences incorporated some or all of these characteristics reported feelings of anxiety, bewilderment, isolation, shame, anger and decreased self-confidence:

> If I was going to meet [my female perpetrator], I don't know what was going to happen. I don't know what will I, I, I will do, I think. But I, I told myself

> I was going to tell her, ‘You abused me when you did that when I was young.’ Ya, I was, I was ready to confront her but ee she’s lucky that we are not meeting any more. I don’t know where she is. Even if she’s dead I don’t know. [Nyasha, abused at age 6]

> I had no confidence, because after what happened at Xx College, the beatings [that the teacher started subjecting me to after my mother confronted her], and then maybe sometimes, especially in 1988. Around uh, August, it started to come to me kind of like dreams. And then I could wake up. You know, as thinking that it was happening, that it was re-happening in reality. [Donald, abused at age 14]

In contrast, female perpetration has been reported to be less likely to cause distress where victims can construct the CSA experience to accord with gender norms and dominant sex discourses (Sikweyiya & Jewkes, 2008). Consistent with findings of some studies (Deering & Mellor, 2011), where the participant was a little older at the time of the abuse, not related to the female perpetrator, and was verbally requested rather than verbally or physically coerced to engage in sex, the male participant was less likely to report psychological harm, following on from the abuse.

In this study, Mark and David, aged 9 and 14 at the time of abuse by female perpetrators, constructed themselves as responding positively to requests to engage in sex and sexual acts, and, consequently, spoke of minimal negative consequences arising from female CSA. Kundayi, who also responded to a verbal invitation to engage in sexual acts by his non-familial female perpetrator, reported that the considerable distress he

subsequently suffered arose partially from his belief that the infection that he acquired after sexual victimisation had been sexually transmitted.

Abuse at the hands of a male perpetrator, because of the same-sex element, resulted in concerns about self-identity and sexual orientation and stirred up feelings of shame and stigma. Lack of relationship to the perpetrator and absence of force were not ameliorating factors for Keith after abuse by a male perpetrator.

The decision to disclose or remain silent about CSA victimisation also appears to be gendered. Remaining silent about victimisation may be a strategy to reconstruct the victim as comporting with hegemonic discourses through a denial of the weakness, vulnerability and passivity associated with sexual victimisation (Javaid, 2018e). Discourses that maintain female perpetration cannot occur (Bourke et al., 2014; Hunt, 2006) imply that males who are abused have been de-constructed as males and have the effect of silencing male victims:

> In my view men are very easy with sex – they want to have it with everyone. Women are more conservative. If a woman approaches a man and is not a prostitute, you must seriously think about it [pause]. It's an honour for the man. It's saying, 'I can't resist you.' Because women can resist more or their holding power is more than that of men. You may say it's a stereotype. But I think it's true. [Mark, abused at age 9]

> In society they ha *(sic)* have it wrong. They think that it [female perpetrated male CSA] doesn't happen but it happens. But you know the voice of the male child is being silenced before he even speaks out. [Stephen, abused at age 11]

Mark's statement, above, reflects a widely held belief in sex discourses that males are supposed to be the recipients, in sexual encounters, of pleasure dispensed by females (Van Klinken, 2016). His statement, however, ignores the reality constructed by several other participants, that the nature of the interaction was one of sexual assault, enabled by power imbalances between the perpetrator and victim.

To experience adverse effects from CSA was, for male participants, an admission of deviating from a hegemonic enactment of masculinity (Javaid, 2018e), and was contained by limiting disclosure. Sexual and cultural scripts dictate that males should not suffer adverse effects from CSA perpetrated by females (Hunt, 2006). Experiencing and acknowledging adverse symptoms from CSA suggested that the male victims had been relegated to a subordinate masculinity (Sorsoli et al., 2008). This meant that males who acknowledged victimisation were unlikely to seek help and that help seeking behaviours were likely to also be perceived as a failure at successful enactment of masculinity (Molenaar & Liang, 2019).

How male victims of CSA reconcile the experience of being abused with their identity as males

Circulated discourse, of which media discourse is an important element, plays a major role in surfacing male CSA (Cohen, 2014; Kramer, 2015; Weatherred, 2015). Adults in this study were able to retrospectively construct experiences as abuse with access to an expanded range of sex, sexuality and gender discourses arising from evolving historical and social conditions.

In keeping with framing and agenda-setting theory (Weatherred, 2015), how a story is presented by the media influences what is highlighted and, ultimately, public perceptions about the event. Media depictions, whilst helping to bring the subject of CSA to the fore,

have, however, reflecting dominant sex discourses, tended to minimise the fact and impact of female offending and male victimisation, sometimes by glamorising or trivialising female offending (Angelides, 2010). Several participants suggested that popular discourses, sometimes circulating through media, played a role in helping them to recognise that they had been victims of sexual abuse:

> [The realisation that I'd been sexually abused] only came to my mind when I finished my, well to be honest, when I finished my university education, eeh, which was 6 plus 7, almost 15 years later. When I, I was reading the media, the newspapers and watching television. Are you getting my point? … You're reading the papers about sexual abuse, ehh watching on television about sexual abuse. That's when I started to … it started to tick in my mind that hah! So Mainini was abusing me … And then recently about 2 weeks back, 3 weeks back I saw on a on social media of a, a maid who has been sexually abusing a what? A boy child. It was circulating on social media, on Whatsapp. And also came to me that ach so this boy was being abused like the way I [was]. [John, abused at, approximately, ages 9 to 11]

Sexual discourses permit offenders to de-construct and re-construct victims to make them violable. Male rape victims in prisons, for example, are de-constructed as men and re-constructed as "wives" (Gear, 2009a, p. 40). Perpetrators, in this research, appeared to de-construct victims as children and to re-construct them as men. This masked the abuse and exonerated the offender. This was, in instances, achieved through the sexual negotiation discourse that, for example, Mark's female abuser, a domestic worker, used to construct 9- year -old Mark as totally appreciative of the implications and consequences of assenting to a sex act: **"[She] asked me if I wanted sex."**

Reconstructing victims as men was also achieved through denigrating childhood. Eleven- year- old Stephen's two female abusers suggested that assenting to violation was an act of maturity and masculinity:

> Relax, it's not going to harm you; it's part of growing up. Relax, you have to see this [pornographic video] because um soon you'll be in high school you have to know this *(sic)* kind of things. ... It's part of growing up. Do you want to grow up or you want to be a chicken?

Recognition, acceptance and adoption of discourses that acknowledged that they had been victims of CSA was an important element, for some males in this study, of reconciling the experience of being sexually abused with their identity as males. These discourses enabled a number of the participants, in contravention of more popular discourses, to persist in constructing themselves like children at the time of perpetration. Reconciliation of the experience of abuse with their identity as males was, for these victims, effected by challenging popular discourses, in the process framing themselves as children and females offenders as perpetrators.

It has been argued (Balan, 2010; Butler, 2014; Holla, 2018) that oppressive measures employed by power are to be seen as ultimately productive, in that they can provoke resistance. Foucault recognised power to be relational, impersonal, multi-directional and as possessing a dynamic of its own (Balan, 2010). Power plays a pivotal role in determining the construction of offences, including possibilities for victimhood and harm. Power dictates and promotes discourses that disallow the construction of the powerful as offenders (Death, 2015). Structural power does not equate to all males at all times possessing power (Van Klinken, 2016 citing Kaufman, 1994 and Kimmel, 1994). Feminist theory suggests men rape to exert and exercise power and control over others in a bid to prove their strength and masculinity (Javaid, 2018d). Whilst female sexual

offenders who abuse children exploit power differentials, theorising the motivation for abuse by females has remained problematic (Fisher & Pina, 2013; Stemple et al., 2017). The negative impact, however, on male children of the sexual manipulation and exploitation that form part of female sexual perpetration was made clear in this research:

> So you start realising, no, this was not genuine love. This was something happening. Ya, this was something happening, you know. It it wasn't [pause]. She was, she was just [pause]. I think she was just a pervert. Ya. It it it wasn't, it wasn't a game. She, she, that was calculated. She knew what she was doing. [Nyasha, abused at age 6]

> I was just a person who got used and aah. … Ya, I was just used. And then they would think that everything is okay. They would greet me in the morning, smile at me like everything is okay. [Stephen]

Some victims in this study, in acknowledging victimisation, exercised resistance by defying dominant gender, sex and sexuality discourses that denied the possibility of male child victimisation. The discourses of some participants demonstrated that in depicting themselves as victims, they were casting themselves as having deviated from hegemonic masculinity, and therefore, as deviant. Butler (2014, p. 108) characterised hunger strikes of prisoners and slut walks undertaken by women around the world to reclaim their rights to the streets at night as discursive acts of resistance through both "embodying and refusing a label." By claiming deviance, some participants both embodied a masculinity that failed at hegemony and challenged categorisation as males who had failed by questioning their construction as deviant. Butler (2014) describes resistance as the mobilisation of vulnerability or exposure. In allowing the spotlight to shine on their supposed failing or

deviance, participants, in their constructions, challenged their objectification and shaming and, in effect, turned the spotlight onto those wielding, exploiting and replicating the power conveyed through dominant discourses. The participants exercised an agency that maintained that what is constructed can be de-constructed and re-constructed (Van Klinken, 2016). Reconciliation of sexual victimhood with their identity as males, for these participants, was a process that involved both embodying deviance and challenging their categorisation as deviant.

Van Klinken (2016, p. 10) states that religion "just like gender and masculinity – is not a monolithic but rather a complex and ambiguous phenomenon." Religions generally advocate extending and exercising forgiveness, self-control, chastity and rectitude, rather than unbridled sexual activity. Hegemonic masculinity in many contexts, in contrast, idealises anger, vengeance, self-indulgence, irresponsibility and sexual promiscuity (Van Klinken, 2016). Guided by their religion and faith, some participants sought to reconcile their experience of victimisation with their identity as males by enacting more constructive forms of masculinity:

> But for me, when I started to to to *(sic)* worship God on a serious note it's like I say, 'Aha no, with God everything is possible. I'm now a Christian. I should pray about it and because of now eeh [pause] I pray about it and I read the Bible as a Christian, and then everything will be fine. I don't have any problem. If I pray about the lust, against lust then it will be cancelled. In the name of Jesus.' Are you getting me? [John]

> [Being a Christian] really helped me to cope actually. Because eeh Christians they talk about, especially the gospel of Jesus Christ, talking

> about forgiveness seven times and seven times, many times over. … So I think this, maybe the Christian religion has helped me maybe to cope with this kind of attitudes. The way I take it. I never really have the feeling of changing it, or taking it out on someone else. So I think this Christian, the Christian religion really helps sometimes. [Donald, abused at age 14]

> Then that's where [the pastor] started uh telling me about God and ah His love. You know he sort of counselled me. And so [pause] ya, I became, ya a new, ah he sort of helped me to find myself again. And this [pause] thing uhm, it's still fresh. Like this whole, being saved thing, ya, finding my faith… [Stephen]

The male body is, in the process of male sexual assault, constructed by discourses of power as weak and violable (Javaid, 2017b, citing Foucault, 1977). Males attempt to contain the effects of sexual victimisation to keep their masculinity intact (Javaid, 2017c). Devaluing femininity, exhibiting masculine bravado and being homophobic have been identified as identity management techniques (Anderson, 2005). Some participants appeared to use these techniques to contain tensions arising from being males who had been sexually victimised. Stephen (after female perpetrated victimisation), in constructing females as sexual objects and Keith (after male perpetrated victimisation), in being homophobic and maintaining multiple simultaneous heterosexual sexual relationships, endeavoured to re-construct themselves as males who were successfully enacting hegemonic masculinity:

> … now I'm noticing things as I'm, you know [pause]. Even my hatred for gay people. It's because of what happened. Not because I I I I *(sic)* don't

> understand how, where they're coming from and what not. But it's because of [pause]… Maybe right now I would I would be actually an activist for gay people, but because of that … [Keith, abused at ages 6 and 7]

Males may reconcile the experience of CSA victimisation with their male identity by constructing CSA victimisation as non-abusive. Perceiving CSA victimisation as being consistent with sex discourses that deny female perpetration and male harm may be protective for males (Cashmore & Shackel, 2014), allowing them to limit constructions that threaten their identity as males. Mark and Mufaro who, in this study, denied victimisation were able to report that they suffered no harm and no distress from the sexual acts they were subjected to.

In reciprocal and dialectical relationships males look to other males to affirm their masculine identity (Javaid 2018e). This was possibly why participants, in this study, who disclosed victimisation mainly disclosed to other males. Stephen disclosed to a male pastor, Keith to his elder brother and Donald to a male friend many years after his initial disclosure to his older sister. Several of the participants remarked, during the course of our interview that they had assumed, due to my name, that I was male. One wonders whether some participants were not seeking affirmation and validation of their male identity, because of the abuse they had suffered, in responding to what they thought was a male researcher:

> Because I saw the name 'Tapiwa' [in the advertised call to participants]. You know most of the people with the name, 'Tapiwa' in Zimbabwe are males. So I thought it's a guy. Then I said, 'Haa! But why should a guy needs *(sic)* this information?' Then I said, 'No, maybe he was sexually abused when he was young – he had the same experience with me.' So I think, let me just, for the first time in my life (I'm 45 now), let me share my

> experience with this guy. You get me? … Let me discuss with him and hear his side of the story. And how it impacted him. [John]

Comments and reflections on the research process

Citing Foucault (1976), Javaid (2017a, p. 7) states that "the products of social research reflect its social researcher, instead of representing some world that is independent of [her/ him]." After the first research participant asked what my interest was in the topic of CSA, I proceeded to volunteer, in subsequent interviews, that my interest stemmed from having also been a victim of CSA. Whilst that disclosure appeared to play a role in forming connections between the participants and me, and allowed them to more openly grapple with what they had been subjected to and with meaning-making arising out of their victimisation, in the process sometimes questioning me on my experience of victimisation, it also made the research process troubling and raw for me. The process was aggravated by the fact that some of the participants were, at the time of the interviews, roughly the age of my sons, leaving me feeling as though I was living through the sexual victimisation of my children. Whilst I journaled through the process of data collection and analysis, I have found it too troubling to more than glance at some of the notes I made at that time.

Strengths and limitations of the study

The qualitative nature of the study, purposive sampling method and limited sample size meant that the findings of this study could not be generalised to the general population of males who have suffered CSA. These factors, however, allowed for an in-depth understanding of the impact of CSA on this particular research sample. The identification of repeated and broad themes from the sample, albeit differentiated in the manner in which the themes manifested in individual participants, suggested strong internal validity of the study. This was buttressed by the fact that many of the themes that emerged within this study are supported by the findings of previous studies in this field. A distinguishing feature

of this particular study was to identify such themes in a sample of Zimbabwean males, given that, with the possible exception of South Africa, research on the topic of male CSA on the African continent is limited.

Conclusion

If gender is recognised as a social construction established through repeated and culturally sanctioned performances (Butler, 2014; Javaid, 2017b; Lynch & Maree, 2017; Shams, 2018), space is created for men to reject hegemony and to attempt other masculinities (Boyle, 2019). Whist there were "disjunctions" (Arnold, 2012, p. 569) as participants sought to integrate, in the interview process, the constructions of their experiences of CSA and its impact on their current selves, it was also clear that some participants were, in defiance of dominant discourses that had shaped them, striving to "root out a particular kind of delusion" (Wodak, 2001a, p. 10) in the manner in which male sexual victimisation was framed and perceived:

> It's really my first time [disclosing abuse]. I read your advert and I understood it quite well and I said, 'Uh!' You know, that's why I said most of the research or most of the projects or programmes about sexual abuse mainly they're focused on women. Yah. So when it's men sometimes you say – 'Oh! Now it's our time'. People, now they [pause] start to realise that even men they can be abused. Mm. And cases where there's abuse like this it's, it's a relative versus a relative [pause]. Being abused by a close person whom you trust, whom you love. And who loves you as well sometimes. And then you find – oh! So it's a female adult abusing a young male. That's the kind of abuse. [John, abused at, approximately, ages 9 to 11]

Delusions participants exposed and questioned included discourses depicting male victims as emasculated, female perpetrators as inconceivable and male perpetrators as

successfully enacting masculinity. Because discourses construct people rather than people discourses (Han, 2015; Jäger, 2001), the process of exposing delusions was complex, with participants vacillating between resorting to dominant gender, sex and sexuality discourses to construct themselves as gender-normative despite the abuse they had suffered, and taking the risk of being categorised as deviant as they challenged dominant discourses.

I share the expectation, of several participants, that this research and the work of others in the field of CSA, will increase knowledge in this under-researched area and will assist those affected by male CSA, including professionals working with male survivors of CSA:

> I thought maybe, maybe I, I just think that if researches *(sic)* like yours can find a way not only to assist the vulnerable children, both the girl child and the boy child, I think it will make a, and to conscientise *(sic)* the society it will maybe make a fu, a fu *(sic)* brighter for these children that, that we have. Because what may have happened to them as a child really can negatively affect them. (Donald, abused at age 14]

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Appendices

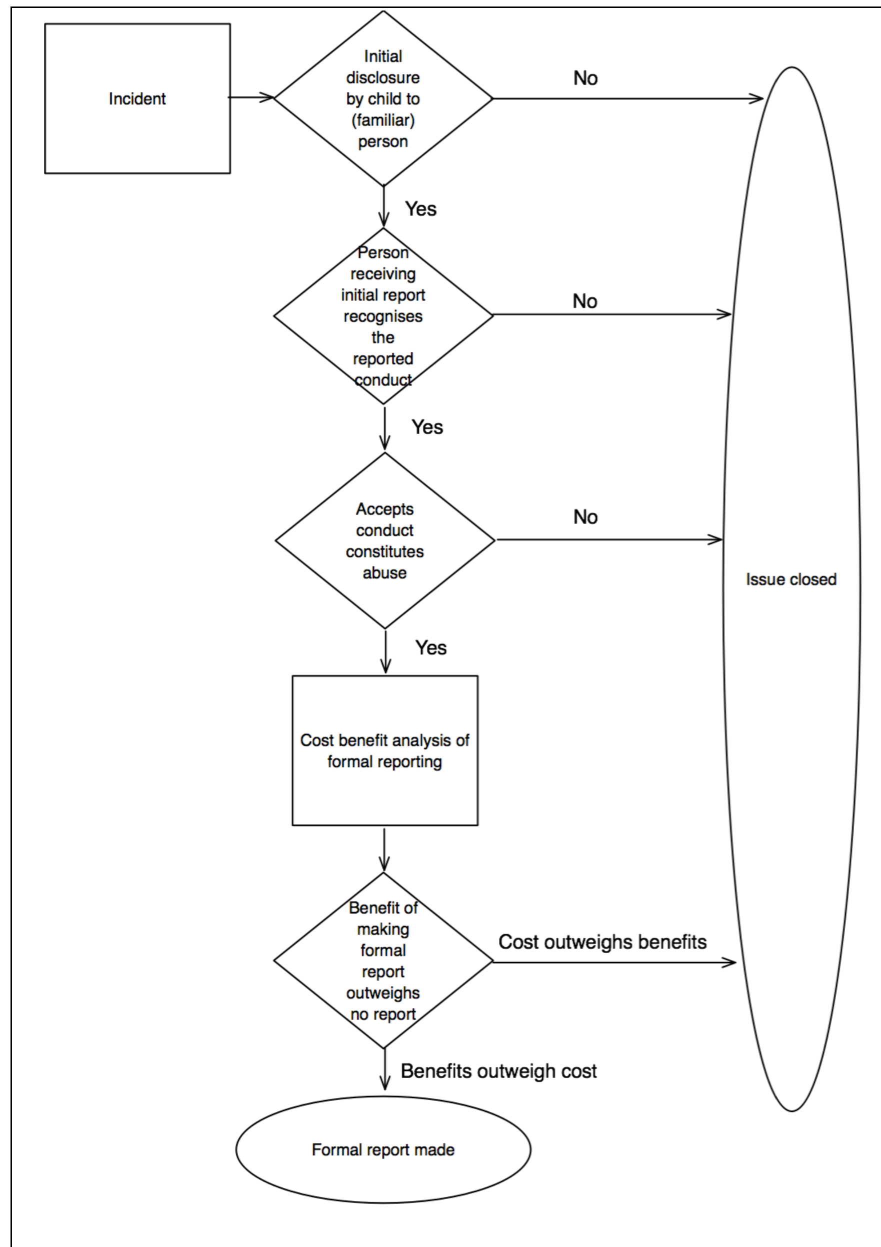

Figure 2.1 : Child Sexual Abuse Reporting Process

Source: Hendricks (2012)

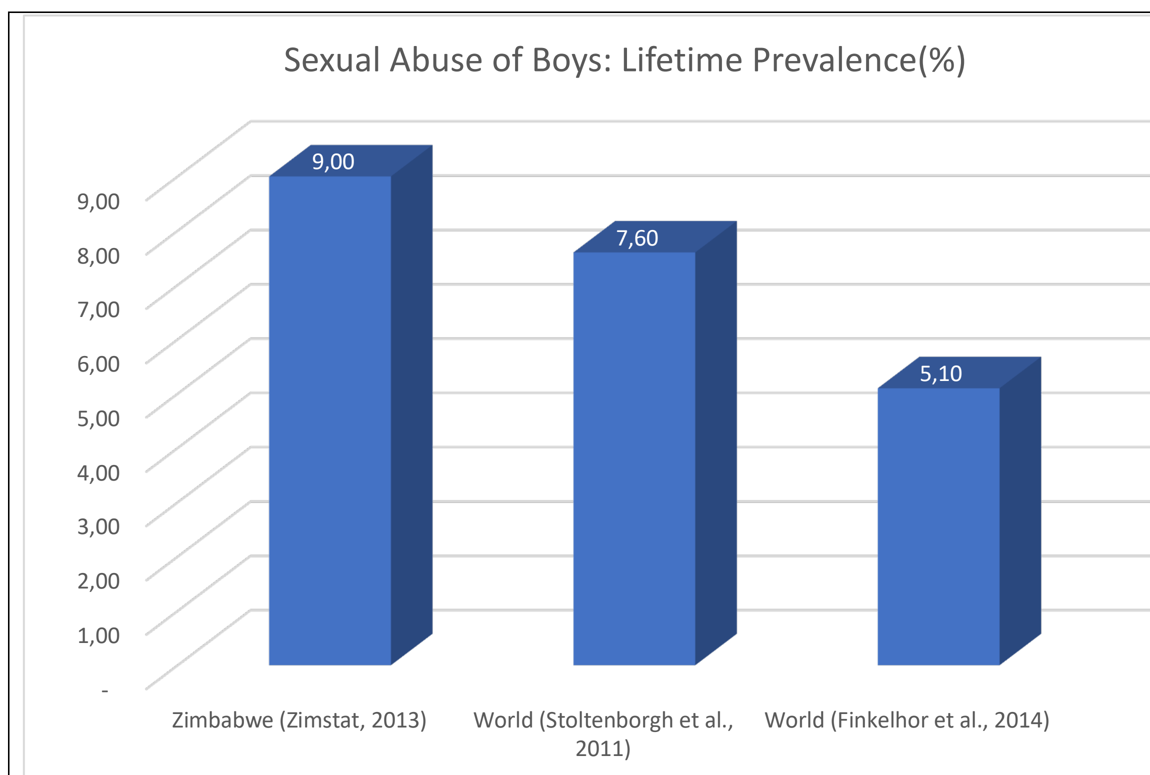

Figure 2.2 : Sexual Abuse of Boys; Lifetime Prevalence (%)

Source: Finkelhor, Shattuck, Turner, & Hamby (2014); Stoltenborgh, Van Ijzendoorn, Euser, & Bakermans-Kranenburg (2011); ZIMSTAT, UNICEF & CCORE (2013)

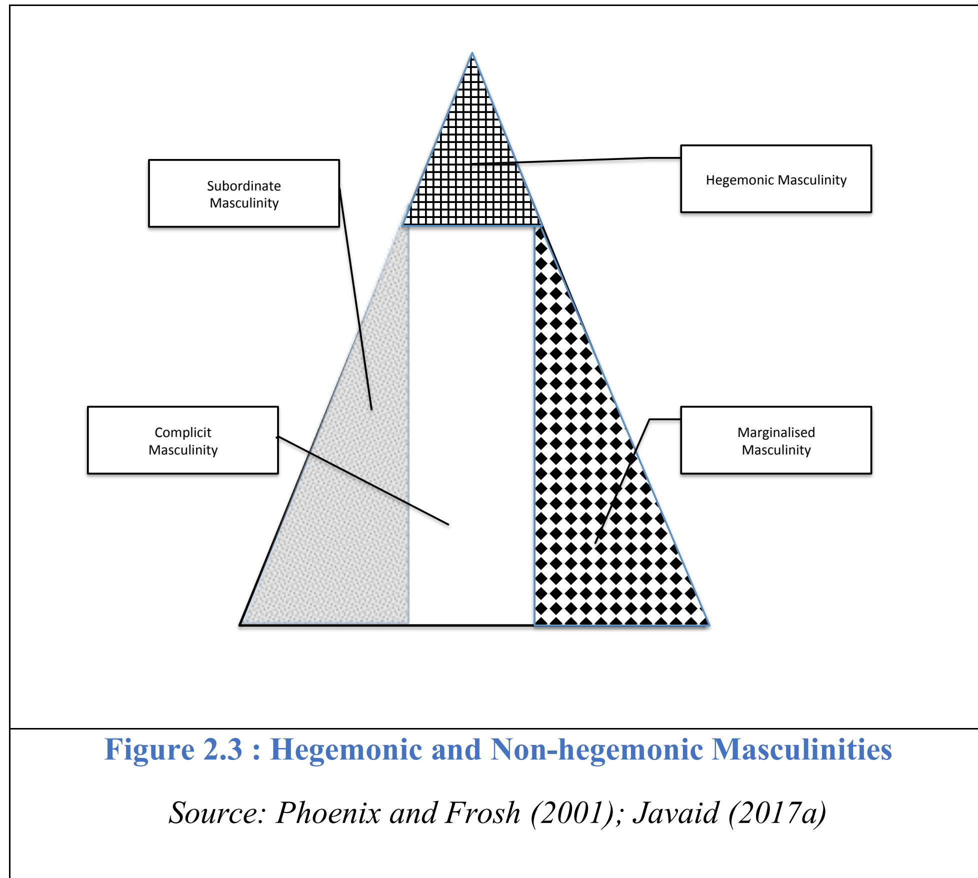

Figure 2.3 : Hegemonic and Non-hegemonic Masculinities

Source: Phoenix and Frosh (2001); Javaid (2017a)

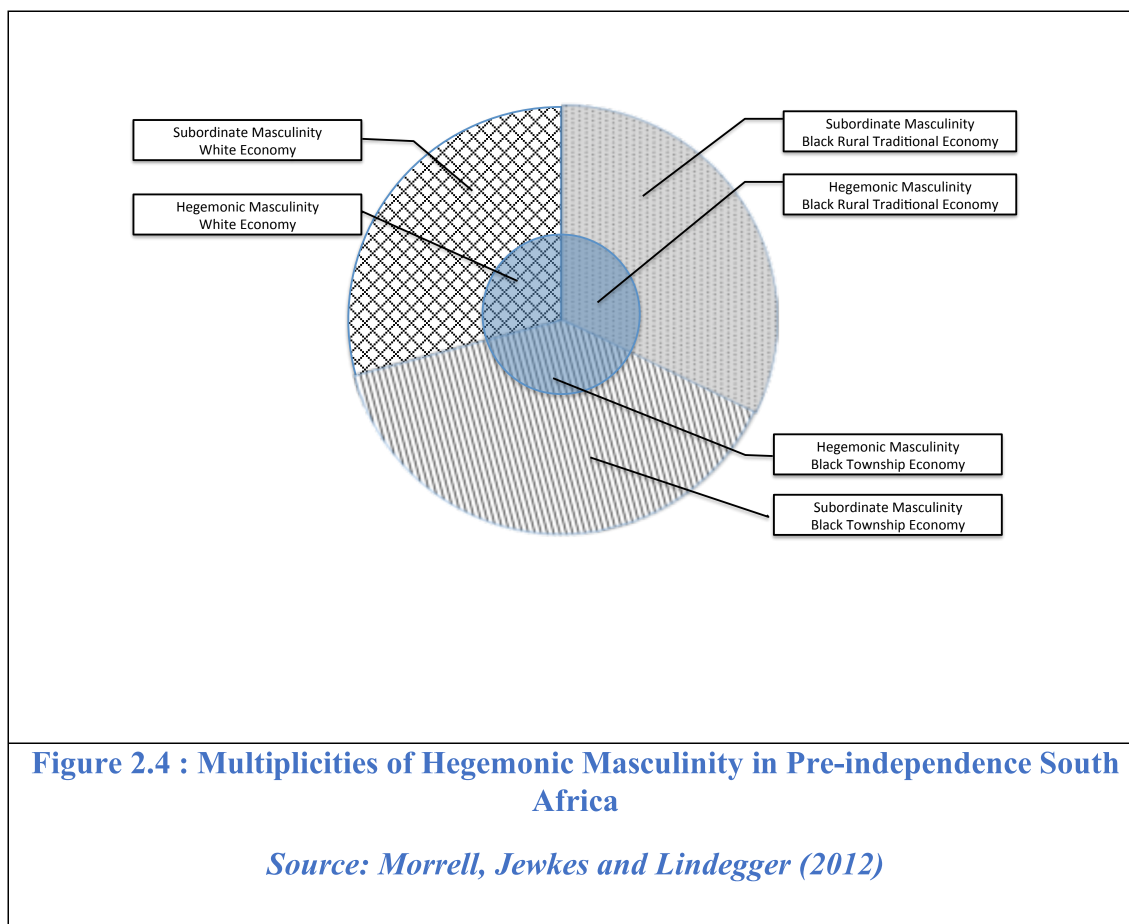

Figure 2.4 : Multiplicities of Hegemonic Masculinity in Pre-independence South Africa

Source: Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger (2012)

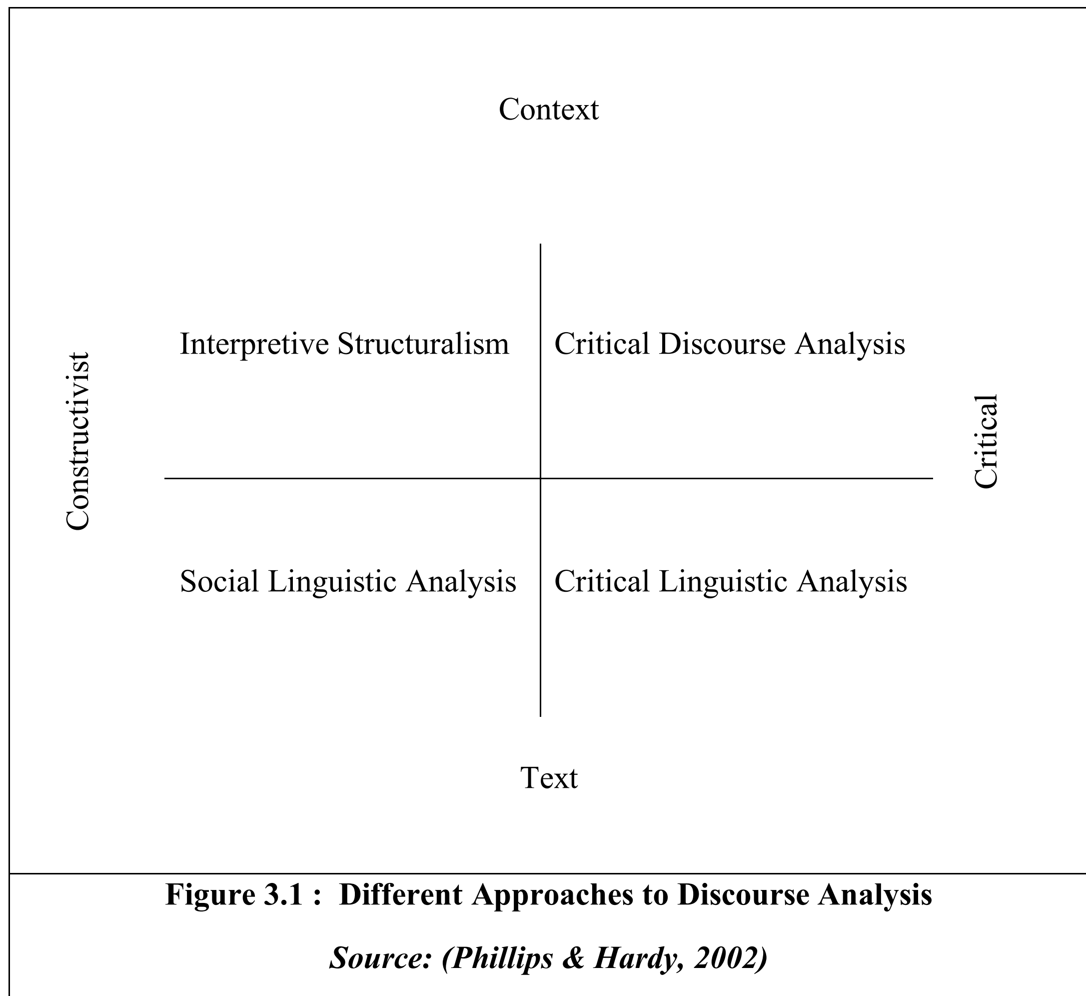

Figure 3.1 : Different Approaches to Discourse Analysis

Source: (Phillips & Hardy, 2002)

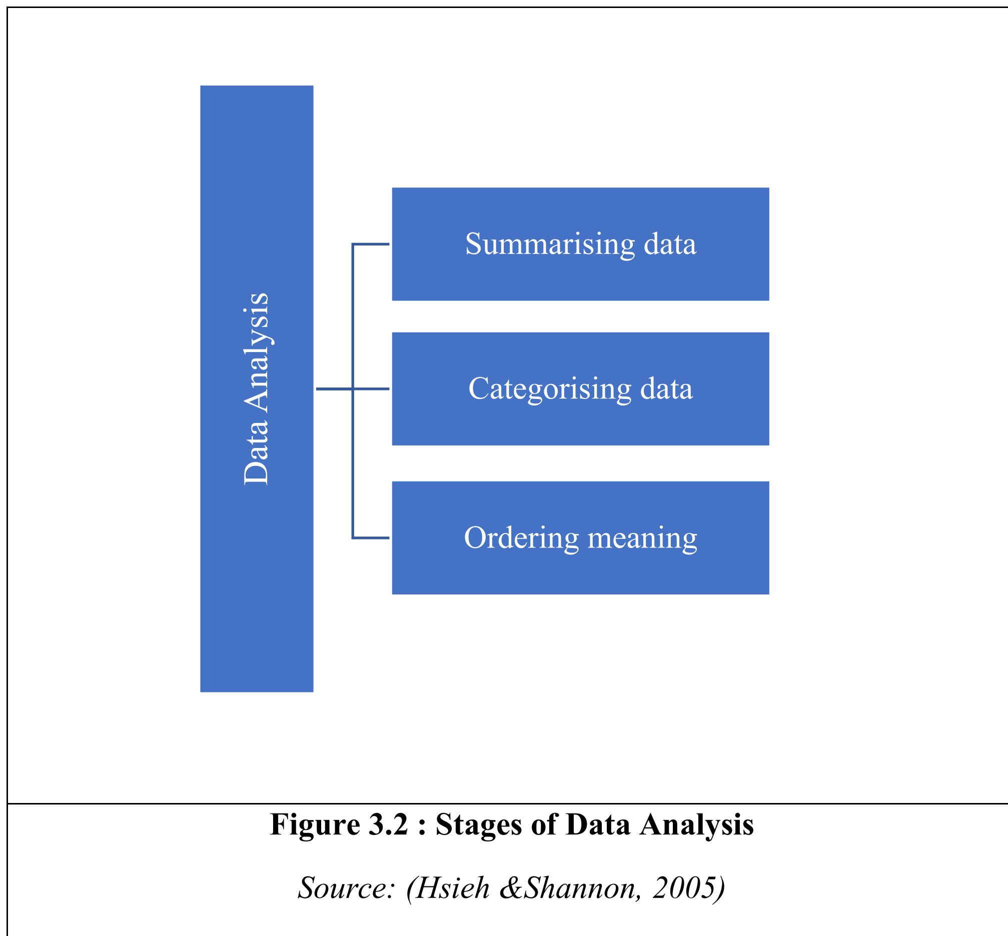

Figure 3.2 : Stages of Data Analysis

Source: (Hsieh &Shannon, 2005)

Appendix A : Covering letter for calls to participate in research

Dear

We know that there are male children in Zimbabwe, as elsewhere, who are sexually abused. Little is, however, known about how this impacts them, as most of the research has been conducted with female children.

I am looking, as a Psychology Masters Research Student registered with UNISA, for male volunteers to help me research this important topic. Would you please assist this process by handing out the sealed envelopes that accompany this letter to adult males who visit your practice/ organisation in any capacity?

The letters ask those men who are interested in participating in this research to contact me.

Should you have any queries please contact me or my supervisor, Prof. Juan Nel, on the numbers or at the addresses indicated:

Tapiwa Marufu: 263 774 602 324; tapiwamarufu@yahoo.com
Prof. Juan Nel: 00 27 12 429 8089; nelj@unisa.ac.za

Yours Sincerely,

Tapiwa Marufu (Mrs.)

Appendix B: Call to participate in research

My name is Tapiwa Marufu and I am registered as a Masters student in Psychology at the University of South Africa (Unisa). The Master's course, for which I am registered, requires that I complete a research project. The research that I am undertaking examines how the experience of childhood sexual abuse impacts Zimbabwean males/ males in Zimbabwe. It is my hope that this research process will help participants, sexual abuse survivors, professionals and families and communities in Zimbabwe affected by sexual abuse develop a greater awareness and understanding about this vital topic, leading to interventions that better protect and help male childhood sexual abuse survivors.

If you:

- are a man aged 18 years or older
- experienced sexual abuse or were exposed to any sexual act before turning 18
- are willing to participate in this important research

please contact me:

on cell phone number 0774 602 324, or email tapiwamarufu@yahoo.com.

Tapiwa Marufu (Mrs.)

Appendix C: Kukumbira kuti mupinde mutsvakiridzo

Zita rangu ndinonzi Tapiwa Marufu ndiri mudzidzi wedhigirii repamusoro re*Psychology (Masters)* paYunivesiti yeSouth Africa (Unisa). Mukudzidza uku kwandiri kuita, ndinotarisirwa kuita chikamu chekudzidza ndichiita tsvakiridzo. Tsvakiridzo yandiri kuita ino tarisa kushungurudzwa kunosangana nevana vadiki panyaya dzekubatwa chibharo kana kumwewo zvako kushungurudza kunoitwa vana panyaya dzepabonde, uye kuti kushungurudzwa uku kungave kune zvakunoita here kuvarume werudzi rwemuno muZimbabwe/kana varumewo vanogara muZimbabwe. Chishuvo changu kuti tsvakiridzo iyi ibatsire vachapinda mairi, uye vanhu vakasangana nekushungurudzwa kupi zvako kwepabonde, ibatsirewo vanoshanda kubatsira vakashungurudzwa ava nekubatsirika kwemhuri dzevakashungurudzwa. Ndinoda zvigozobatawo nharaunda dzemuZimbabwe dzinosangana nekushungurudzwa uku, kuti ruzivo rwutekeshere maererano nenyaya iyi kuti rubatsiro ruwanikwe, nekuti kuve nekudzivirirwa kwakakwana kwevana nekubatsirika kwevana vechikomana vanenge vasangana nekusungurudzwa kwakadai.

Kana imi:

- muri munhu vemurume ane makore gumi nemanomwe (18) kana kupfuura
- makasanga nekushungurudzwa kwepabonde kwerupi rudzi zvarwo kwana kubatwa chibharo musati makwanisa kana kuzvika makore gumi nemanomwe (18)
- muchida kupinda mutsvakiridzo yakakosha iyi

Ndibatei:

Panhare mboza iyi 0774 602 324, kana tsamba mboza (email) tapiwamarufu@yahoo.com.

Tapiwa Marufu (Mrs.)

Appendix D: Consent Form – Participant's Copy

My name is Tapiwa Marufu and I am registered as a Masters student in Psychology at the University of South Africa (Unisa). The Master's course, for which I am registered, requires that I complete a research project. The research that I am undertaking examines how the experience of childhood sexual abuse impacts Zimbabwean males/ males in Zimbabwe. It is my hope that this research process will help participants, sexual abuse survivors, professionals and families and communities in Zimbabwe affected by sexual abuse develop a greater awareness and understanding about this vital topic, leading to interventions that better protect and help male childhood sexual abuse surviors.

This interview will be made available to my dissertation supervisor, Prof. Juan Nel. Personal details that can be used to identify you will, however, not be revealed, so as to protect your identity. Your name will not be recorded anywhere on the transcribed interview, and no one will be able to link it to you. All personal information will remain confidential.

The interview will last approximately 60 minutes. I would like you to be as open and honest as possible in answering the questions I pose to you. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. I will also ask some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which involve thinking about the past or future. Even if you are not absolutely certain about the answers to these questions, try to think about them and to answer them as best you can. When it comes to answering these questions, there are no right or wrong answers.

Your participation in this research project is voluntary. If you do not wish to answer a question, you may refrain from doing so. Even if you agreed to participate initially, you may, at any time, change your mind and withdraw from the research. If you refuse to participate or withdraw at any stage, you will not be prejudiced in any way.

If I ask a question that makes you feel sad or upset, we can stop the interview and discuss it. There are also people to whom I can refer you who are willing and able to talk through what has upset you if you so wish. If you need to speak with anyone at a later stage please contact the Christian Counselling Centre on telephone numbers 744212 or 0773 547 544 who will avail a counsellor to you.

I may require (an) additional interview/s at a later stage, and may also like to discuss my findings and proposals around the research with you, once I have completed my study. An electronic copy of my research findings will also be made available once the research has been completed. Should you wish to receive this copy please avail your email contact. If you have any other questions relating to my study, please feel free to contact my dissertation supervisor Prof. Juan Nel, at the University of South Africa, on: 00 27 12 429 8089 or via email: nelja@unisa.ac.za.

Appendix E: Fomu reChibvumirano – ReMubatsiri Mutsvakiridzo

Zita rangu ndinonzi Tapiwa Marufu ndiri mudzidzi wedhigirii repamusoro re*Psychology (Masters)* paYunivhesiti yeSouth Africa (Unisa). Mukudzidza kwandiri kuita, ndinotarisirwa kuita chikamu chekudzidza ndichiita tsvakiridzo. Tsvakiridzo yandiri kuita ino tarisa kushungurudzwa kunosangana nevana vadiki panyaya dzekubatwa chibharo kana kumwewo zvako kushungurudzwa kunoitwa vana panyaya dzepabonde, uye kuti kushungurudzwa uku kungave kune zvakunoita here kuvarume werudzi rwemuno muZimbabwe/kana varume vanogara muZimbabwe. Chishuvo changu kuti tsvakiridzo iyi ibatsire vachapinda mairi, vakashungurudzwa nenyaya dzepabonde kana nekubatwa chibharo, vanoshanda nevakashungurudzwa ava, uye mhuri dzevakashungurudzwa nevari munharaunda dzemuZimbabwe dzinosangana nekushungurudzwa uku. Ndinotarisira kuti ruzivo urwo rwunozobatsira kuti kuve nekudzivirirwa kwekushungurudzwa nekubatsirwa kwevana vevakomana varikurarama mushure mekushungurudzwa uku.

Nhaurirano yandichaita nemi ichapihwa kuna Prof Juan Nel mudzidzisi wangu varikundibatsira mukunyorwa kwechidzidzo ichi. Asi zvakadaro, Purofesa ava, havakwanisi kuziva kuti ndiani andaiita nhaurirano naye nekuti havazopihwi mazita evakaita nhaurirano. Zita renyu hariiswi muzvinyorwa zvenhaurirano idzi, shaka hapana anokwanisa kuzoziva kuti imi ndimi makataura nenyi. Zita nezvese zvenyu zvichachengetwa zvakavanzika zvisina angazviziva.

Nhaurirano iyi inotora maminitsi angaita makumi matanhatu (*60 minutes)*. Ndinokumbira mushununguke uye mupindure pachokwadi chenyu mibvunzo yandichakubvunzai. Mimwe yemibvunzo iyi ndeye zvakavanzika zvenyu kana zvimwe zvamusingadi kutaura kana kurangarira. Ndichabvunza zvimwevo pamwe zvamusati mambofunga nezvazvo zvingada kuti mufungisise zveshure kana ramangwana. Munogona kufunga kuti hamuna

chokwadi nemhinduro yenyu, zvakadaro zvazvo, edzai kufungisisa kuti mupe mhinduro yamunofunga kuti ndiyo iri pedyo nechokwadi chezvabvunzwa. Pakupindura mibvunzo iyi, hapana mhinduro inonzi wagona kana kuti watadza.

Kupinda mutsvakiridzo iyi isarudzo yenyu pasina kumanhikidza. Saka mukanzwa musingade kupindura imwe mibvunzo, makasunguka kusaipindura. Makasununguka zvakare kubuda mutsvakiridzo iyi pane ipi nguva zvayo yamunonzwa kuti hamuchadi kuenderera mberi kunyangwe mambotanga neni. Kusarudza kusapinda mutsvakiridzo, kana kubuda pane ipi nguva zvayo hakuna chakunokukanganisai zvachose chero neipi nzira.

Kana paine mubvunzo unokusuwisai kana kukushungurudzai, tinokwanisa kumira torega nhaurirano iyi. Zvakare ndino kwanisa kukuendesai kune vanhu kubatsirai nekutaura nemi zvinokusuwisai kana kukushungurudzai, kana muchida rubatsiro rwakadaro. Zvakare mushure menhaurirano, kana mukanzwa muchida munhu wekutaura naye munokwanisa kubata *weChristian Counselling Centre* parunhare rwunoti 744212 muHarare kana panhare mbozha yawo (*cell phone)* inoti 0773 547 544 vanokwanisa kukupai munhu angakubatsirei nekutaura nyaya yenyu.

Ndino kwanisa kuzoda kuita imwe kana dzimwe nhaurirano nemi mushure meiyi, kana kukuudzai zvandinenge ndawana mutsvakiridzo iyi, nekuda kukupaiwo zvandinofunga maererano netsvakiridzo mushure mekunge ndapedza chidzidzo ichi. Kana tsvakiridzo iyi yapera, zvavanikwa mairi zvino kwanisa kuwanikwa mumakombuta *(computer)* kana setsamba mbozha (*email)*. Nyorai *email address* yenyu kana muchida kuwana zvinenge zvawanikwa izvi.

Kana muine mubvunzo kana mibvunzo ine chekuita netsvakiridzo iyi, ndapota inzwai makasununguka kubata Prof Juan Nel, mudzidzisi wangu ari kundibatsira patsvakiridzo iyi

kuYunivhesiti yeSouth Africa panhamba dzinoti: 00 27 12 429 8089 kana patsamba mbozha yavo (*email)* inoti: nelja@unisa.ac.za.

Name of Researcher ………………………………

Signature ……………………………….

Date ……………………………….

Name of Research Participant ………………………………..

Signature ………………………………..

Date ……………………………….